



THE
ROMAN
HISTORY:
WITH
NOTES

Historical, Geographical, and Critical;

AND

Illustrated with COPPER PLATES, MAPS, and a great
Number of AUTHENTICK MEDALS.

Done into ENGLISH, from the Original FRENCH of

The Rev^d Fathers CATROU and ROUILLÉ.

VOLUME III.

From the Year of ROME DXIV. to the Year of ROME DLII.

To which is prefix'd,

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

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M. DCC. XXIX.



T H E C O N T E N T S :

O R,  MUSEUM.

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

B O O K XXV.

§. 1. **I**T may justly have astonished us, in the preceding Volumes, to observe a People, entirely free, and absolute Masters of their own Deliberations, continually prefer the Dangers of War, to the sweet Enjoyments of Peace and Tranquillity. But such was the steady Ambition of the *Romans*, and so immoveable their Constancy in pursuing its Dictates, that, in the succeeding Parts of this History, we shall see them, in spite of numberless Misfortunes, still forming new Enterprizes upon the neighbouring Nations, and never ceasing to push their Conquests, till they have attained to Universal Empire.

Year of *ROME* 514. Indeed, the present *Consulship* of *G. Mamilius Turinus* and *Q. Valerius Falto*, 213th *Consulship*. proves an Interval of Peace; the publick Tranquillity being no otherwise disturbed, than by the Apprehension of a War with the *Gauls* and *Ligures*. For though upon some Severities used by the *Carthaginians*, towards the *Roman* Merchants, (who had been catch'd carrying Arms and Provisions to the Mercenaries, then in actual Rebellion against the *African* Republick,) the *Romans*, at first, think of taking Arms anew, yet they are appeas'd by a respectful Embassy from *Carthage*; and *Rome* continues faithful to the Treaty of Peace with her Rival, notwithstanding the Offers of the People of *Utica*, and of the Mercenaries who had seized *Sardinia*, to put that City, and that Island, into her Possession.

[About this time, *Ennius*, the famous Poet and Historian, was born, at *Rudes*. *ENNIUS* the an ancient City of *Calabria*, near *Tarentum*. He was the Inventor of Hexameter Poet born. Verses, among the *Latins*; but his *Life of Scipio Africanus*, which was his Master-piece, he wrote in *Choricks*. He is thought to have eclipsed the Poet *Nevius*, his Contemporary.]

§. 2. But tho' *Carthage* affects to pay a Deference to *Rome*, during the War with her revolted Mercenaries, yet these Submissions are all forced, and the two Republicks secretly harbour a mutual Malice to each other. *Hamilcar* having happily put an End to the Rebellion at home, (during the *Consulship* of *Tib. Sempronius* 214th *Consulship*. *Gracchus*, and *P. Valerius Falto*,) and having gained, by his Services, such an Ascendant in his Republick, as to be almost Sovereign there, turns all his Thoughts to the humbling of her imperious Rival. To this End, he forms two Schemes, both worthy of a great Genius. The first is to extend the *Carthaginian* Dominions in *Spain*, that so his Republick may always be able to raise, within her own Territories, a sufficient Number of Forces to make Head against those Multitudes of Soldiers with which *Italy* furnished the *Romans*. The second is, so to form

young *Hannibal* his Son as that he shall inherit his Valour, his Experience, and his Hatred to the *Romans*, and shall steadily pursue his Designs. *Hannibal* is now but nine Years old. Nevertheless, *Hamilcar* being upon the Point of embarking to pass the Streights, and having ordered a Sacrifice to be first offered to *Jupiter*, takes his Son by the Hand, and just as the Victim is going to be slain, leads him to the Altar, and there asks him whether he is willing to attend him in his *Spanish* Expedition. The courageous Boy not only consents to go, but adjures his Father to form him to Victory, by his Example, and to teach him the Art of Conquering. *That will I joyfully do*, replies *Hamilcar*, *and with all the Care of a Father, who loves you, if you will swear upon the Altar, to be an eternal Enemy to the Ro-*

HANNI- mans. The Child most readily complies with the Motion; and the Solemnity of
BAL takes the Ceremony, and the Sacredness of the Oath, make such an Impression upon his
an Oath to Mind, as nothing afterwards could ever efface. He now imbibes that Hatred to
be an eter- the *Romans*, which never ended, but with his Life. *Hamilcar*, by this Proceed-
nal Enemy ing, plainly discovered the chief Motive which drew him into *Spain*. We must
to the Ro- leave him there a while, forming his Son to Heroism, and return to the Affairs of
MANS. Rome.

Hamilcar
goes into
Spain.

§. 3. Those *Italic* Gauls, who were called *Boii*, having now, thro' some unac- countable Levity, thrown off the Yoke of the Republick, and joined the *Falisci* in *Hetruria*; and, on the other hand, the *Ligures*, whom *Rome* had not yet begun to subdue, being in Motion, and seeming to threaten her with an approaching War, the *Consuls* for the Year are obliged to divide their Forces. *Valerius*, who leads a *Consular* Army against the former, is vanquish'd in his first Battel with them, and loses three thousand five hundred Men. Upon the News of this Defeat, *M. Genucius Cippus*, one of the *Prætors*, is immediately dispatch'd from *Rome*, with a Reinforcement to the *Consul*. But the latter thinking this a personal Affront, and that he is strong enough alone to cope with the Enemy, notwithstanding the Blow he has received, he hastens to attack them, before *Cippus* arrives, and falls upon them with such Fury, that he kills fourteen thousand Men, and takes two thousand Prisoners. However, this Victory does not obtain him a Triumph, because he had been rash in the Attempt, and had not paid sufficient Deference to the Sentiments of the Senate and People.

§. 4. In the mean time, *Sempronius*, the other *Consul* for the Year, gains a Battel (tho' not a decisive one) against the *Ligures*; and is soon after call'd away from pursuing that War, to go and take Possession of *Sardinia*. During the short Prosperity of the *Carthaginians*, this Island, which had been formerly conquered from them by the *Romans*, had returned to its first Masters again. But now their revolted Mercenaries, driven out of *Africa*, had seized it; and being pursued thither, they invite the *Romans* to come and reassume their former Dominion over it. The scrupulous Fit of Honour is now over, and as this Island is of great Importance, and has never been yielded to the *Carthaginians* by any Treaty, the Senate think they may justly claim their Right of Conquest.

The Ro-
mans reco-
ver Sardi-
nia from the
Carthagi-
nians.

215th Con-
sulship.

Accordingly, *Sempronius* is sent away with a Fleet, for this Purpose; and he is no sooner arrived in *Sardinia*, than, by his Menaces, he obliges the *Carthaginians* to relinquish all Pretensions to the Island for ever; and not only so, but he exacts from them the Expence of his Armament, and the further Sum of twelve hundred Talents of Silver. An Extortion which contributes more than any thing to confirm *Hamilcar* in his Hatred to the *Romans*, and to render *Hannibal* inexorable in the Wars which he afterwards carried on with so much Cruelty in *Italy*.

§. 5. The new *Consuls*, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, pursue the War with the *Gauls* and *Ligures*; and while the *Consular* Armies continue united they are invincible: But the Hopes of Booty induces them to separate; and then *Fulvius* with great Difficulty preserves his Camp from being forced by the *Gauls*, whose Country, on this Side of the *Po*, he had entered. He is obliged to keep within his Intrenchments, and to act entirely on the defensive. *Cornelius* has better Success against the *Ligures*, near *Hetruria*. In one Action he kills twenty four thousand of the Enemy, and takes five thousand Prisoners.

* Vid. p. 7.

During these Wars, Preparations are made at *Rome* to celebrate the * *Secular Games*, (the Pomp and Magnificence of which are described,) *Hiero* King of *Syracuse* comes to see the Show, and brings with him two hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat, that the vast Concourse of People might not cause a Scarcity of Provisions.

216th Con-
sulship.

§. 6. But the Year of the *Secular Games* is not a Year of Tranquillity. The new *Consuls*, *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *C. Licinius Varus*, are obliged to take the Field to oppose the *Gauls*. The Confidence of their Leaders being raised by the Multitudes of Men they have assembled, and by the Expectation of a strong Reinforcement of their Countrymen from the other Side the *Alpes*, they demand the Restitution of *Ariminum* from the *Romans*. *Lentulus* and *Varus* not having their Troops complete, refer the Affair to the Senate, and clap up a Truce with the *Gauls* in the Interim, to gain time. The latter readily consent to a Cef-

§15.

§16.

§17.

Year of fation of Arms, till they are joined by the new Army under *Atys* and *Galatus*, in *ROME* full March towards them. And then this Reinforcement, which had been invited

§17. thither, not by the Nation of the *Italick Gauls*, but only by their Generals, gives Umbrage to those, whom it comes to assist. The *Italick Gauls*, jealous of their Numbers, turn their Arms against them, kill the two Generals, and put the whole Body to Flight. And thus the Enemy having defeated themselves, *Lentulus*, with one *Consular Army*, easily brings both the *Boii* and *Ligures* to Reason. §.7. In the mean time, *Varus* makes Preparations for going into the Island of *Corfica*, which, by the secret Intrigues of the *Carthaginians*, had been induced to throw off the *Roman Yoke*. The *Consul* not finding a Fleet ready to transport his whole Army, sends away a Squadron only under the Command of that *Claudius Glycias*, who had formerly been named *Dictator* in Derision. He had served, since that time, with good Reputation, in inferior Posts; but now seeing himself at the Head of a Part of a *Consular Army*, his Ambition is raised, and he fancies it will be most for his Honour to gain this Island to the Republick without Bloodshed; and therefore, without the Consent of *Consul* or Senate, makes a shameful Peace with the *Corficans*. The *Consul*, at his Arrival, disannuls the Treaty, renews the War, and *Corfica* subdues the Island by Force of Arms, As for *Claudius*, by a Decree of the Senate, *subdued*. he is delivered up to the Resentment of the *Corficans*, whom he drew, say they, into a bloody War, by a fallacious Peace. In which Sentence the Republick has likewise the further View of preventing the Reproach which might have been cast upon the *Consul*, for having made War on a People who depended on the faithful Execution of a Treaty. However, the *Corficans* have more Honour than to use any Severity to *Claudius*. They send him back to *Rome*, where he is put to Death in Prison; and then his Body being carried to the Top of the Steps called *Scale Gemonie*, on which the Bodies of the greatest Malefactors used to be exposed, it is dragged by an Iron Crook from thence to the *Tyber*, into which it is thrown.

§18. §.8. However, this Execution of *Claudius* does not satisfy the *Cor-* 217th Con-
sicans, who had been amused by a Treaty of Peace, only to give their Enemies *fulship*. the better Opportunity to subdue them by a War. They communicate their Discontent to the *Sardinians*; and *Carthage* underhand excites the latter to a Revolt, *The CAR-*
in which she at length succeeds. The *Romans* discern plainly from whence the *THAGINI-*
Blow comes; and the Senate being of Opinion, that since a Rupture with the *ANS* secretly *African Republick* seems unavoidable, the sooner War is declared the better; they excite the
make Preparations for it. *Carthage*, alarmed at the News, sends Ambassador after *SARDINI-*
Ambassador to negotiate an Accommodation; but all in vain. At length she dis- *ANS to re-*
patches to *Rome* for the same end, ten of her principal Men, among whom is one *volt*;
Hanno, a young Lord of great Spirit and Vivacity; who weary with repeated Re-
fusals, from the *Conscript Fathers*, after the lowest Submissions, and humblest In-
treaties, at length cries out with an haughty Air; If you are resolved to break the *But pacify*
Treaty, reinstate us in the Condition we were in before it was concluded. Restore us the Resent-
the Cities we possessed in Sicily. These were the Price we paid for the Peace, which ment of the
it was agreed should be perpetual. Otherwise, you have made us pay very dear for this *ROMANS*
short Interval of a Truce, which it is in your Power to break, or continue, at Discre- by an Em-
tion. Equity ought to prevail over Avarice. Would not that Trader be thought unjust, bassy.
who after he had gone from his Bargain, should keep both the Money and Merchandize
too? This Discourse fills the Senators with Confusion; and being either really
just, or affecting to appear so, they dismiss the *Carthaginian* Deputies with the
strongest Assurances of Peace. Then the *Consuls* for the Year, *G. Attilius Bulbus*,
and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, draw Lots for their Provinces. The former continues in
Italy, while the latter easily recovers *Sardinia*, and settles Peace there; but with-
out reducing it to a *Roman Province*. §.9. And now the Temple of *Janus* is *The Temple*
shut for the first time since the Reign of *Numa Pompilius*. But this Tranquillity of *JANUS*
lasts but a few Months; and in the following *Consulship* of *L. Posthumius Albinus*, *shut*.

§19. and *Sp. Carvilius*, three Armies are raised to act against the *Sardinians*, *Corficans*, 218th Con-
and *Ligures*, who have engaged themselves, by private Treaties, mutually to as- *fulship*.
sist each other. *Posthumius* succeeds against the *Ligures*; but the bad Air and Water
of *Sardinia* cause a Plague in the Army, which the *Prætor Cornelius* had transported
into that Island; and he himself is carried off by the Contagion. This Accident
might have ruined the Affairs of the *Romans* there, if *Carvilius* had not transported
his *Legions* thither from *Corfica*, which he had hastily quitted. He gains a Victory
over the *Sardinians*, and returns to *Rome* to triumph.

§.10. In this *Consulship*, the *Censors*, observing the Number of the Citizens to
be considerably lessened, and imputing it to Mens marrying only with a View to
Interest, deserting their own Wives for fear of having many Children to main-
tain, and carrying on unlawful Intrigues with other Women, they oblige all the *Anew Oath*
Citizens to swear, That they will not marry with any other View, than that of *concerning*
increasing the Subjects of the Republick. This Oath raises many Scruples, and *Marriages*.
causes

- causes many Ruptures between Husbands and Wives. Among the rest, one *Carvilius Ruga*, a considerable Man, thinks himself bound by his Oath to divorce his Wife, whom he passionately loves, because she is barren; and accordingly he puts her away, contrary to his Inclination, and marries another. Tho' Divorces were allow'd by Law at *Rome*, yet this is the first Instance of one, in five hundred and nineteen Years; such was the Virtue of the *Roman* Women, and such the Probity of the Men. And now it is, that Marriage-Contracts are first introduced, to secure Womens Portions in case of Divorces, which we shall see afterwards grow scandalously frequent, as a Corruption of Manners prevails in the Republick. A *Vestal* is at this time condemned for an Intrigue with a Slave; and it is observable, that Incontinence becomes more common in this same Year, that *Nævius* introduces on the *Latin* Stage the first regular Comedy, made after the *Greek* Manner. §. 11. The fresh Revolts of the *Sardinians* and *Ligures*, oblige the new *Consuls*, *M. Pomponius Matbo*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, surnamed *Verrucosus*, (from a Wart or Wen upon his Lip) to divide the *Roman* Forces. *Fabius* in his Infancy was called *Ovicula*, or the little Sheep, on account of his natural Sweetness of Temper and Docility; and he was even in his earliest Years remarkable for that Conduct and Behaviour, free from all Precipitation and Rashness, which so much distinguished him afterwards, and made him so serviceable to his distressed Country. It now falling to his Lot to make War with the *Ligures*, he drives them out of the flat Country, and forces them to take Shelter under the *Alpes*. §. 12. In the mean time, his Colleague *Pomponius* sails for *Sardinia*; and the *Romans* being sensible, that the frequent Revolts of the Inhabitants of this Island are owing to the Intrigues of the *Carthaginians*, they send an Embassy to *Carthage*, under Pretence of demanding certain Sums of Money, which the latter had stipulated to pay to the *Roman* Republick. The Deputies have Orders to add Threatnings of renewing the War, in case the *Carthaginian* Ships presume to touch at any Port belonging to the *Roman* State. The *Carthaginians* being flushed by the Success of *Hamilcar* in *Spain*, seem little moved by these Menaces; upon which the Deputies, according to their Instructions, present them a *Caduceus*, the Symbol of Peace, and a little Javelin, the Emblem of War; saying, *Take your Choice*. The *Carthaginian* Dictator answers, *That he is ready to take which soever they shall think fit to leave him*. This haughty Answer does not absolutely destroy the Treaties between *Rome* and *Carthage*; but it raises such mutual Distrusts, as we shall soon see break out into a Flame. As for *Pomponius*, he gains some Victories in *Sardinia*, for which a Triumph is granted him. §. 13. And now the *Romans* reform their Judicatories, and create new Judges. Two of the *Tribunes of the People*, both *Æbutii*, propose a Law, and get it passed, whereby many frivolous Customs, commanded, by the *Twelve Tables*, to be observed in Processes relating to civil Affairs, are retrenched. Besides this, three able and judicious Men are chosen out of each *Tribe*, to form a new Tribunal, which may relieve the *Prætors*, and remedy the Inconveniences often occasion'd by their Absence from *Rome*. These new Judges are called, for Brevity sake, *Centumviri*, tho' they are an hundred and five in Number; and they are divided into four Courts, or Chambers. The Causes which fall under their Cognizance, are such as relate to Prescriptions, Guardianships, Degrees of Consanguinity, Affinity, &c.* §. 14. But notwithstanding the Establishment of these Tribunals, the Direction of all State Affairs continues still in the Senate and *Comitia*. And *Flaminius*, *Tribune of the People*, makes a Motion to the Commons, at this time, to distribute a fruitful Country, lately taken from the *Gauls*, among the poor Citizens of *Rome*. All Motions of this kind had ever been opposed by the Senators, out of private Interest, and now they have indeed a further and better Reason to unite their Strength, in order to hinder the passing of this Law. They foresee, that the *Gauls*, on both Sides the *Po*, will impatiently bear such a Distribution of the Lands which have been long hereditary in their Families. But neither the Threats of the present *Consuls*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *M. Publicius Malleolus*, nor the Intreaties of the Senate, nor yet the Tears of his own Father, whom the *Patricians* have gained over to them, can prevail on *Flaminius* to desist. On the Day appointed for proposing the Law to the *Comitia*, he mounts the *Rostra*, to speak to the People in Favour of it; but while he is haranguing them with great Warmth, his Father appears, ascends the *Rostra*, takes him by the Arm, and orders him to follow him Home. *Flaminius* gives a signal Example of filial Obedience, obeys his Father without Reply; and, which is most extraordinary, not a Murmur is heard in the Assembly, who immediately disperse. *Carvilius* indeed, afterwards revived the Affair, and carried it; and old *Flaminius* was accused, for his Conduct, of High Treason against the People; while the Son was ever their Favourite. However, what the Senators had foreseen came to pass. The Resentments of the *Gauls* were so strong and general, that they kindled a War, which endangered *Rome*. §. 15. In the following Year the new *Consuls*, *M. Pomponius*

Year of
ROME
§19.

§20.

§21.

§22.

- Year of *ninus Matho*, and *C. Papirius Maso*, entirely finish the Conquest of the two Islands *ROME* of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, and they are reduced to the State of a *Roman Province*, *Sardinia*
522. upon the same Foot as *Sicily*. *Pomponius* continues to govern them in Quality of *and Corfica* *Pro-Consul*, or *Prætor*. §. 16. But *Papirius*, who had subdued *Corfica*, returns *ca made a* to *Rome*, and at his Arrival finds that a *Dictator* had been chosen to hold the *Comitia* *Roman* for electing new *Consuls*, and that he has not Interest enough to obtain a *Triumph* *Province*. from the Senate. He demands it, and is refused. This provokes him to take a Method entirely new, to do himself Honour. He puts himself at the Head of his *Papirius* Army, and marches to the Temple of *Jupiter Latialis* on the Hill of *Alba*, with *Maso*, for all the Pomp with which Victors go to the *Capitol*. He makes no Alteration in the first In- the Ceremony, except that of wearing a Crown of Myrtle instead of a Crown of *stance*, goes *Laurel*; and this is on account of his having defeated the *Corficans* in a Place where in *Trium-* was a Grove of Myrtles. This Example of *Papirius* was afterwards often followed *phal Proces-* by Generals to whom the Senate refused Triumphs. §. 17. Towards the End *sion to the* of this *Consulship*, News comes to *Rome* of the Death of *Hamilcar* in *Spain*; and *Temple of* this quiets the Apprehensions of the Republick on that Side. *Hannibal*, his Son, *Jupiter La-* is but eighteen Years of Age; and tho' his Successor *Asdrubal* inherits his Talents, *tialis*. and his Hatred to the *Romans*; yet this Disciple of *Hamilcar* does not appear near *Hamilcar* so formidable to them as the Master. So that they are wholly bent on pushing *dies in* their Conquests quite to the Foot of the *Alpes*. However, this Year produces no- *Spain, and* thing memorable. §. 18. The next Year, when *M. Æmilius Barbula*, and *is succeeded* *M. Junius Pera* are *Consuls*, the Republick is engaged in a new War out of *Italy*. by his Son- *Illyricum* properly so called, was at this time governed by a Woman, named *Teuta*, *in-law*, *As-* the Widow of King *Agron*, and Guardian to her Son *Pinæus*, under Age. The *drubal*. Success of her late Husband against the *Ætolians* had flushed her, and made her *222d Con-* confident; insomuch that she in a manner declared herself a common Enemy to *sulship*. all Nations. Her Pirates had seized many Ships belonging to the *Roman* Merchants, *The Occa-* and she was now besieging the Island of *Issa* in the *Adriatick*, the Inhabitants of *sion of the* which had put themselves under the Protection of the Republick. Upon the Com- *Romans* plaints therefore of those Merchants, and to protect the People of *Issa*, the Senate *making* send two Ambassadors to the *Illyrican* Queen, to demand of her that she will re- *War in Il-* strain her Subjects from infesting the Seas with their Piracies. She answers them *lyricum*. haughtily, *That she can only promise, that her Subjects shall not, for the future, at-* tack the *Romans* in her Name, and by publick Authority. But as for any thing more, she adds, *It is not customary with us to lay Restraints on our private Subjects, nor will we forbid them to reap those Advantages from the Sea, which it offers them. Your* Customs then, replies the younger of the Ambassadors, *are very different from ours. At Rome we make publick Examples of those private Subjects, who injure others, whether at home or abroad. Teuta, we can by our Arms force you to reform the* Abuses of your bad Government. It is easy to imagine, that such a Reply must enrage a proud imperious Woman, puffed up with Success. She causes the Ambassadors to be murdered in their Return home. Upon the News of this cruel Violation of the Law of Nations, the Senate, having first done Honour to the *Manes* of the Ambassadors, by erecting, as was usual in such Cases, Statues, three Foot high to their Memory, equip a Fleet with all Expedition to begin the War. But now *Teuta*, sensible of the Enormity of her Proceeding, sends an Embassy to *Rome*, to disown her having any Share in the Barbarity of her Subjects, and promising to deliver up the Murderers to the *Romans*. The latter are ready enough to accept this Satisfaction, being threatned with a War from the *Gauls*; but such is the Levity of this imprudent Woman, that a little new Success intoxicates her, and she not only departs from her Promise, but sends a Fleet to seize the Island of *Issa*.
524. §. 19. Upon this, the *Consuls* for the new Year, *P. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Cn. 223d Con-* *Fulvius Centumalus*, embark at different times for *Illyricum*. *Fulvius* has the Com- *sulship*. mand of the Fleet, consisting of two hundred Gallies, and *Posthumius* of the Land- Forces, which are twenty thousand Foot, and a small Body of Horse. *Fulvius* having a secret Correspondence with *Demetrius of Pharos*, the Governor of *Corcyra*, (in the *Adriatick*) which had surrendered to the *Illyricans*, comes before it with his Fleet; and immediately *Demetrius*, according to his Promise, and with the Consent of the Inhabitants puts them in Possession both of the Island and City. Nor is this all. By his Advice and Assistance the *Consuls* make themselves Masters of *Apollonia*, a great City, famous for its University, and one of the Keys of *Illyricum*, on the Side of *Macedon*. After this, the *Consuls* separate, the Fleet cruises along the Coast of the *Adriatick*, and the Land-Army marches along the Shore. The *Romans* take many Cities in their Way, but lose Abundance of Men at the Siege of *Nutria*. At length they come before *Issa*, which, by *Teuta's* Orders, notwithstanding her Losses, is still obstinately besieged. However, upon the Approach of the *Roman* Army, the *Illyricans* disperse; and soon after, twenty *Illyrican* Ships *224th Con-* laden with Spoil, fall in with the *Roman* Fleet, and are taken. §. 20. And *sulship*. now
525. Vol. III. b

- now *Sp. Carvilius*, and *Q. Fabius Verrucosus*, being raised to the *Consulate*, *Posthumius* is recalled from *Illyricum*, and refused a *Triumph*, for having been too prodigal of *Roman Blood* at the *Siege of Nutria*: But *Fulvius* is ordered to take upon him the *Command of the Land-Forces* in *Quality of Pro-Consul*. *Teuta* had founded great Hopes in the Change of the *Consuls*; but finding that *Fulvius* is continued in *Illyricum*, she retires to a City called *Rhizon*, and from thence sends an Embassy early in the Spring to *Rome*. She makes the best Excuses she can for her past Conduct, and offers to submit to any Conditions the Senate shall impose. The *Consulscript Fathers* refuse to treat with her, but they grant the young King a Peace upon hard Conditions. 1st, That he shall pay an annual Tribute to the Republick. 2^{dly}, Surrender to her a Part of his Dominions; and 3^{dly}, Never suffer above three of his Ships of War, at a time, to sail beyond *Lyffos*, a Town on the Confines of *Illyricum* and *Macedon*. By this Treaty, the *Romans* remain Masters of the Islands of *Corcyra*, *Iffa*, and *Pharos*, of the City of *Dyrrachium*, and of the Country of the *Atintanes*; and then *Teuta*, either out of Shame, or compelled by a secret Article of the Treaty, abdicates the Regency, and *Demetrius* succeeds her. After this, *Fulvius* sends Embassies of Friendship into *Achaia* and *Aetolia*, to make the Republick known there; and the Senate likewise send Ambassadors to *Athens* and *Corinth*, where they are received with great Respect, and seeming Affection.
- §. 21. But before this foreign War is well ended, the *Gauls* begin to be in Motion in *Italy*; and the Republick is not a little alarmed at the prodigious Progress of *Asdrubal* in *Spain*. He had gained more Subjects to *Carthage* by the gentle Arts of Persuasion, than *Hamilcar* by his Arms; and he had lately built *New Carthage*, (the present *Cartagena*) for a Magazine of Arms, and to receive Succours from *Africa*. The Senate think it necessary to put a stop to their Increase of Dominion; and accordingly send Deputies both to *Carthage* and to *Asdrubal*; and it is agreed, 1. That the *Carthaginians* shall not pass the *Ebro*; and 2^{dly}, That they shall leave *Saguntum* (a City between the *Ebro*, and that Part of *Spain* which belonged to *Carthage*) in Peace, and suffer her to enjoy her Liberty. §. 22. The new *Consuls*, *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*, continue in a manner inactive all their Year. [Some say, that four *Prætors* were now chosen, for the first time, two to continue in the City, one for the Government of *Sicily*, and one for that of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*; and a Law was made, at the Motion of the *Tribunes*, *Vilius* and *Titius*, That in the Provinces as well as in the City, the *Prætor* shall appoint Guardians to those Women and Children who have none. This Law was called *Vilia-Titia*.] §. 23. But the main Point now with the *Romans*, is to carry on a War successfully against the *Gauls* on both Sides the *Po*, whom the Republick seems in a good measure to dread. At this time likewise, a Prophecy, pretended to be found in the *Sybilline Books*, is spread about *Rome*, That the *Gauls* and *Greeks* shall one Day make themselves Masters of it. The present *Consuls* therefore, *M. Valerius Messala*, and *L. Apustius Fullo*, consult with the *Pontifices*, how to quiet the Apprehensions of the People; and immediately an Edict is published by the *Decemviri*, who have the Care of the *Sybilline Books*, commanding that two *Greeks*, a Man and a Woman, and two *Gauls*, a Man and a Woman, be buried alive in the Ox-Market. And by this they persuade the People, that the Prophecy is fulfilled, and that the *Gauls* and *Greeks* have taken Possession of *Rome*. §. 24. The Difficulties raised by Superstition, being thus surmounted, *Rome* makes it her whole Business to raise Divisions among the *Gauls*, whom she has provoked afresh, by this barbarous Sacrifice; and she draws over to her Party the *Cenomani* and *Veneti*, two considerable Nations among them. These she employs against the *Boii*, whom she cannot gain. The rest of this Year is spent in raising a numerous Army, which one Historian, who served in the War, says amounted to eight hundred thousand; of which, two hundred forty eight thousand Foot, and twenty six thousand six hundred Horse, were *Roman*, or *Campanian*. Nevertheless the *Gauls*, with only fifty thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse, begin the Hostilities, force themselves a Passage thro' *Hebruria*, and take the Way to *Rome*. The Republick had now promoted *L. Æmilius Papus*, and *C. Atilius Regulus*, to the *Consulship*. The latter goes to *Sardinia*, to quiet some Commotions there; while *Æmilius* takes upon him the Conduct of the War with the *Gauls*, who are now joined by the *Gefate*, from the other Side the *Alpes*, to the Number of above two hundred thousand Men, commanded by two Kings, *Concolitanus*, and *Aneroestus*. *Æmilius* being uncertain what Rout the *Gefate* will take, encamps near *Ariminum*, to hinder them from entering the *Roman Lands* by the Coasts of the *Adriatick Sea*. At the same time a *Prætor*, with a Body of fifty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, is ordered for *Hebruria*. In the mean while, the *Gefate* having left the Shore of the *Adriatick*, and crossed *Insuhria*, had joined those *Gauls* who were already in *Hebruria*, and busy in plundering the Country. They endeavour to bring the *Prætor* to a Battel; and he, being deceived by an Artifice, engages under a Disadvantage,

Year of
ROME
525.

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- Year of ROME 528. Six thousand Romans are killed upon the Spot, and the rest retiring to a Hill, and intrenching themselves upon it, are there invested by the Enemy, and in the utmost Distress. But *Æmilius* having been informed of the Approach of the *Gesate* towards Rome, had instantly left his Camp at *Ariminum*, in order to intercept the Enemy in their March. He comes seasonably to the Relief of the *Prætor*; and the *Gauls* are so alarmed at his unexpected Arrival, that they decamp in the Night, in order to return Home thro' *Insubria*, and disburthen themselves of the rich Booty they have made. In their March they keep along the Shore of the *He-trurian* Sea, and *Æmilius*, strengthening his Army with the Remains of the *Prætor's* Troops, follows close after them. His first Design is rather to harraßs, than fight them. But it luckily happens, that *Attilius* having put a speedy End to the Troubles in *Sardinia*, had, in his Return home, landed with his Army at *Pisa*, and was now marching along the Sea-shore towards Rome, not expecting to find an Enemy in his Way. He is overjoyed, when he learns by his Scouts the Situation of Things. And, in order to intercept the *Gauls*, draws up his Troops near *Telamon*, a little Port in *He-truria*, making as wide a Front as he can. With his Cavalry, he posts himself on an Eminence, over which the Enemy must necessarily pass. The *Gauls* imagine at first that this Body of Roman Horse is a Detachment from *Æmilius's* Army, and send some Squadrons of their Cavalry to attack it. As for *Æmilius*, as soon as he perceives fighting at a Distance, he concludes it is his Colleague *Attilius*, attacking the Enemy in Front; for he had been informed of his landing at *Pisa*. He immediately detaches some Squadrons to his Relief. *Attilius* is kill'd in the Engagement, and his Head, being stuck on the Top of a Lance, is carried thro' all the Files of the *Gallic* Troops. But the Death of this brave Man proves no Advantage to them. One of his Lieutenants takes his Place, and the Action is continued, as before. [The brave and skilful Defence of the *Gauls*, who are attacked in Front and Rear, is describ'd at large.] Forty thousand of them are killed upon the Spot, with *Concolitanus*, one of their Kings. The rest escape by Flight. But *Ane-roestus*, the bravest Soldier, and most experienced Commander among the *Gauls*, great Overcuts his own Throat, in Rage and Despair. §. 25. However, this terrible De-throw. feat does not make the *Gauls* submit; and the Republick casts her Eyes on two able
529. Generals, to be *Consuls* for the new Year, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. But these Great Men do not succeed to the Expectation of the Romans, nor pass the *Po*, as they designed. Their Marches are retarded by violent Rains, and a Plague infects their Army. And this latter not suffering them to return to Rome at the usual time, the famous *Cæcilius Metellus* is named *Dictator*, to hold the
530. *Comitia* in their Absence, for a new Election of *Consuls*. *C. Flaminius Nepos*, and *P. Furius Philo*, are chosen. §. 26. These Generals put the Design of their Predecessors in Execution, pass the *Po*, and enter *Insubria*; but are so terrify'd by the Appearance of the *Insubres*, that they soon repass that River, and retire into the Country of their Allies the *Cænomani*. Having rambled here for some time, they resolve to make a fresh Attempt upon *Insubria*. But it happens at this time that the Romans are much frightened by various Prodigies, in the Heavens, the Waters, and upon the Earth. Among the rest, by a Shock of an Earthquake. [This reach-ed so far, that the famous Colossus of Rhodes was overturn'd by it.] The *Augurs* are consulted upon these Phænomena, and they declare, That there must have been some Defect in the Election of the *Consuls*. Upon which, a Courier is immediately dispatch'd from the Senate, with a Letter, commanding them to return to Rome, and abdicate. The *Consuls* are now in Sight of the *Insubres*, and thinking a Retreat dangerous, resolve not to open the Letter till after the Battel; in which *Flaminius* seems to have taken the whole Command upon himself. By the * Skill and Ma- * Vid. p. 32. nagement of his *Legionary Tribunes*, rather than by his own Prudence, he gains a complete and most important Victory. After the Action, the *Consuls* open the Packet. *Furius* is for immediately obeying the Order; but *Flaminius* is for pursuing the Advantages of the Victory; which he accordingly does, and enriches his Soldiers with Booty; while his Colleague continues encamp'd, waiting to join him, when he shall return from his Incursion into *Insubria*. When the two Colleagues come back to Rome with their Armies, the People, as well as the Senate, at first shew their Resentments, by a very cold Reception: But the Troops of *Flaminius*, whom he had enriched, prevail with the People to grant both the *Consuls* a Triumph. However, the Senate obliges them to abdicate immediately after it, and the Republick falls into an *Interregnum*. [§. 27. The Character of the famous M. Claudius M. Claudk Marcellus.] §. 28. This Man, with *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, are chosen by the us Marcel- Centuries, to the Government of the Republick; and they are scarce entered upon lus.
531. their Office, when a Deputation comes to Rome, from the *Insubres*, to implore a Peace. But the Senate, at the Instigation of the new *Consuls*, who represent those *Gauls* as untractable Enemies, on whom there can be no Dependence, dismiss their Deputies with a Refusal. Upon this, they resolve to bring into Italy a fresh Inunda- tion

the Insubres tion of *Gæsatæ*, who were always ready to fight for Hire. Accordingly, thirty Year of a Peace. thousand of them pass the *Alpes*, under the Command of their King *Viridomarus*, ROME
The Gæsa- a young Warrior, beautiful, well made, and of the tallest Stature, and who was al- 531.
tæ, from ways richly drest, and wore glittering Armour. Early in the Spring the *Consuls*
Germany, pass the *Po*, and lay Siege to *Acerræ*, a Place near that River, and in the Neigh-
invade the bourhood of *Cremona*. The *Gauls* are now ninety thousand strong, yet they think
Roman it more advisable to oblige the *Romans* to raise the Siege of that Frontier Town,
Territory. by making a useful Diversion, than to hazard a Battel. *Viridomarus* therefore with
 ten thousand Men, passes the *Po*, enters the *Roman* Territories, and advances to-
 wards *Glastidium*. Upon the News of this Motion of the Enemy, *Marcellus*, fol-
 low'd by only two-thirds of the Cavalry, and about six hundred of the light-arm'd
 Infantry, leaves the Camp, and comes up with the Enemy, near the Place before-
 named. He draws up his little Army with wonderful Skill; but the *Gauls* despise
 their Enemies, seeing their Number so small; and while both Parties are preparing
 for an Engagement, *Viridomarus* advances, before his Troops, and challenges the
 Roman General to single Combat. *Marcellus* joyfully accepts the Challenge, (for
 single Combat was his Talent,) * rushes upon his Enemy, kills him, and strips him
 of his Armour. The *Gæsatæ* are disheartened by the Death of their Leader, and
 a small Handful of *Romans* puts them entirely to Flight. A memorable Action,
Gælatæ, in scarce to be parallell'd in History! §. 29. During the Absence of *Marcellus*,
single Com- his Colleague had taken *Acerræ*, and laid Siege to *Milan*; but was himself besieged
bat. by the *Gauls*, while he lay before the Town. The Return of the victorious *Consul*
 * Vid. p. 37. changes the Scene; the *Gæsatæ* retire to the *Alpes*, and *Milan* immediately surrenders
Milan and at Discretion. *Como* is reduced to the same Necessity; and thus all *Italy*, from the
Como sur- *Alpes* to the *Ionian* Sea, becomes entirely *Roman*. *Insubria* and *Liguria* are now
render to the made one Province, and call'd *Cisalpine Gaul*. An extraordinary Triumph is decreed
Romans. *Marcellus* at *Rome*; and in the Decree it is said to be for having conquer'd the *In-*
Insubria subres and Germans. This is the first time that we find the *Germans* mentioned in
and Ligu- the *Roman* Story. It seems the *Gæsatæ* were originally German, and dwelt on the
ria, made a Banks of the *Rhine*. *Marcellus*, in his Triumphal Procession, carries on his Shoul-
Roman ders a Trophy of the Spoils of *Viridomarus*; and this was the third and last Tri-
Province. umph, in which any *Opima Spolia* were seen at *Rome*. Single Combats grew out of
 231st Con- Use, after this time. §. 30. As for *Cornelius*, he is continued in the new Pro- 532.
sulship. vince, as *Pro-Consul*, to regulate the Affairs of it; and the same *Comitia* which al-
 lot him that Post, chuse *M. Minucius Rufus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio Asina*, to be the
Istria con- *Consuls* for the new Year. The Conquest of *Istria*, on the Borders of the *Adriatick*,
quer'd. is the only Exploit, during this *Consulship*. §. 31. Before the Expiration of it,
Asdrubal News comes to *Rome*, of the Death of *Asdrubal* in *Spain*, which gives the *Romans*
dies in some Concern; because he had been ever faithful to his Treaties; and they think
Spain, and they have much more to fear from the bold and enterprizing Genius of young *Han-*
is succeeded *nibal*, who succeeds him. And indeed, the first Expedition of this brave Warrior
by Hanni- increases their Apprehensions. He makes War upon the *Olcades*, a People border-
bal. ing on the *Ebro* (which River he gives Cause to think he will one Day pass, con-
 trary to the Treaty) and takes *Althea* by Assault. Several other Cities in the Neigh-
 bourhood submit to him, and he makes himself Master of the Silver Mines in this
 rich Country. After this, he spends the Winter in *New Carthage*, and applies him-
 self to gain the Affections of his Soldiers, by his Liberalities. However, as *Rome*
 has no Cause yet to declare herself his Enemy, she turns her Arms another Way.
 §. 32. *Demetrius of Pharos*, (whom the Republick had placed in the Government of
Illyricum, and Guardianship of the young King *Pineus*,) seeing the *Romans* engage-
 ed in a troublesome War with the *Gauls*, and that *Carthage* wanted only a fair Op-
 portunity to break with them, had despised their Orders, forced the *Atintanes* to
 renounce their Alliance, and sent fifty Ships of War beyond *Lyffos*, to pillage the
 232d Con- *Cyclades*. The new *Consuls*, *L. Veturius Philo*, and *C. Lutatius*, would have imme- 533.
sulship. diately set sail for *Illyricum*, if they had not been forced to abdicate, upon some De-
 feat found in their Election. They are succeeded by *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, and *M.*
Valerius Lævinus; but the Year is now too far advanced to begin the Expedition,
 so that it is postponed to the next *Consulship*. By a *Census* taken this Year, the
 Number of *Roman* Citizens fit to bear Arms appears to be two hundred seventy
 thousand, two hundred and thirteen. The *Census* is follow'd by a *Lustrum*, the
 233d Con- forty third from its Institution. §. 33. And now both the *Consuls*, *M. Livius* 534.
salinator, and *L. Aemilius Paulus*, imbark for *Illyricum*. *Demetrius* had assisted *Phi-*
The Ro- lip King of *Macedon* in his Wars with the *Achaïans*, and had thereby secured him-
mans send self a Retreat with that Prince, in case of a Disaster. He had fortified *Dimalum*,
an Army in- a City of Importance in *Illyricum*, and having assembled the choicest of his Troops
to Illyri- in the Island of *Pharos*, his own Country, held his Court there. The *Consuls* sit
cum, a- down before *Dimalum*, and by surprizing Efforts take it in seven Days; upon which,
gainst De- of all the old Allies of *Rome*, who had been compelled to submit to the Tyrant, re-
metrius turn
Pharos.

Year of turn joyfully to their former Engagements. The next Attempt is upon *Pharos*, the *ROME* last Refuge of the Traitor. The *Roman* Fleet has two *Consular* Armies on board; and one of them is ordered to land in the Island in the Night, and hide themselves in Forests, and behind Rocks, till the Signal is given. This done, a Squadron of the Fleet appears off *Pharos*, in open Day, as it were with Design to land some Forces there. *Demetrius* draws his Army out of the Town, to the Sea-shore, to hinder the Descent; and then the *Legionaries* leave their Ambush, and march silently and seize an Eminence between the City and the Port. While he endeavours to dislodge them, the *Romans* on board the Squadron have time to make their Descent; and then the *Illyricans*, being invested on all Sides, disperse and fly. The Regent, in a Bark kept ready on purpose, makes his Escape to *Macedon*. *Rome* is now a second time Mistress of *Illyricum*. However, she does not reduce it to the State of a *Roman Province*, having some Compassion for the young King, who had been embarked in these Affairs merely by the Fault of his Guardians. §. 34. The *Consuls*, at their Return to *Rome*, are accused before the *Tribes*, of having applied many of the Spoils taken from the Enemy, to their own Use; and of distributing the Booty partially among the Soldiers. *Æmilius* is acquitted; but *Salinator* is condemn'd by all the *Tribes*, except the *Tribe Mæcia*. An Affront which he resents to Excess. (When he was afterwards *Censor*, he deprived all the *Tribes*, except that one, of their Right of Suffrage.) §. 35. In this *Consulship*, *Archagathus* of *The Art of Peloponnesus* introduces Surgery into *Rome*. At first he meets with great Applause; but as his Art chiefly consists in making large Incisions, which are painful Remedies, it soon falls into Disrepute. At this time likewise, the Senate, observing that the great Concourse of Strangers from *Egypt* and the *Levant*, has introduced into the City the Worship of *Isis* and *Osiris*, to whom several Sanctuaries are already built, orders them all to be demolished, agreeably to one of the Laws of the *Twelve Tables*, forbidding the Worship of strange Gods. But such Footing has this Worship gained among the People, that no Workman will venture to be guilty of the Sacrilege. The *Consul Æmilius* therefore, full of Zeal for the Religion and Laws of his Country, lays aside his *Consular* Robe, takes a Hatchet in his Hand, and beats down those Oratories to the Ground. [§. 36. * *The Story* * Vid. p. 46. of the *Woodpecker*, which perched upon the Head of the *Prætor*, *Ælius Pœtus*, in the Forum; the Interpretation given of it by the *Augurs*, and the fulfilling of their Prediction.] §. 37. In the mean time, *Hannibal* is forming great Designs against *Rome*, and preparing to enter *Italy*. He has not yet indeed pass'd the *Ebro*, contrary to the Treaty with *Asdrubal*; but he resolves to do it, as soon as he has conquered all the Country between him and that River. The *Vaccæi*, *Olcades*, and *Carpetani*, unite in a Confederacy to oppose his Progress, and they form an Army of a hundred thousand Men; but, by his superior Skill in War, he entirely defeats them, and the whole Country submits to the Conqueror. §. 38. The Inhabitants of *Saguntum* had frequently sent Deputies to the *Romans*, to inform them of *Hannibal's* Progress. But the Republick being engaged in the *Illyrican* War, and depending too much on the Faith of Treaties, and her Superiority over the *Carthaginians*, had neglected to take any Measures to oppose the Torrent. And now, when *Hannibal* lays Siege to *Saguntum*, she is not in a Condition to relieve it, in time. However, the Senate dispatches two Ambassadors to *Hannibal*, with Orders, in case this proud *Carthaginian* General refuses to hear Reason, to go on to *Carthage*. When the Ambassadors arrive, they find *Saguntum* vigorously besieged, and as bravely defended. They are scarce landed, when *Hannibal* sends them word, that he has something else to do, than to give Audience to Ambassadors. However, they are admitted to an Audience; and then *Hannibal* tells them, in Answer to their Remonstrances, that the *Saguntins* have drawn their Misfortunes on themselves, by committing Hostilities against the Allies of the *Carthaginians*; and he bids the Deputies, if they have any Complaints to make of him, to carry them to *Carthage*. After this, he immediately sends away thither, some Friends, in whom he can confide, to prevent the Publick, in favour of his Enterprize upon *Saguntum*, which he now attacks with more Vigour than ever. The Particulars of the * Siege (which lasts six Months) are related, with the surprizing Constancy of the *Saguntins*; who, rather than submit, first burn all their richest Effects, and then, shutting themselves up in their Houses, set Fire to them, and perish, with their Wives and Children, in the Flames. * Vid. p. 49. &c.

BOOK XXVI.

- Hannibal prepares to carry the War into Italy. §. 1. **H**ANNIBAL, having resolved to carry the War into the very Heart of Italy, makes it his whole Business, during the Winter, to settle the Affairs of Spain. He appoints his Brother *Asdrubal* Governor of it, during his Absence; and in order to put him into a Condition to oppose any Descents there, on the Part of the Romans, he leaves him fifty *Quinqueremes*, four *Quadrيرهmes*, and five *Triremes*. Nor is this his only Precaution, for the Security of his Brother. That he may not be entirely at the Mercy of the *Spaniards*, he transports thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty Foot, and one thousand two hundred Horse, of the *Spanish* Troops, into *Africa*; and brings about fifteen thousand *Africans* into *Spain*; wisely providing, in this manner, for the Defence of both Countries. §. 2. In the mean while, new Consuls are chosen at *Rome*; *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Tib. Sempronius Longus*. And they are no sooner elected, than *Valerius* and *Bæbius*, the Envoys, who had been sent first to *Hannibal*, and then to *Carthage*, return to *Rome*, and give an Account of their Embassy. They report their Reception at *Carthage*, and the Division of the Carthaginian Senate into two Factions; the *Barcan*, of which *Hamilcar Barca*, the Father of *Hannibal*, had been the Head; and that of *Hanno*. That they had complained of *Hannibal's* Haughtiness, and unjust Violences; had demanded, that he should be delivered up to the Romans, to be punished according to his Deserts; and had declared, that the Romans would look on the Refusal of so just a Demand, as a publick Approbation, on the Part of the State, of the Violation of the Peace, and the Destruction of *Saguntum*. That *Hanno*, in a warm Speech, had press'd the Senate to give the Romans the Satisfaction required; but that the *Barcan* Faction, flush'd with *Hannibal's* Successes, and attach'd to him by the rich Presents he had sent them from *Spain*, had opposed this Motion, and, being more numerous had prevailed. That after a Discussion of the Affair, between the Ambassadors and a Commissioner, appointed by the Carthaginians for that purpose, in which the African Negotiator had used all the Chicanery and evasive Shifts possible, the former had renew'd their Demand before the Senate. That *Valerius*, to cut off endless Disputes, had made two Folds in his Robe, and then addressing himself to the Assembly, had said, On one Side is Peace, on the other War, chuse that which you are most inclined to. That the President of the Senate had answer'd, We chuse neither; give us which you please. And that upon *Valerius's* replying, Take then War; the *Barcan* Faction had cried out, WAR! WAR!
- §. 3. This Report of the Ambassadors, with the News of the Destruction of *Saguntum*, make lively Impressions on the Conscript Fathers; and the Consuls immediately draw Lots for their respective Provinces. *Africa* falls to *Sempronius*, and *Spain* to *Cornelius Scipio*. The former is ordered to go first to *Sicily*, to assemble all the Troops in that Country, and then to sail to *Africa*, and begin Hostilities there. *Cornelius*, on the other hand, is directed to use all possible Means to hinder *Hannibal* from leaving *Spain*, and entering *Italy*. The extraordinary Levies made by the Romans, on this Occasion, shew the Terror they are in of the approaching War. They raise six Legions, consisting of twenty four thousand Foot, and eighteen hundred Horse; and among the several Nations in *Italy*, subject to the Republick, forty four thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. And indeed, their Apprehensions were not ill grounded, considering that the Carthaginians, ever since *Hamilcar's* time, had been continually fighting, and conquering; and that the *Spaniards*, who would join them, were Men steady, even to Obstinacy. Besides, the Republick had now no General equal to *Hannibal*. He was in the Flower of his Age, and had been brought up to Arms from his Infancy, instructed by a Father who had taught him how to lay Snares for an Enemy, and surprize him. Tho' born with strong Inclinations to Pleasure, he had subdued them to a stronger Passion for Glory. He seem'd scarce to remember that he had a Body. Hunger, Thirst, Watchings, Change of Seasons, and of Climates, very little affected him. He was ready to endure every thing, provided he could gain his Point. He ever conform'd himself to the present State of Affairs; and acted many different Parts, as Occasion requir'd. He was sometimes sweet-temper'd, and mild; at others, cruel and passionate, even to Fury; but always had an Eye to his Interest, which made him thus inconsistent. Young as he was, he had the Experience of several Years Command of an Army; for *Asdrubal*, being himself no great Warrior, had committed to him the Conduct of all dangerous Enterprizes. So that no General had had more Exercise than he; nor were any Troops better disciplin'd than his. *Cornelius Scipio*, as has been before observed, was the General appointed to oppose his Progress. Two Legions, consisting each of four thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, with fourteen thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse of the Allies, were the Troops

Year of put under his Command; and these he was to transport on board a Fleet of sixty
 ROME *Quinqueremes*, to *Transalpine Gaul*, along the Coasts of *Liguria*. It was indeed but
 535. a moderate Army, for such an Undertaking; but then two *Legions* more, with four-
 teen thousand Foot, and sixteen hundred Horse, were left in *Italy*, under the Com-
 mand of the *Prætor L. Manlius*, to keep *Cisalpine Gaul* quiet. As for the *Consul*
Sempronius, who was designed for *Africa*, his Army consisted of two *Legions*, six-
 teen thousand Foot of the Allies, and eighteen hundred Horse; and it was put
 on board a Fleet of an hundred and sixty Gallies, and twenty light Boats.
 §. 4. Before the Arrival of *Sempronius* in *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* had sent out a
 little Fleet of twenty Sail to plunder the Coasts of *Italy*. These Ships had been
 dispersed by a Storm; and King *Hiero* happening at that time to be at *Messana*
 with his Fleet, had sent out, and taken some of them. He had been informed by
 the Prisoners, that *Carthage* had equipped another Fleet of thirty five Gallies,
 with Design to surprize and reconquer *Lilybæum*. Of this he gave notice to *Æmi-*
lius, *Prætor* of *Sicily*, and sailed away himself with his Fleet to defend the threat-
 ned City. When the *Carthaginians* arrive off *Lilybæum*, they perceive that their
 Design is discovered, and therefore don't attempt to enter the Port, but retiring
 to some Distance from it, draw up in Line of Battel. The *Romans* and *Syracusans* The Ro-
 accept the Challenge, and in the Engagement take seven of the Enemy's Ships, mans defeat
 with seventeen thousand Prisoners. After this, *Hiero* returns to *Messana*, where he the Cartha-
 finds *Sempronius* arrived. He renews the Assurances of his Affection to *Rome*, clothes ginians at
 the *Legionaries*, and Ships Crews at his own Expence, and furnishes the whole Sea, near
 Army with Corn. §. 5. And now *Sempronius* forms a Design upon the Island Lilybæum.
 of *Melita*, (or *Malta*.) He sails from *Lilybæum*, and no sooner appears before it, The Consul
 but the *Carthaginian* Governor surrenders up to him the Island, City, and Garrison. Semproni-
 In the mean time, the *Carthaginians* come with their Fleets on the Coast of *Italy*, us seizes the
 and ravage a Part of *Calabria*. *Sempronius* is preparing to drive them from thence, Island of
 when he receives News, that *Hannibal* has passed the *Alpes*, and at the same time, Malta.
 an Order, to return into *Italy*. He leaves the *Prætor Æmilius* in *Sicily*, and going
 aboard his Fleet, enters the *Adriatick*, with a Design to land at *Ariminum*. §. 6. Han- Hannibal
nibal being authorized to act against the *Romans* as he thought fit, did not wait begins his
 for their coming to attack him in *Spain*; but resolved to attack them in the very March
 Heart of their Dominions. He tarried only for the Answers of the *Italic Gauls*, from Spain.
 to whom he had sent Emissaries, to solicit them to shake off the *Roman Yoke*;
 and he no sooner received Assurances of their earnest Desires to see him in *Italy*,
 but he applied himself wholly to the Preparations for his March. He first took
 a Journey to *Gades*, to offer Sacrifices to *Hercules*, under whose Protection he put
 himself. Then he assembled his Troops, harangued them with great Applause, and
 upon a Muster, found their Numbers to be ninety thousand Foot, and twelve thou-
 sand Horse. However, by the Desertion of some of his Troops, (who did not care
 to leave *Spain*) by his dismissing others, and by several Detachments he made, for
 the Security of new conquered Provinces in that Country, his Army, when he
 crossed the *Pyrenees*, was no more than fifty thousand Foot, and nine thousand
 Horse. §. 7. *Hannibal* had scarce passed the *Ebro*, when it was reported in He crosses
Italy, that he had passed the *Alpes*; and the *Boii* began to move. The *Insu- the Pyre-*
res joined them in the Revolt; and this roused the *Prætor Manlius*, whom the *Consul* nees with
Scipio had left with two *Legions*, to keep *Cisalpine Gaul* in Subjection. He marched 50000 Foot
 to relieve *Mutina*, which was besieged by the Rebels; but they surprized him by and 9000
 an Ambush, and he with great Difficulty escaped himself, having lost a great Num- Horse.
 ber of his *Legionaries*. He retired to *Tanetum*, and was there invested by the *Boii*.
 However, the latter, upon the Approach of another *Roman Prætor*, sent from *Rome*
 with an Army to relieve him, raised the Sieges both of *Tanetum* and *Mutina*, and
 dispersed themselves about the Country. §. 8. In the mean time, the *Consul*
Cornelius Scipio had sailed from *Pisa*, coasted along *Liguria*, and landed at that Mouth
 of the *Rhone* which is nearest *Marseilles*. His Design was to wait there for *Han-*
nibal, and give him Battel, before he could attempt to cross the *Alpes*. He ima-
 gined him to be yet a great Way off: but the expeditious *Carthaginian* was actu-
 ally encamped on the Banks of the *Rhone*, and contriving Means to pass that rapid
 Stream. The *Gauls* on his Side of the River favoured him through Fear; but
 those on the other Side, being jealous of so powerful an Army, prepared to oppose
 his Passage, and guard their Country. *Scipio* knew nothing of this; otherwise he
 might probably, by a few Days marching, have saved *Italy*, and made the *Rhone*
 the Boundary of *Hannibal's* Incurfions. The *Carthaginian* suspected, that a *Consular*
 Army was not far off; and being obliged therefore, without Delay, to pass the
 River (which was no where fordable) in view of the Enemy, he had recourse to
 Stratagem. He ordered *Hanno*, the Son of *Bomilcar*, with a Detachment, to march
 up along the River, and cross it out of Sight of the Enemy's Camp, and by making
 a Tour to get behind them, and lie in Ambush. As soon as *Hanno* had executed
 his

Hannibal
crosses the
Rhône.

Hannibal
passes the
Alpes.
* Vide p.
66, 67.

He enters
Insubria
with 20000
Foot and
6000 Horse.

He takes
Turin in
Piedmont.

* Vide p. 69.

his Commission, he gave the Signal agreed upon, and immediately *Hannibal* prepared to pass the River. He put his Cavalry aboard some Barks, which the *Gauls* on his Side had furnished him with, and their Horses, tied four and four, swam at the Tails of the Boats. The Infantry, under Shelter of these Barks, passed in small Canoes, made only of hollowed Trees. When the Enemy prepared to oppose his landing, they found themselves on a sudden attacked in the Rear by *Hanno's* Detachment, who had taken their Camp; and then they immediately gave ground, dispersed themselves, and every Man made the best of his Way to his own Village. *Hannibal* having thus transported his Troops, found Means likewise, with some Difficulty, to bring over his Elephants; and tho' some of them were so unruly, that they tumbled into the River, which was above their Depth, yet they were not drowned. They breathed through their Trunks, which they kept above Water, and came safe to Shore. §. 9. The *Carthaginian* General, having passed the *Rhône*, was in some doubt, whether he should attack *Scipio*, of whose landing he had notice, or march strait for *Italy*; and the Deputies from *Cisalpine Gaul* determined him, by their Advice, to lead his Army over the Mountains entire, and to run no Hazard of weakening, or rendering it contemptible by a Disaster. *Hannibal* therefore, to avoid being stopped by *Scipio*, marched up the River, and encamped just at the Conflux of the *Rhône* and *Saône*. Here he found two Brothers disputing for a Kingdom, and the Nation engaged in a civil War. The two Armies were just ready to give Battel when he arrived. At the Request of the elder Brother, he joined him against the younger, and drove him out of the Country. *Hannibal* foresaw that it would be of Advantage to him to have the Friendship of a Prince, whose Country bordered upon the *Alpes*. And indeed the latter immediately expressed his Gratitude, by furnishing the *Carthaginians*, who were in a tattered Condition, and most of them barefoot, with what was necessary to guard them against the Snows and Ice of the *Alpes*, and with other Provisions. After this, they continued their March towards the Head of the *Rhône*, and in ten Days arrived at the Foot of the *Alpes*, on the extreme Parts of the Territory of the *Allobroges*. §. 10. It is hard to say, over what Part of the *Alpes* *Hannibal* forced his Passage; but he was nine Days getting to the Top of the Mountain, and had incredible * Difficulties to struggle with, not only from the Nature of the Ground, but the Opposition of the People of the Country. It was now about the middle of *November*, the *Carthaginians* having been five Months coming from the *Pyrenees* to this Place. The Snow was already fallen in great Plenty on the Tops of the *Alpes*; and this Sight terrified the *Africans* and *Spaniards*, who were likewise much affected with the Cold. In order to encourage them, *Hannibal* led them to the Top of the highest Rock on the Side of *Italy*, and thence gave them a View of the large and fruitful Plains of *Insubria*. Those, said he, are to be the Scenes of your Glory, and the Fruits of your Conquests. You have not climbed the *Alpes*, you have scaled the Walls of *Rome*. You have already made Lodgments on her Ramparts. The rest will be but Sport. The *Gauls*, whose vast Countries you see, are ready to join you, and then we will not spare the rich and famous *Capitol*. The Army, after two Days Rest on the Summits of the Mountain, begin to descend it, and they were six Days before they reached the Bottom. The * Difficulties they met with in going down, were equal to those they had found in the Ascent; deep Snows, Mountains of Ice, craggy Rocks, and frightful Precipices. However, *Hannibal* at length gained *Insubria*, and notwithstanding his many Disasters, by the Way, entered it with all the Boldness, with which his Hatred to *Rome*, and his Love of Glory, inspired him. Of the fifty thousand Foot, with which he had left *Spain*, he had now but twelve thousand *Carthaginians*, and eight thousand *Spaniards*; and his twelve thousand Horse were almost reduced to six thousand. §. 11. His first Care is to refresh his Troops, who look like so many Skeletons newly raised from the Dead, or Savages born in a Desert. However, he does not suffer them to languish long in Idleness. To gain the Friendship of the *Insubres*, he joins them against the *Piedmontese*, with whom they are at War, and after three Days Siege takes *Turin*, their Capital. While *Hannibal* is thus employed, *Scipio*, who had left *Transalpine Gaul*, lands at *Pisa*: but as he had given the best Part of his Troops to his Brother *Cn. Scipio*, whom he had sent into *Spain* against *Asdrubal*, he puts himself at the Head of that Army which the *Prætor Manlius* had so unfortunately led against the *Boii*, passes the *Po*, and encamps on the Banks of the *Ticin*, which discharges itself into that River. When the two Armies are so near each other, that an Action must soon ensue, §. 12. *Scipio* * harangues his Troops, and endeavours to raise in them a Contempt of their Enemies. *Hannibal*, on the other hand, employs a new kind of Eloquence, which makes strong Impressions on his *Carthaginians*. He had treated the *Allobroges*, whom he had taken Prisoners on the Mountains, with the utmost Rigour; so that they earnestly wished for Death: but now he promises signal Rewards, besides Liberty, to those of them who shall be Conquerors, if they will fight with one another, as Gladiators,

Year of Gladiators, in the Presence of his Army. There is not one of them, who does **ROME** not gladly consent to the Proposal; and the Conquered, as well as the Conquerors, think themselves happy. But the Constancy of those who die, is more admired by the *Carthaginian* Soldiers, than the Bravery or Skill of the Victors. Whilst therefore their Imagination is warm with these Objects, *Hannibal* addresses them in the following manner. *Our Fate, dear Fellow-Soldiers, is like that of the Captives, whose glorious Deaths you have admired, or whose Rewards you have envied. Italy is a vast Prison to us, from which we cannot deliver ourselves, but by Death or Victory. Before us is the Po, a River more difficult to pass than the Rhone, and behind us are the Alpes, &c. &c.* He then tells them, that the Consul's Army is only the miserable Remains of a Body of Men, whom the *Gauls* had defeated; and urges them to revenge his personal Injuries upon the *Romans*, who had demanded his Life. After this, when he comes so near the Enemy, as to be under a Necessity of giving Battel very soon, he repeats his Promises to his Soldiers, assures them that he will give every one of them Lands in Property, either in *Africa*, *Spain*, or *Italy*; and will give those who prefer Money to Land, as much as they can desire, &c. These Assurances he ratifies in Form. He takes a Flint in one Hand, and a Lamb in the other, and says; *Great Jupiter, if I do not perform my Promise, kill me, as I do this Victim, which I am going to sacrifice to thee.* At these Words he breaks the Skull of the Lamb with the Flint; and the solemn religious Ceremony much augments the Confidence of his Troops. §. 13. And now the Cavalry *Hannibal* of the two Armies come to a * Battel upon the Banks of the *Ticin*. The *Romans* defeats the are routed; and *Scipio* being wounded, is carried back to his Camp, which soon *Romans* after leaving, he repasses the *Po*, and retires to *Placentia*. §. 14. *Hannibal* the *Ticin*. crosses the River after him over a Bridge of Boats, and then dividing his Army **Vide p. 72.* into two Bodies, gives the Command of one to his Brother *Mago*, with Orders to *He crosses* march forward, while he himself stays on the Banks of the *Po*, to receive the De- *the Po.* puties from several Nations of the *Gauls*, whom his first Advantage has brought over to him. Encouraged by the Assurances they give him, of their Assistance and Fidelity, he joins his Brother, and takes the Road to *Placentia*. *Scipio* is surprized at the Expedition of the *Carthaginian*, who in two Days after passing the *Po*, is within reach of the *Roman* Entrenchments. The Consul fortifies himself in his Camp, not daring to appear in the Plain; and *Hannibal* not thinking himself strong enough to attack the Enemy's Lines, encamps some Miles from them. In the mean time, an unexpected Event doubles the Apprehensions of the *Romans*, and increases the Confidence of their Enemies. About two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, of those *Gauls* who served in the Consul's Army, take the Opportunity during the Night, when all is quiet, to enter the Tents next them, cut the Throats of the sleeping *Romans*, and then escape to *Hannibal*. However, the *Carthaginian* is too prudent to let these Traitors enter his Camp; he makes them Presents and Promises, and sends them home to their Villages, to stir up their Countrymen to declare for him. During these Transactions, the *Boii* bring to the *Carthaginian* Camp three *Roman* Commissioners, who had been appointed to settle two Colonies, and whom those *Gauls* had formerly surprized by Treachery; and they put them into the General's Hands, as a Testimony of their Adherence to him: but he has too much real or pretended Virtue, to countenance so infamous an Action. However, not to affront the *Gauls*, he leaves the Captives in their Power, that they may make use of them, (as they had at first proposed) to recover their Hostages from the *Romans*. §. 15. But now *Scipio* thinks it advisable to retire into a Country; where the Friendship of the Inhabitants is more to be depended upon; and accordingly he decamps, and passes the *Trebia*, a little River which runs into the *Po*; and he resolves not to leave this new Post, till his Wound is cured, and his Colleague *Sempronius* arrives from *Sicily*. *Hannibal*, that he may not lose Sight of the Enemy, comes and encamps within five Miles of them, on the other Side the *Trebia*. Hither great Numbers of *Gauls* flock to him from all Parts; inso-much that Provisions grow scarce in his Camp: but he soon supplies this Want, by bribing one *Dafius*, a *Brundusian* Officer, and Governor of *Clastidium*, to deliver up this Place to him. It was a little City on the Confines of *Liguria*, where the *Romans* had fixed their Magazine of Arms and Provisions; and the Traitor, for four hundred Pieces of Gold, sells it to the *Carthaginian*, who by this means transfers the Scarcity from his own Camp to the *Roman*. §. 16. Nevertheless, the Senate of *Rome* take Courage upon the Arrival of *Sempronius* there, who had landed at *Ariminum*, after a Voyage of forty Days. His Troops, upon a Review, make a fine Appearance; and beginning their March, soon reach the Camp of *Scipio*, whose Wound, by removing from one Place to another, is grown worse. *Sempronius* having refreshed his Troops, and informed himself of the Circumstances of the Action upon the *Ticin*, and of the Strength of the Enemy, soon after detaches all his Cavalry, (contrary to the Opinion of his Colleague) to pass the *Trebia*, and

Hannibal
defeats the
Romans on
the Trebia.

and attack a Party of *Numidian* and *Gallick* Horse, (which *Hannibal* had sent to Year of ravage the Country of those *Gauls*, who yet adhered to the *Romans*.) The trivial *ROME*. Advantage he gets in this first Expedition, makes him despise his Colleague, whom he accuses of Faintheartedness, even before his Face. And not only so, but being pleased with the Hopes of a complete Victory, without *Scipio's* sharing in the Honour of it, resolves to come to a pitched Battel with the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* learns his Design by some Spies, whom he sends into the *Roman* Camp; and by a Stratagem draws the *Consul* with his Army over the *Trebia* to a plain Piece of Ground, but yet not so smooth, but that he finds means to hide great Numbers of his Men in Ambush in little Hollows, and under the Banks of a winding Rivulet, which runs through it. He places eight thousand *Spaniards*, most of them of the *Baleares* Islands, armed with Slings, in his Advance-Guard. These are followed by twenty thousand Foot, *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, and *Africans*, all drawn up in one Line, to make the larger Front. His Cavalry, to the Number of ten thousand, most of them *Gauls*, are posted in the two Wings, and at the two Extremities of this main Body are ranged the Elephants in good Order, to cover the Flanks of the Army. *Sempronius's* Troops consist of eighteen thousand *Legionaries*, twenty thousand auxiliary Forces, and a Handful of *Cænomani*, the only *Gauls* who continue faithful to the *Romans*. The *Consul* draws up his Men in the usual Order, keeping the *Triarii* for a *Corps de Reserve*, and posting his Cavalry in the Wings. The light-armed Infantry on both Sides begin the Action, but they soon retire through the Spaces in the Lines of the respective Armies, and then a general Charge is given. The *Roman* Cavalry being soon routed by the superior Numbers of the Enemy, their Infantry is presently surrounded. But then Despair gives them new Courage; and *Sempronius*, with ten thousand of his brave *Legionaries*, cut their Way through the *Gauls* and *Africans*, and retire in good Order to *Placentia*. And *Scipio*, as soon as he receives News of the Defeat, prudently decamps, and joins his Colleague. *Sempronius*, to prevent a Consternation in *Rome*, sends Men thither to spread Reports, That the Violence of the Weather, and the Hardships of the Season, had prevented his gaining the Victory. But the true Situation of Affairs is soon known; That *Hannibal* is Master of the *Consul's* Camp; That all the Nations of the *Gauls* have declared for him; That the *Roman* Forces are fled to the neighbouring Colonies for Refuge; That *Scipio* is retired to *Cremona*, for fear of ruining *Placentia*, by keeping too great a Number of Soldiers there; and lastly, That the *Roman* Army has no Provisions, but what are brought by Sea, and up the *Po* in Barks. §. 17. But notwithstanding this Distress, Intrigue has a greater Share in the Election of new *Consuls*, than a due Regard to the Wants of the State. *Flaminius*, who six Years before had signalized his first *Consulship* by his Disobedience to the Orders of the Republick, and his Contempt of the Gods, and had lately been the Promoter of a Law which confined Commerce to the *Plebeians*, is now, by the Faction of the *Tribunes of the People*, raised again to the *Consulate*. The Colleague appointed him is *P. Servilius Geminus*, a Man of Honour, but of moderate Abilities in War. It falls by Lot to *Flaminius* to oppose *Hannibal*, and to the other, to command an Army in *Cisalpine Gaul*. And in the same *Comitia*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, whose Wound is not yet cured, is appointed to go to *Spain* in Quality of *Pro-Consul*. The Elections at which *Sempronius* had presided being over, and his *Consulship* not being yet expired, he returns to *Placentia*. As for *Hannibal*, he does not continue idle, but makes two several Attempts upon two Places belonging to the *Romans*. In the first he is repulsed with Loss, and is himself wounded; but he succeeds in the other; he takes *Vitturnvia*, a little City of *Insubria*, and gives it up to be plundered by his *Africans*. §. 18. In the mean time, the Senate at *Rome* provide for the next Campaign; and lest the *Carthaginians* should attempt to land Troops in *Italy*, sixty *Quinqueremes* are equipped, to guard the Coast.

Hannibal
in vain at-
tempts to
cross the
Apennines.

And now *Hannibal* begins to grow jealous of the *Cisalpine Gauls*; who, he finds, are uneasy at his residing among them; and his Apprehensions are such, that he invents the Use of false Hair, of several Colours, which he changes many times a Day, as well as his Dress, in order to disguise himself. But this Subjection does not suit his Temper, and he therefore resolves to pass over the *Apennines* into *He-*
truria. He was not apprized of the prodigious Tempests usual on those high Rocks, especially towards the End of Winter. So terrible a Hurricane overtakes him in his March; and the Wind, mix'd with Rain and Sleet, blows so violently in the Faces of his Men, that they cannot possibly advance, and are forced to halt till the Storm is over. And even when the Cloud disperses, the Wind is yet so strong that they cannot pitch their Tents, but are obliged to return to the Plain, after two Days Fatigue and Distress. Early the next Morning he marches out of his Entrenchments, with twelve thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, and draws them up in Battalia. *Sempronius* accepts the Challenge, and in the Beginning of the Action gains

Year of gains Ground; but being too much intoxicated with this Success, and being ambitious to force the Enemy's Camp, he is repulsed in his Turn, and the Loss is pretty equal on both Sides. §. 19. As *Hannibal* had only postponed his Design of entering *Hetruria*, he now enquires of those who are acquainted with the Country, which is the best Road to take. They tell him of two; the one longer, but more easy; the other shorter, but leading thro' marshy Grounds, scarce passable. The *Carthaginian* having a Taste for those dangerous Enterprizes, which are apt to raise Mens Admiration of a General, and intimidate his Enemies, chuses the latter. The River *Arnus* had overflowed, and the Inundation reached a great way. However, the *Spaniards* and *Africans*, who were inured to this Sort of Fatigue, and who marched first, went into the Water, without Hesitation; and tho' they were half way up the Leg in Mud, they kept their Ranks. The *Gauls*, who follow'd, had more Difficulty, the Way being made much worse by the Multitudes of Men, and Beasts of Burden, who went before them, and many of them were killed with the Fatigue. For, to add to the Misery, they were obliged to march thus, in Mire and Water, four Days, without sleeping, there being no dry Place where they could rest. *Hannibal* himself was not without his Share of the Inconveniences of the Journey; for tho' he rode upon the only Elephant remaining alive, his continual Watchings, and the unwholsome Qualities of the watery Air, brought such a Defluxion upon his Eyes, that he lost one of them. When he was come out of the Marshes, he encamped in *Hetruria*; and there he was informed, that immediately after his Departure *Sempronius* had left *Placentia*, marched his Army to *Lucca*, on the Confines of *Hetruria*, and had since surrender'd up the Command of it to the new Consul *Flaminius*. *He marches his Army for four Days together thro' Mire and Water, into Hetruria.*

B O O K XXVII.

§. 1. **F**LAMINIUS having obtained the Consulship by the Favour of the People, contrary to the Inclinations of the *Conscript Fathers*, is apprehensive, that when he comes to be inaugurated, the *Augurs*, influenced by his Enemies, will find some Pretence to render his Election invalid. He therefore takes a bold unprecedented Step, leaves *Rome*, without performing the usual Ceremonies of Religion, goes strait to *Ariminum*, whither he had ordered *Sempronius* to march the *Legions*, and is there invested in the Consulship. The Senators, highly incensed at this Proceeding, unanimously vote for obliging him to return to *Rome*, and perform those Ceremonies which he had despised; and they send two Deputies to him, to acquaint him with their Pleasure. But *Flaminius* pays no Regard to their Orders. At the Head of four *Legions*, he crosses the *Apennines*, and comes and encamps in *Hetruria*, under the Walls of *Aretium*. As for his Colleague *Servilius*, he enters upon his Office regularly at *Rome*, on the Day appointed, viz. The *Ides of March*; and observes all the prescribed Ceremonies of Inauguration, goes up to the *Capitol*, makes the usual Procession to the Temple of *Jupiter Latialis*, and then comes to receive the Orders of the Senate. And the People being now much terrify'd by Accounts of Prodigies, he is detained at *Rome* for some time, in order to assist at various * Expiations to appease the Gods. The Province allotted him is *Cisalpine Gaul*, where he is to make it his whole Business to amuse the *Gauls*, and cause a Diversion, by besieging their Towns. *235th Consulship. The Consul Flaminius leaves Rome, without being inaugurated. * Vid. p. 85.*

§. 2. On the other hand, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being now cured of his Wound, sails for *Spain*, to join his Brother *Cneius*, whose Success there, against *Asdrubal*, had fallen little short of *Hannibal's*, against the *Romans*, in *Italy*. He had entirely defeated *Hanno*, whom *Hannibal* had left Governour of all the conquered Countries on this Side the *Ebro*; and the News of this, and of some Advantages gained by him, raised a little the Courage of the Senate, under the present Distress at home. §. 3. The Republick, however, is very anxious about the Conduct of *Flaminius*; and the Fears of the People are increased, the nearer *Hannibal* approaches to *Rome*. The *Carthaginian* having learnt the true Character of the Consul, that he had more Presumption than true Valour, and made his Happiness depend on the Breath of the People, he doubted not but he could bring so vain a Man to a Battel, whenever he pleased. He advances towards *Aretium*, where the Consul is encamp'd, takes the Way to *Rome*, and leaves the *Roman* Camp behind him. *Flaminius* looks on this Conduct of his Enemy, as a personal Insult, and imputes the Advices of his Officers, who in a Council of War declare against hazarding a Battel, to Timorousness. He rushes out of the Council in a Rage, and gives the Signal both for marching and for fighting; and being told of an ill-foreboding Prodigy, (probably feigned on purpose to keep him in the Camp,) That the *Roman* Eagles stuck so fast in the Ground, that the Soldiers could not pull them out of it; he replies, Let them then

Hannibal
defeats the
Romans, in
the Battel
of the Lake
Thrasime-
nus.

Hannibal's
Treatment
of his Pri-
soners.

Rome in
the utmost
Consterna-
tion.

News comes
of a second
Defeat.

then make use of their Spades and Pickaxes, to dig them up. *What*, continues he to the Messenger, have you brought me new Letters from the Senate, to forbid me marching against the Enemy? *Hannibal*, by committing terrible Ravages in the Plains of *Cortona*, provokes the Consul still more to follow him; and he at length insensibly draws him into an Ambuscade. Adjoining to *Cortona*, are some pretty high Mountains, near a great Lake, formerly call'd *Thrasimenus*, (now *Lago di Perugia*.) Between these Mountains and the Lake, is a large Valley, into which there is but a very narrow Passage. *Hannibal* marches thro' the Defile, and encamps his Spanish and African Infantry in the Valley. His light-arm'd Infantry he draws up in one long Line, and posts them at the Foot of the Hills, on the left Side of the Valley; and with his Horse he lines the Hills on the right Side of it. *Flaminius*, without Reflection, and without sending Scouts before, enters the dangerous Pass. When he comes into the Valley, it is late, and he has only time to pitch his Camp, before it is dark. The Consul, not having seen any thing but *Hannibal's* Camp before him, spends the Night in great Composure; but as soon as the Romans begin to march again, at break of Day, they find themselves attack'd on a sudden, in Front, in Rear, and in Flank; and yet, by reason of a thick Fog from the Lake, cannot see their Aggressors. The Perplexity, Confusion, and Distress, of the Roman Army, is inexpressible. At length a good Number of them, considering that there was no Means to fly, and being reduced to Despair, resolve to sell their Lives dear. They rally, as it were by chance, and the Officers mixing with the Soldiers, without observing the usual Order in Battel, they fall on the Enemy with such Eagerness and Fury, that they are not sensible of an Earthquake, which at this Instant overturns many Cities and Mountains in *Italy*. The Slaughter continues for three Hours, without Interruption. At length, one *Ducarius*, an *Insubrian*, in the *Carthaginian* Troops, discovering *Flaminius*, (whom he had formerly seen laying waste his Country with Fire and Sword,) cries out, *There is the Consul, who did so much Mischief to our Cities and Fields! I will make him a Victim, to appease the Manes of my Countrymen.* At these Words, he spurs on his Horse, breaks his Way through the Romans who surround their General, and runs his Lance through his Body. *Flaminius* falls down dead; and then the Romans seem more actuated by Fear, than Despair. Some leap into the Lake, as if it were a common River, and are drowned; and others attempt to climb, by new Ways, over the Mountains. However, a Body of about six thousand of them open themselves a Way through the narrow Passes, Sword in Hand, and escape to an Eminence, from whence they retire to a Town in *Hetruria*, and there intrench themselves. *Hannibal* detaches *Maherbal* after them, with all the Cavalry, and a great Body of Infantry; and the Fugitives being destitute of Provisions, and oppress'd with Hunger, are forced to surrender to the *Carthaginian* Officer, who promises them their Lives, and Liberty. But now *Hannibal* gives the first Instance of that Faithlessness in Treaties, for which his Nation is so much reproached. He pretends that *Maherbal* had not been empower'd by him to make such a Promise. However, to act a politick Part, he divides the Captives into two Companies, one consisting of Romans only, the other of the Allies of Rome. The former are loaded with Chains; but to the latter he speaks thus: *Don't believe, my Friends, that I have cross'd so many Countries, to come and oppress all Italy. Rome is my only Object. She has rigorously subjected your Fathers to her Laws, and I am come to free you from her Yoke. Begin now to taste that Liberty which I came so far to bring you. Return to your Cantons, and there give an Account of your approaching Deliverance, and of the Sincerity of my Zeal for your Interest.* 'Twas thus that *Hannibal* endeavoured to draw off the Friends and Allies of Rome from her. The Conqueror, upon numbering the Dead, finds that he has lost only fifteen hundred Men; but that the Romans have left fifteen thousand dead upon the Spot. About ten thousand Fugitives wounded or dying, were disperfed over *Hetruria*, and making their Way to the Capital. §. 4. The *Prætor Pomponius* at Rome having received the melancholy News, and knowing that it cannot be long concealed, mounts *The Tribune of Harangues*, about Sun-set. The Assembly is exceedingly numerous, the Women, contrary to Custom, crowding thither; and the few Words the *Prætor* utters, serve to magnify the Misfortune in the Imagination of his Auditors. The Enemy, says he, have gained a terrible Victory over us. This said, he retires; and then the Shrieks and Cries of the Women, and the Dejection of the Citizens, are inexpressible. Only the Senators preserve their Steadiness, in this universal Consternation. The *Prætors* assemble them, and keep them sitting three Days together, from Sun-rising to Sun-set; and before they come to any fix'd Resolution, News is brought of a second Defeat. The Consul *Servilius*, having heard at *Ariminum* that his Collegue was just going to give Battel, had detach'd four thousand Horse to his Assistance. But this Reinforcement had come too late; the Battel was already lost. And *Hannibal* had, immediately after the Action, sent *Maherbal* with all his Squadrons, and a Body of Infantry, to fight the

Year of the Detachment. Two thousand of the *Roman* Cavalry were killed upon the Spot, *ROME* and the rest, being obliged to surrender, were treated in the same manner as the 536. Prisoners taken in the former Battel.

And now the Senate, thinking that Rules and Forms may be well neglected in such perilous Circumstances, of their own Authority name a *Dictator*, without Fabius waiting for a Nomination from the surviving *Consul*. However, they have so much Maximus, Regard to ancient Custom, as to give him the Title only of *Pro-Dictator*. The *Pro-Dictator* Person chosen is *Fabius Maximus*; a Man of Temper, who coolly consider'd the Steps his Enemy took, and made Advantage of his Faults, without running any Hazard himself. He had always thought that *Hannibal's* Fires were Fires of Straw, which would soon be extinguished, if not continually supplied with new Fuel; and in a word, he was as cool in his Conduct, as *Sempronius* and *Flaminius* had been warm and impetuous. However, the People do not suffer him to name his *General of Horse*, as was customary for *Dictators* to do. They appoint one themselves, and pitch upon *M. Minucius Rufus*, a Favourite and Partizan of the *Plebeians*, for that Post. The new *Dictator* begins the Exercise of his Office by reviving and encouraging the Worship of the Gods; which the Impiety of *Flaminius* had brought into Neglect. The *Sybilline* Books are consulted, to know the Causes of the present Calamities; and the Guardians of those Oracles declare, that the present Misfortunes are owing to the Non-performance of a Vow, which *Aulus Cornelius* had made to *Mars*; which was, to sacrifice to him all the Pigs, Lambs, Kids and Calves, which should be born in one Spring. This Vow is renew'd, and * five new * *Vid. p. 92,* ones made, each by the proper Magistrate; and then the *Romans* recover their 93. Courage. But before the *Pro-Dictator* takes the Field, he condescends to receive his Instructions from the Senate, as to the Troops that are to serve under him. They allot him the Army of *Servilius*, to which he adds two *Legions*; and he obtains Leave from the *Conscript Fathers* to appear at the Head of his Troops on Horseback; a Privilege which few of his Predecessors had enjoyed. The first Orders he gives, with a View to distress the Enemy, are to the Country People, to burn their Houses, and destroy their Farms, and then retire into Places of Safety. After this, he begins his March, and appoints *Tibur*, upon the *Anio*, to be the general Rendezvous of his Troops. *Servilius* meets him at *Ocrinum*, a City of *Umbria*, and there resigns the Command of his Army to him; and *Fabius*, that the *Consul* may not be without Employment, commissions him to have an Eye upon the Sea-Ports, and maritime Towns of *Italy*, in order to prevent the Descents of the *Carthaginians*.

§. 5. The *Pro-Dictator* regulates his March by that of *Hannibal*; who not thinking that he has yet weakened the Republick enough to besiege the Capital, passes thro' *Umbria* and *Picenum*, and falls down upon the Territory of *Adria*, a Fabius follows *Hannibal* thro' *Umbria* and *Picenum*, into *Adria*; and thence into *Apulia*: but without hazarding a Battel. Being now near the Sea, which he had not before seen, since his entering *Italy*, he takes the Opportunity of sending to *Carthage* an Account of his Progress and Success; after which, he ravages the Territories of *Asculum* and *Adria*, and crossing the Countries of the *Marrucini* and *Frentani*, enters *Apulia*. *Fabius* follows him, watching all his Motions; but the *Carthaginian* in vain endeavours to bring him to a Battel. He finds, with Concern, that he has no more *Sempronius's* or *Flaminius's*, to deal with. And indeed, the Method the *Dictator* took was the sure Way to destroy his Enemy. The *Romans* were in no Danger of wanting Men or Provisions, in their own Country; but the *Carthaginian* had no Way of subsisting, but by Pillage; and when his Men dropp'd off, he had but small Opportunities of recruiting. The two Generals were sensible of their mutual Advantages and Disadvantages; and therefore the one made it his Business to attempt every thing, the other to hazard nothing.

§. 6. But while *Fabius*, by always keeping upon Eminencies, and never making the least Motion, but with the utmost Caution and Safety, greatly distresses his Enemy; he has the continual Murmurs of his General of Horse, and of his Soldiers, to struggle with. *Minucius*, being a Favourite of the People, and ambitious of the Chief Command, makes no Scruple to accuse the *Dictator* of real Cowardice, under the Appearance of Prudence. But neither the Invectives of this seditious Man, nor the fresh Devastations of *Hannibal*, who passes over the *Apennines* into *Samnium*, can make him alter his wise Measures.

§. 7. The *Carthaginian* having ravaged *Samnium*, resolves to penetrate into *Campania*, the finest Country in the World, and at the same time the most impenetrable. On one Side it is bounded by the Sea, and on the other by high Mountains, through which there are but three Passes, and those very narrow and difficult. Three *Campanian* Troopers, who had been taken Prisoners by him, and had enlisted themselves in his Service, brought him, by their Advice, to this Resolution. But as to the taking of *Capua*, which they told him he might easily do, he doubted much of what they said in this Particular. For not one Nation or City of *Italy*, among all the Allies

of *Rome*, had yet fallen off from the Republick. However, he hoped that the *Campanians*, when they saw their Country exposed defenceless, to be pillaged, would begin to have a Dislike for the *Roman* Government; and he therefore, with great Confidence, entered it, thro' the Pass call'd *Eribanus*, not well considering how he should get out of it again. *Fabius* is surprized at the bold Attempt, but is thereby confirmed in his Resolution of not hazarding a Battel with an Enemy who begins to take desperate Measures, in which his sole Dependence is on Victory. But *Minucius* tells the Soldiers, That now is the time to fatten *Campania* with *Carthaginian* Blood; and the *Romans* are all so eager to fight, that *Fabius* is forced to speak the same Language, for fear of irritating them. He pretends to be as impatient to come to a Battel, as *Minucius*, and marches with much greater Expedition than usual. However, he still keeps at a due Distance from the Enemy, encamps always upon Eminencies, and from the Top of Mount *Massicus* quietly sees the *Carthaginian* Army destroy the Fruits and rich Harvests of the *Falernian* Fields. But at length, both his Officers and Soldiers are so provok'd that they incline to Sedition, and with Pleasure hearken to the violent Declamations of *Minucius*, against their General. Nay, they jest upon him themselves. Our General, say they, is rallied as a really the Pedagogue of Hannibal. He does nothing but follow him up and down, and Coward, by wait upon him. And *Minucius* joins in the insolent Raillery. Our Mountains, says he, are a fine Amphitheatre for us, from which we see the Gladiators below us, without any Danger to ourselves! We have indeed a noble Leader. For fear of endangering our Lives, he hides us in the Clouds. When these things are told the Dictator, he only replies, I should indeed be more cowardly than they make me, if thro' fear of idle Railleries or Reproaches, I should abandon my own Reason. It is no inglorious thing to fear, for the Safety of our Country. That Man is not fit to rule others, who shall be influenced by foolish Calumnies. For in so doing, he subjects himself and his Government to the Frenzy of those whom he ought to command. And *Fabius* continues the same Conduct the whole Summer, notwithstanding he is informed that even the Speculators at *Rome* blame his Precaution and Delays. §. 8. These very Delays oblige *Hannibal* at length to think of quitting *Campania*. For this Country abounding more with Fruits and Wine than Corn, and he having laid waste the Plains, it was impossible for him to subsist his numerous Troops there. On the other hand, *Fabius* does his utmost to keep the *Carthaginian* Army shut up in the Fields of *Falernum*; and he seizes the Passes thro' which *Hannibal* had entered them. He then returns to his Camp upon the Hills, and detaches four hundred Horse, under the Command of a young Officer, named *Hostilius Mancinus*, to watch the Movements of the *Carthaginian*, with Orders not to fight, and to keep out of sight of the Enemy. *Mancinus*, by the Artfulness of some *Numidian* Horse, being drawn away to disobey the Orders given him, is himself slain, with almost the whole Detachment. This Loss serves only to make *Fabius* the more circumspect. He marches towards *Terracina*, to hinder *Hannibal* from entering *Latium*, and when he is insulted by the Enemy in his Entrenchments, he, without hazarding a general Battel, kills eight hundred of them, and thereby more than repairs the Disadvantage he had suffer'd by the Rashness of *Mancinus*. *Hannibal* at length resolves to return into *Samnium*, by the same Pass, *Eribanus*, thro' which he had come into *Campania*. But *Fabius* having posted some Troops there, and encamping himself on Mount *Callicula*, which commands the Pass, the *Carthaginian* is for some time in great Perplexity what to do; but at last, contrives the following Stratagem, to be executed in the Night. Being encamped at the Foot of Mount *Callicula*, he orders *Asdrubal* to pick out two thousand of the strongest and nimblest Oxen; to tie Faggots of Vine-Branches, or other Wood, to their Horns, and to have them and the Herdsmen ready without the Camp. After Supper, and when all things are quiet, the Cattel are brought in good Order to the Hill, where the *Romans* are lying in Ambush. Upon a Signal given, the Wood upon the Horns of those Beasts is set on Fire, and the Herdsmen, supported by some Battalions armed with small Javelins, drive them on quietly, *Hannibal* all the time keeping his Army in a Readiness to take Advantage of the Success of his Stratagem. The *Romans*, seeing the Light of the Fires, imagine that the *Carthaginian* Army is marching by Torch-light. Nevertheless, *Fabius* keeps close in his Camp, depending on the Troops he had placed in Ambuscade. But when the Oxen, feeling the Fire on their Heads, begin to run like mad Creatures, up and down the Hills, those Soldiers, believing themselves surrounded by the Enemy, leave their Posts in haste, and climbing the Ways where they see least Light, return to the Camp. By this means *Hannibal* gets safe with his Army and Baggage thro' the Pass, and recovers the false Step he had made. He gains the Plain, and encamps near *Allife*. §. 9. *Fabius*, tho' rallied by his Soldiers, for being thus over-reach'd by the *Carthaginian*, still pursues his Point, marches directly after *Hannibal*, and encamps on the Eminencies near him. The latter, having again ravaged *Samnium*, enters *Apulia*, and the Dictator continues to follow

Year of follow him to the Territory of *Larinum*, in the Country of the *Frentani*. There *ROME* he receives a Letter from the Senate, recalling him to *Rome*, on Pretence of a solemn Sacrifice, which required his Presence. Both the People and Senate were at this time much discontented with him; and *Hannibal* himself, by artfully sparing the Lands of *Fabius*, in the general Devastation, had rendered him suspected at *Rome*, of holding a secret Correspondence with the Enemy. Infomuch that the Senate refused to send him a Sum of Money, for the Redemption of two hundred and forty seven Captives, whom *Hannibal* had released, pursuant to an Agreement between him and the *Dictator* concerning the Exchange of Prisoners. But this Ingratitude of the *Conscript Fathers* served only to heighten the Lustre of his Virtue. He directed his Son to sell a Part of his Lands, and with the Money paid the Sum stipulated.

The *Dictator*, upon his leaving the Army, advises, intreats, and by his Authority commands, his *General of Horse* not to hazard a Battel during his Absence. But *Minucius* promises nothing, being resolved beforehand not to obey; and in two Actions between Detachments from the two Armies, he gains some Advantage over the Enemy. §. 10. The News of this Success is publick at *Rome*, before *Fabius* arrives there; and the Friends of *Minucius* take Advantage of it highly to extol his Bravery and Abilities above those of the *Dictator*. *Metilius*, a Tribune of the Commons, assembles the People, and makes an Harangue to them full of Calumny, and the blackest Accusations against him. The *Dictator*, who is present, thinks it beneath him to make a Defence; but addressing himself to the Assembly, *Fabius*, says he, cannot be suspected by his Country. And then, with an Air of Grandeur and Intrepidity suitable to his Rank and Merit, he only adds these few Words. *Let us make haste, Romans, to finish the religious Ceremonies, which detain me too long from the Army. I have a refractory Man to chastise, and a Breach of military Discipline to punish. I forbid Minucius to give Battel; but he has disobeyed my Orders, and I must make an Example of him.* The whole Assembly are struck dumb with this Declaration; and the Friends of *Minucius* are much in Pain how to protect him from the Severity of a Man invested with a legal and uncontrollable Authority. *Metilius* advises to give the *General of Horse* an equal Authority with the *Pro-Dictator*; but for this it is necessary that the Motion should be seconded by another of the Tribunes; and it is some Days before the Commons can prevail on any one of the College to do it. *Fabius*, in the Interval, assists at the Sacrifice, to which he had been called, and having presided at the Election of a new Consul, (*Attilius Regulus*) in the room of *Flaminius*, leaves *Rome*, that he may not be present at the Affront which is going to be put upon him. *Terentius Varro*, a Butcher's Son, is the only one, whom *Metilius*, among all his Collegues, can find willing to promote his Fortune at the Expence of his Honour. But in short the Motion is carried, and *Minucius* is put on an equal Foot with *Fabius*. A strange Innovation in the Government of the State! But the Senate, out of some unaccountable Prejudice against *Fabius*, are mean-spirited enough to confirm it. *Minucius*, in the very first Conference he has with his Partner in Power, proposes that each should take his Turn in the Government of the whole for a Day or a Week. But *Fabius* thinks it better to save a Part of the *Roman* Forces, than expose all to the Dangers into which his Collegue would undoubtedly lead them. He chuses therefore to have the Army divided, and to command his Share separately. §. 11. However, tho' the two Generals act upon different Maxims, yet they do not encamp far from each other; *Fabius* on the Hills, and *Minucius* a little below him, almost in the Plain. *Hannibal*, by his artful Management, soon brings *Minucius* to an Engagement; and by his masterly Skill in laying Ambushes, drives him to the very Brink of total Destruction. But then *Fabius*, who had been hitherto only a Spectator of the Action, has too much Zeal for his Country to be actuated by private Resentments. He rushes down like a Torrent from his Hills, falls upon the Enemy where *Minucius* is most pressed, cuts all to pieces who oppose him, and forces *Hannibal* to sound a Retreat. And the *Carthaginian*, as he retires, is heard to say, *I had indeed beaten Minucius, but Fabius has beaten me. I always foresaw, that that Cloud which continually appeared upon the Mountains foreboded no Good to me. And totally destroyed it has at last broken upon my Head.* §. 12. *Minucius* and *Fabius* return each to his Camp; and now the *Roman* Virtue shines forth in both, in its full Lustre. The latter does not drop a Word which savours of Ostentation, or of Contempt for his Collegue; and *Minucius* does Justice both to himself and *Fabius*. Having assembled his Troops, he tells them that he has acted out of Character; That he has learnt by Experience, that he was not born to command; and That Obedience ought to be his Province. *Come then, dear Fellow-Soldiers*, adds he, *Let us go and offer our Services to the Dictator, and put ourselves again wholly under his Conduct. He alone is fit to be the Soul of so great a Body. I will call him, Father; and do you style his Soldiers, who delivered you, your Patrons. And thus, if we could not have*

Minucius
resigns his
new Autho-
rity.

The State
of Affairs
in Spain,
when P.
Scipio ar-
rives there.

the Glory of conquering the Enemy, we shall however have the greater Glory of conquering ourselves. This said, he immediately marches his *Legions* to *Fabius's* Camp, presents himself before him, makes his Acknowledgments, and resigns the Authority with which he had been entrusted. He declares, that he shall think himself happy, if the *Dictator* will continue him General of his Horse, and only requests, that none of his Officers may be degraded on account of the Dishonour brought on them by his Rashness. *Fabius* tenderly embraces him, grants him what he asks; and there is an universal Joy in the Camp. The *Dictatorship* soon after this expires. *Fabius* returns to *Rome*, and resigns the Command of the Army to the *Consuls Servilius* and *Attilius*: and these observing the same Conduct with *Fabius*, for the Remainder of their Year, *Hannibal* does not attack them. §. 13. During these Transactions, *Cneius Scipio* gains great Advantages, both by Sea and Land, against *Asdrubal* in Spain. §. 14. Ambassadors come to him from all the Nations between the *Ebro* and the *Pyrenees*, and a hundred Cities surrender to him. And to add to this, his Allies the *Celtiberians* defeat *Asdrubal* in two pitched Battels, kill five thousand of his Men, and take four thousand Prisoners. This is the State of the Roman Affairs in Spain, when *P. Scipio*, the Brother of *Cneius*, arrives there with the Character of *Pro-Consul*. §. 15. The Senate's View in carrying on the War with Vigour in this Country, was to divide the Forces of *Carthage*, who would be more jealous of her Conquests in Spain, than of those in Italy, and by sending powerful Succours to *Asdrubal*, would be less in a Condition to supply his Brother *Hannibal*. *P. Scipio* brought with him eight thousand Roman Troops, and with this additional Strength the two Brothers were not afraid to pass the *Ebro*, and penetrate into the Heart of the *Carthaginian* Provinces. They marched towards *Saguntum*, which *Hannibal* had raised from its Ashes. He had placed a good Garrison in it, under the Command of *Bostar*, a *Carthaginian*, and had assigned it for the Residence of all the young Noblemen, whom he had obliged their Parents to put into his Hands, as Pledges of their Fidelity. It was these Pledges which hindered the Spanish Lords from revolting to the Romans; and it was to set these free, that the *Scipio's* marched towards *Saguntum*. But their Design was much better executed for them by one *Abelox*, a Spanish Officer in *Bostar's* Garrison, than they could have hoped to do it by any other means. *Abelox* having an Inclination to go over to the Romans, but considering at the same time that a Defetter, how well born soever, makes but an indifferent Figure, unless he can gain himself Credit by some important Services to his new Friends, formed a Scheme to put the young Hostages into their Hands. He persuaded the easy *Bostar*, that it would be much for the *Carthaginian* Interest to oblige the Spanish Nobles by a voluntary Release of their Children; urging to him, that if the Romans should by Force or Artifice restore them to their Parents, innumerable Nations in Spain would immediately declare for them. And he offered to be himself the Guide to conduct the Hostages to their respective Countries. The inconsiderate *Carthaginian* having given his Consent to the Motion, *Abelox* stole away in the Night to the Roman Camp, and acquainted the *Pro-Consul* with what he had done; and it was agreed between them, that a Detachment of Romans should lay in Ambush the Night following, to surprize both the Youths and their Leader. The Project was happily executed; and *Scipio*, by sending back the Hostages to their Relations, secured such an Interest in the Country, that he was now stronger than the *Carthaginians* there. §. 16. The News of these Prosperities in Spain was brought to *Rome*, while *Hannibal* was in his Winter Quarters near *Geranium*; where he suffered so many Inconveniencies by Scarcity, and otherwise, that he had already resolved to return into *Cisalpine Gaul*, in case he found the next Year's *Consuls* determined to follow the prudent and deliberate Measures of *Fabius*. And now *Rome*, notwithstanding the Blows she had lately received, shews foreign Nations that she is still the same, and that a transient Storm has not diminished her Grandeur. She sends to *Pinaus*, King of *Illyricum*, for the annual Tribute he had engaged to pay to the Republick; and she likewise sends Ambassadors to *Philip of Macedon*, to demand of him to deliver up the treacherous *Demetrius*, who had taken Refuge in his Country. And at the same time, to let the World see that her Finances are not exhausted, she dedicates great Sums to religious Uses, and orders a Temple, which the *Prætor Manlius* had formerly vowed, to be built to Concord.

Year of
ROME
536.

B O O K XXVIII.

Year of §. 1. **T**HE time for a new Election of *Consuls* drawing on, and the present
 ROME *Consuls, Servilius* and *Attilius*, not thinking it safe to leave the Army,
 536. one of them, at the Desire of the Senate, nominates a *Dictator* to hold the *Comitia*.
L. Veturius Philo is the Person pitched upon, a Man much attached to the In- L. Veturius
 terests of the People. And it is probably for this Reason, that the Senators make Philo, Dic-
 the *Augurs* find some Defect, with regard to Religion, in his Nomination. After tator.
 fourteen Days Exercise of his Office, he is forced to abdicate, and give place to
 an *Interregnum*. *Cornelius Asina*, one of the *Interreges*, convenes the *Centuries*; Interreg-
 and then among the Candidates for the *Consulship* appears *Terentius Varro*, who has num.
 scarce any thing to recommend him, but his violent Declamations against the *Pa-*
tricians, and his extravagant Fury against the Great *Fabius*. From a Butcher he
 had first become an Orator, then a *Tribune of the People*, and now he aspires to be
 General of the *Roman Armies*, that he may cope with *Hannibal*. The *Patricians*,
 as the most effectual Way to disappoint his Hopes, set up such Competitors against
 him, both out of their own Body, and from among the *Plebeians*, as mult by
 their Birth and Merit strongly prejudice the People in their Favour. But *Varro*
 happens to have a Relation named *Bæbius Herennius*, among the *Tribunes of the*
Commons. This Man, bold and eloquent, had before the holding of the *Comitia*
 harangued the People, and inveighed bitterly against the Nobility. He had told
 them, That it was the *Patricians* who had brought *Hannibal* into Italy, and who had
 kept him there; and that the *Carthaginian* would never be routed and conquered, till a
 true *Plebeian*, (not such a one as was only *Plebeian* by *Extraction*, and by being digni-
 fied, and ranked among the Nobility, had imbibed the *Patrician Spirit*, but a new Man,
 537. not infected with their *Maxims*) was at the Head of the *Roman Armies*. The Peo- 236th Con-
 ple, full of these Impressions, go to the *Campus Martius*; and the first Man they sulship.
 name for *Consul* is *Terentius Varro*. A whole Day is spent in his Election; and
 then the Nobility, despairing of the Success of those they had first proposed, pitch
 upon *Æmilius Paulus*, an irreconcilable Enemy of the *Commons* (on account of
 the Affront they had formerly put upon him after his Victories in *Illyricum*) to be
Varro's Colleague, and by surprizing Efforts, they get him chosen in the next As-
 sembly. As to the other Offices, they are bestowed with great Judgment. *Ser-*
vilius and *Attilius* are continued, in Quality of *Pro-Consuls*, at the Head of the
 Armies they at present command; but they are to act under the Direction of the
 new *Consuls*. *P. Scipio* is continued *Pro-Consul* in *Spain*; *Claudius Marcellus* is ap-
 pointed *Prætor* in *Sicily*; *Posthumius Albinus* in *Cisalpine Gaul*, &c. * §. 2. That * Vide p.
Terentius may be sure of conquering *Hannibal*, eight new *Legions* are raised, con- 115.
 sisting each of five thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse; and the Allies are
 ordered to furnish the Republick with double their Contingents both of Horse and
 Foot. And now tho' the Treasure of the Republick is exhausted, she is too proud to
 receive any Presents from her Dependents in *Italy*; but she readily accepts a very
 rich one from good King *Hiero*. He sends the *Romans* from *Syracuse* a Statue of
 a *Victory* of massy Gold, and of great Weight, seventy five thousand Bushels of
 Wheat, and fifty thousand Bushels of Barley. To this Present *Hiero* adds his
 wholesome Advice to the Senate, to send out a Fleet with some Land-Forces, to
 make a Descent upon *Africa*. *Rome*, touched with the Affection shewn her by the
Sicilian King, sends him this grateful Answer by a Letter. You have ever been a The Senate's
 constant and generous Friend. No Change of Times has altered your Affection and Li- Letter to
 berality towards us. We with Pleasure received the Victory from your Hands. It King Hie-
 is a Pledge of your Friendship which we will carefully preserve: And in order to pre- ro.
 vent her ever leaving us, we will shut her up in the strongest Place in *Rome*. We will
 place her on the Capitol our Citadel, and even in the Temple of *Jupiter*. The Gods
 grant, that she may be as faithful and friendly to Us as You. And in pursuit of the
 King's Advice, the Republick sends a Reinforcement of twenty five *Quinqueremes*
 to *Otacilius* the *Prætor* in *Sicily*, (for *Marcellus* is not yet arrived there) with Or-
 ders to carry the War into *Africa*, if he thought proper. §. 3. The Winter
 being spent in these Preparations, the *Consuls* prepare to take the Field, and they
 begin by requiring of the Soldiers, besides the usual military Oath, this new one,
 That they will repair to the general Rendezvous, and not stir from their respective Le- The Con-
 gions without Leave. The *Roman Soldiers* were used voluntarily to make this Pro- suls require
 mise among themselves, but now it is necessary and forced. A seeming Mark of a new Oath
 Diffidence in their Generals. The *Consuls*, before they leave the City, harangue the from their
 People as usual. *Terentius* makes several Discourses to them, and always inveighs Soldiers.
 against the Nobility and *Fabius*. It is through the Artifice of the *Patricians*, says he,
 Vol. III. f that

that Hannibal has brought the War among us ; and it will never leave us so long as our Troops are commanded by dilatory Generals. As for me, I will fall upon the Enemy the very first Day I come up with them, and will at one Stroke crush the Head of the African Dragon. *Æmilius*, who does not speak to them till the Day before his Departure, is more modest, and more reasonable. He expresses his Surprize how his Colleague could be able to fix the Day of Battel, without being upon the Spot, and considering the Circumstances of Things. As for himself, he declares, That he shall regulate his Conduct by the Countenance of the Enemy, the Situations of Places, and the present Advantages : and in short, he lets them know, that he intends to follow *Fabius's* Steps, and act with the utmost Caution. [*Livy* tells us, that *Fabius* was much pleased with this Declaration, and had a long * Conference with *Æmilius*, to confirm him in his Resolution. But as no other Historian mentions this Conference, it is probably nothing but a Fiction, with which that florid Writer thought fit to embellish his Narration.] §. 4. When the *Consuls* arrive at the Camp, they find Affairs in a good Condition. *Servilius* and *Attilius* had avoided a general Action, and in some Skirmishes had gained the Advantage. The whole Number of the *Roman* Troops amount to no less than eighty seven thousand Men. The Spring is now advanced ; and *Hannibal* having scarce ten Days Provisions left in his Quarters at *Geronium*, is obliged to send out Parties to pillage. Some of these are met by a great Body of the *Consular* Troops, who kill seventeen hundred of them. But it being *Æmilius's* Day, he restrains his Men from following the Fugitives too far, for fear of an Ambuscade ; at which his Colleague murmurs. As for *Hannibal*, he hopes that this Loss, which he has suffered, will serve for a Bait to draw *Terentius* into a Snare ; and accordingly he lays one for him. He orders his Soldiers to decamp, leaving all their valuable things behind them, and carrying nothing with them but their Arms. He posts his Infantry, ready formed, behind the Hills to the Left, and the Cavalry behind the Eminencies to the Right, intending to fall upon the *Romans* as soon as he sees them busy in pillaging his deserted Camp. And the better to deceive, he leaves great Fires burning in his Camp, as if he designed thereby to conceal his Flight. The avaricious Soldiers of the *Roman* Army are so greedy to seize the Booty, that tho' *M. Statilius*, (who with two Horsemen had been sent out to reconnoitre, and had entered the Enemy's Lines, reports, That there are no Fires there except towards the *Romans* ; That the Soldiers have left their Clothes behind them ; and That Money seems to have been designedly scattered about the Camp, to quicken the Avarice of Pillagers ; yet they loudly and tumultuously demand to be led to the Spoil, and threaten to march without their Officers, if they refuse to conduct them. *Terentius* therefore complies, and sounds a March ; so that *Æmilius* has no Way left, but to have recourse to the *Augurs*. But these declaring, that the Chickens forebode no Good, the rash *Consul*, and his covetous Troops, are thereby restrained ; and the Cheat is soon after discovered.

* Vide p. 117.

Hannibal's Stratagem to surprize T. Varro.

But now the Scarcity of Provisions daily increasing in *Hannibal's* Army, and his Soldiers beginning to mutiny (for the first time) for Want of Bread and their Pay, he resolves to leave *Samnium*, and to penetrate into the Heart of *Apulia*. He decamps in the Night, and by leaving Fires burning, and Tents standing in his Camp, makes the *Romans* believe for some time, that his real Retreat is a feigned Flight. When the Truth is discovered, *Æmilius* is against following the Enemy ; but *Terentius* is obstinately bent on pursuing them, in which he is backed by no body in the Council of War, but the *Pro-Consul*, *Servilius*. §. 5. *Cannæ*, till this time, was an obscure City in *Apulia*. It stood on the Banks of the *Aufidus* in a vast Plain, and was only five Miles from *Canusium*, and six from the *Adriatick* Sea. Here *Hannibal* halts, not only because he finds a Magazine of Corn, but because he thinks the open Country about it an excellent Situation for a Battel. (For he was invincible wherever his Cavalry had room to act.) The *Consuls* being divided in Opinion about fighting, Courier after Courier is sent to *Rome*, and even *Æmilius* goes thither himself to receive the Orders of the Senate. The *Conscript Fathers* judge it necessary to fight the Enemy, but they advise *Terentius* not to do it yet. In the mean time, the skilful *Carthaginian* takes his Post on the Banks of the River, and disposes all things as if he was just coming to a Battel. His Troops have the Sun behind them at Noon ; and the *Romans* must be exposed not only to the Inconvenience of too strong a Light, but to that of great Clouds of Dust, which the South-West Wind would blow in their Faces. As for the *Consuls*, they are no sooner within reach of *Cannæ*, but a Dispute arises between them, whether to encamp in an open Place, or upon a more hilly Ground. *Æmilius* is for the latter, and it being his Turn to command, he refuses to advance into the Plain. But *Terentius* the next Day marches forward into it, and brings the Army into such a Situation, that when *Æmilius* is desirous, the following Day, to retire, he finds that it is not safe. He fortifies therefore two Camps, the greater on the West-Side of the River,

A Dispute between T. Varro and Æmilius Paulus about encamping.

Year of River, and the lesser on the East, and makes a Communication by a Bridge. And *ROME* now there is no longer the least Harmony between the *Consuls*. Each of them has his different Maxims; and each succeeding Day destroys the Projects of the preceding one.

When *Hannibal* perceives that the *Romans* cannot long avoid a general Action, he harangues his Troops, and the next Morning draws them up in Battalia, bids the Enemy Defiance, and insults them with some of his *Numidian* Horse. *Æmilius*, unmoved by this, keeps close in his Entrenchments; but *Terentius*, transported with Rage, resolves to give Battel as soon as it is his Turn to command. Accordingly, the next Morning, by break of Day, he marches his Troops into the great Plain, where the little Camp is pitch'd. He draws them up after the old Roman Manner; the *Hastati* in the first Line, the *Principes* in the second, and the *Triarii* in the third. The Cavalry are posted in the Wings. To the Right, the Roman Knights flank the *Legionaries*; to the Left, the Cavalry of the Allies cover their own Infantry. The two *Consuls* command the two Wings; *Æmilius* the right, and *Terentius* the left: And the *Pro-Consuls*, *Servilius* and *Attilius*, have the Conduct of the main Body.

Hannibal's Army consists of no more than fifty thousand Men in all; but he depends greatly on his ten thousand Horse; his *Gallic* and *Spanish* Cavalry he posts in his left Wing, to face the *Roman Knights*; and his *Numidian* Horse in his right, against the Cavalry of the Allies of *Rome*. His Infantry are disposed as follows. He divides the *African* Battalions into two Bodies, one of which is posted near the *Gallick* and *Spanish* Horse, the other near the *Numidian*. Between these two Bodies are posted, on one Side the *Spanish* Battalions, and on the other the *Gallic*, and they are drawn up in such a Manner, as to form a kind of obtuse Triangle, of which the *Saliant Angle* is towards the Enemy. Behind this first Line, he draws up a second, which has no Projection. *Asdrubal* commands the left Wing, *Mabarbal* the right; and *Hannibal* himself, with his Brother *Mago*, leads up the main Body. §. 6. [The * Battel of Cannæ is related at large.] After a Skirmish between the light-armed Troops, the *Roman Knights* come to an Engagement with the *Spanish* and *Gallic* Cavalry; the former are routed, and then the Infantry on both Sides enter upon Action. The *Saliant Angle* of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* is easily repulsed, and gives way, as *Hannibal* had design'd it should. By degrees they change their triangular Form, and fall into a strait Line; and the *Romans* following them, in their Retreat, with too much Ardour, are insensibly brought between the two Bodies of *African* Infantry; so that, by this Management of the able *Carthaginian*, the more numerous Army is surrounded by the less numerous. *Æmilius*, tho' wounded in the first Onset, yet seeing the Distress of the *Roman* main Body, puts himself at the Head of the *Legionaries*, and acts the Part both of an Officer, and brave Soldier. As for *Terentius* and his Cavalry, in the left Wing, they are afraid of the *Numidian* Horse, and act but faintly against them. Five hundred of the latter, with Swords hid under their Cloaths, according to *Hannibal's* Directions, pretend to desert to the Enemy, before whom they present themselves, and lay down their Arms and Bucklers. And the *Romans*, thinking them really disarm'd, place them behind the Lines. Towards the Close of the Battel, these pretended Deserters fall upon the *Roman* Battalions in the Rear, and help to compleat their Destruction. *Æmilius* being found by one *Lentulus*, a *Tribune*, desperately wounded, and sitting on a Stone, the latter offers him his Horse to fly; but the *Consul* bids him make use of it himself, give the Senate Notice to guard and fortify *Rome*, and tell *Fabius* that he had follow'd his Advice to the last. After this, he receives fresh Wounds from the Enemy, who don't know him, and expires. In this bloody Action, forty five thousand *Romans* are kill'd upon the Spot, besides the *Consul* *Æmilius*, the two *Pro-Consuls*, *Servilius* and *Attilius*, two *Military Questors*, twenty nine *Legionary Tribunes*, and four-score Senators, or Magistrates who had a Right of voting in the Senate, and who had serv'd as Volunteers. *Minucius*, the late *General of Horse* to *Fabius*, is slain. As for *Terentius*, he escapes to *Venusia*, attended only by seventy Horse. About seventeen thousand of the right Wing had fled to the two Camps, ten thousand to the great Camp, and seven thousand to the little one. The former having lost their Officers, and expecting to be invested the next Day, send to the latter to come and join them; that so they may march away together in the Night, and take Refuge in *Canusium*, a strong City not far off. But it is with great Difficulty that *Sempronius Tuditanus*, a *Legionary Tribune*, can prevail with any of those in the little Camp to hearken to this Proposal, fearing to be intercepted by the Enemy, in passing from one Camp to the other. However, at length the bravest of them draw themselves up into a Wedge, force their Way to the great Camp, and there joining their Fellow-Soldiers, march away before Day, and arrive safe at *Canusium*. §. 7. The next Day, upon surveying the Field of Battel, *Hannibal* finds that his Loss amounts to no more than four thousand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Africans* and *Spaniards*.

* Vide p. 124.

Spaniards, and about two hundred Horse. *Maharbal* presses him to march strait Year of
to *Rome*, and besiege it; and when the General answers, that *It is an Affair of Im- ROME*
portance, which must be deliberately weigh'd; the other replies, *Every Man, my Lord,*
has his Talents; *Hannibal knows how to Conquer, but he knows not how to make Ad-*
vantage of his Victories. [Many among the Ancients have reproach'd the *Cartha-*
ginian with the same Fault; but whether justly or not, may very well be a Question.
The Advantages he had gained, were chiefly owing to the Superiority of his Ca-
valry, who could be of no Use in a Siege. The *Roman* Infantry were not inferior
to his, and they would be invincible behind Walls. Besides, no Nation or City
in *Italy* had yet declared for him, and he might judge it necessary, and not without
Reason, to gain over or conquer some of them, before he attempted the Siege of
Rome.]

§. 8. Among those *Romans* who had fled to *Canusium*, were four *Le-*
gionary Tribunes. Of these the Soldiers chuse two, to be their Chief Commanders,
Appius Claudius Pulcher, and young *Scipio*, the Son of the *Pro-Consul* in *Spain*.
Whilst *Scipio* (who is now but eighteen Years of Age) is deliberating with his
Colleague what Measures to take, Notice is given him that the young Nobility
among the Troops are assembled in a House, and contriving how to leave *Italy*,
giving all up for lost. He immediately takes with him a Company of Soldiers, sur-
prizes the Cowards, and, with his Sword drawn, comes up to *Cæcilius Metellus*,
the Author of the Plot, and addresses him thus, *I call the Great Jupiter to witness,*
that I will never depart my Country; nor will I suffer any Man else to do it. This I
solemnly swear; and do you, Cæcilius, either take the same Oath, or die. The Fear
of present Death makes them all take the same Oath; and *Scipio* sets a Guard up-
on them.

§. 9. *Terentius*, who since his coming to *Venusia*, had been joined
by four thousand of the Fugitives, hearing that there are six thousand more at *Ca-*
nusium, goes thither, and joins his Troops to them; so that the Whole have some-
thing of the Appearance of a *Consular Army*.

In the mean time, it is reported at *Rome*, that both the *Consuls* are killed; and
that scarce one of their eighty seven thousand Men has escaped. The Consterna-
tion is much greater than after the Defeat at the Lake *Thrasimenus*. Nevertheless,
the Pilots do not leave the Helm, when the Storm blows strongest. For want of
at *Rome*, *Consuls*, the two *Prætors* assemble the Senators. And now the Credit of *Fabius* be-
after the ing raised, by the Misbehaviour of *Terentius*, his Counsel is listened to, and follow'd.
Defeat at He advises, to send to The Appian Way, and The Latin, Horsemen well mounted, to
Cannæ. learn from some Fugitives, the State of Affairs; what is become of the *Consuls*; to
what Place the Remains of the Army are retreated; where *Hannibal* is encamped;
what he is doing; and what he designs to do. That the Women be forbid to appear in
publick, and disturb the City with their Lamentations. That when any Courier arrives,
he be brought privately, and without Noise, to the *Prætors*; and that no Person be suf-
fer'd to go out of the City. While these things are ordering, a Courier arrives from
Terentius. His Letters import, That the *Roman* Army has been defeated; That
Æmilius is slain; That he himself is retir'd to *Canusium*, where he is assembling
the Remains of the Troops; and, That about ten thousand Men, of different Corps,
and for the most part without Officers, have join'd him; That *Hannibal* is still en-
camp'd at *Cannæ*, and busy there in fixing the Ransoms of the Prisoners he has
taken.

§. 10. During these Transactions, a Bark arrives from *Sicily*, with
Advice from the *Prætor Otacilius*, that a *Carthaginian* Squadron is ravaging the
Coast of *Syracuse*; and that it is necessary to send a Fleet thither with all Speed.
The *Conscript Fathers* are not dejected by these additional Perplexities; but prepare
for the Defence both of *Italy* and *Sicily*. *Marcellus*, appointed *Prætor* for the last-
named Province, and who is now equipping a Fleet at *Ostia*, is order'd from thence,
to take on him the Command of the Troops at *Canusium*, in the room of *Varro*,
who is recall'd to *Rome*. And now, nothing is more incredible than the universal
Respect with which this worthless and unfortunate General is received, upon his
Return to the City; Deputies from all Orders of Men in the State, are sent to
meet him; and they thank him for not having despaired of the Republick. How dif-
ferent this Conduct from that of the *Carthaginians*, who inflicted cruel Death on
their unfortunate Generals!

Marcellus
commands
the Army,
in the room
of T. Var-
ro, who is
recall'd to
Rome, and
well receiv-
ed there.
M. Junius
Pera, Dic-
tator.

§. 11. But as the present Situation of things re-
quires an absolute Magistrate to govern the State, the Senators, of their own Au-
thority, name *M. Junius Pera*, *Dictator*; and he chuses *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*,
to be his General of Horse. *Junius* makes it his whole Business to put the Army
into a Condition to resist the Enemy. All the young *Romans*, above seventeen
Years of Age, are obliged to enlist themselves; and even those old Soldiers who
had served the State the legal time, are now forced to enter into the Service again.
Four Legions, and ten thousand Horse, are raised among the Citizens of *Rome*. The
two *Latioms*, the *Municipia*, and the Colonies, furnish their Contingents, as usual;
and to all these are added eight thousand Slaves, whom the Republick buys of their
Masters, and who are call'd *Volones*; from the Word *Volo*, (*I consent*), which every
one

Year of one return'd in answer, when he was ask'd whether he was willing to serve in the *filed* *Vo-*
ROME Troops. These are supply'd with Arms which had been formerly taken from the Iones, *are*
537. Enemy, and hung up in publick Portico's and Temples. And in order to recruit *inlisted in*
the Finances, which are almost exhausted, and to put them in a good Condition, *the Roman*
three Men of Prudence and Integrity are named Commissioners for that Purpose. *Troops.*
And then the Senators shewing the Example, are follow'd by the *Knights*, and in
short, by all the *Tribes*, who bring all their Gold to the publick Treasury. The
Senators only reserve their Rings, and the *Bullæ* about their Childrens Necks. As
for Silver Coin, it is now, for the first time, alloy'd with Copper, and the Value
of it rais'd. §. 12. In the mean time, *Hannibal* wants Money; and in order
to get a Supply, he gives the *Roman* Prisoners Leave to redeem themselves. The
Ransom of each Horsemen he fixes at five hundred *Denarii*; that of each Foot-
Soldier at three hundred; and that of each Slave at one hundred. As for the rest
of the Prisoners, he uses them civilly, and gives them their Liberty, agreeably to
his former Practice. The *Roman* Captives chuse out ten of their Body, to send to
Rome, to negotiate their Redemption; and *Hannibal* exacts no other Security for
their Return, than an Oath. At the same time, he commissions *Carthalo* the *Car-*
thaginian, to go at the Head of them, and make Proposals of Peace to the Repub-
lick. But such is the *Roman* Pride, even in Adversity, that upon the first Report *The Ro-*
of *Carthalo's* Arrival to treat of Peace, the *Dictator* sends a *Lictor* to him, to order *mans refuse*
him out of the *Roman* Territory; and the ten Deputies being consider'd as Foreign- *to treat of*
ers, since their Captivity, are not suffer'd to enter the City. However, the Sena- *Peace;*
tors meet without the Walls, to hear what they have to offer. One *M. Junius*
pleads, with great Earnestness, in Behalf of himself, and the rest of the Captives.
He excuses them from Cowardice, in their surrendering themselves to the Enemy.
He cites Precedents of the Regard had to Prisoners, in former Times; puts *The*
Fathers in mind of the Cruelty which the *Carthaginians* used towards their Cap-
tives; and lastly, urges the Advantage it will be to the Republick, to have eight
thousand *Romans* in her Army, redeem'd at a moderate Price, rather than so many
Slaves, bought of their Masters at a high Rate. His Discourse is seconded by the
Multitude, whose Concern for their Relations in Captivity, has brought them to-
gether; and they implore the Clemency of *The Fathers*, in a suppliant manner.
When the Crowd is dispers'd, the Senators debate the Matter, and are, for some
time, much divided in Opinion: But at length, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, a venerable
Senator, addressing the Assembly, tells them, That did the present Debate turn up-
on the general Question, whether it were expedient, or not, sometimes to redeem
Prisoners taken in War; the Example of their Ancestors, and the Principles of Hu-
manity, must soon determine them in favour of the Suppliants. But that the Question
now before them is, Whether these Prisoners had so behaved themselves, as to be
worthy of being ransom'd. He then enters into a Detail of their Conduct, and
shews that they had acted the Part of Cowards, in staying in their Camp, and not
following the Example of *Sempronius Tuditanus*, and the other brave Men, who
forced their Way to *Canusium*, through the Enemy. And he concludes absolutely
against the Redemption of the Captives. This Sentiment, tho' severe, is follow'd; *Or to re-*
and the Senate, for more pressing Reasons than the pretended Cowardice of the Pri- *deem their*
soners, pronounce Sentence against them. They are afraid of enriching *Hannibal* *Captives.*
with the Ransom-Money; and are willing, at the same time, to let him see, that
Rome is not so destitute of Men, but that she can spare eight thousand. And be-
sides this, she is desirous to shew the *Roman* Soldiers, that in such Conjunctions,
they have nothing to do but to conquer, or die. The Prisoners being thus left to
the Mercy of the *Carthaginian*, he chuses out the most considerable of them, and
sends them to *Carthage*. Of the rest he makes Gladiators, and obliges them to fight *Hannibal*
with one another, even Relations with Relations, for the Entertainment of his *makes Gla-*
Troops. §. 13. At length, he leaves *Cannæ*, and begins his March, in order *diators of*
to take Advantage of his Victory. His first Attempt is upon *Compsa*, a City of *them.*
the *Hirpini*, almost at the Head of the *Aufidus*. This Place surrenders to him, and
is the first which falls off from the *Romans*. §. 14. He next forms a Design
upon *Naples*; but finding it in a good Posture of Defence, is discouraged from un-
dertaking the Siege of it. From thence, he turns towards *Capua*. This City, *The State of*
which had been formerly govern'd by *Roman* Laws, and a *Roman Præfect*, was now *Capua,*
a *Municipium*, and chose her own Magistrates; and the *Capuans* had the uncommon *when Han-*
Privilege of intermarrying with the *Romans*. One *Pacuvius*, a Man of the great- *nibal mar-*
est Interest among the People, and Governour of the Town, had laid a Design, *ches thither.*
ter the Battel of the Lake *Thrasimenus*, to assassinate all the Senators who were dis-
agreeable to himself, or the People, and to deliver up the Place to *Hannibal*: But
afterwards he thought it would be better to assume a kind of Sovereignty himself
there, than suffer a Stranger to usurp it. The only Difficulty he had, was to gain
the Affection of the Senators, who were dispos'd to continue faithful to the *Romans*.

To this End, having assembled them, he told them that the People had sworn to Year of cut their Throats, and to surrender up *Capua* to the *Carthaginians*; but that if they *ROME* would leave themselves to his Conduct, he would preserve them. The Senators believed him, upon his Oath, and suffered him to shut them up in the Temple, where they were then assembled, and to set a Guard at the Door. He then call'd the People together, and acquainted them, that the Senate were now entirely in his Power, and that he would abandon those detestable Slaves to *Rome*, to their Resentment, to be treated according to their Demerits; but he insisted that (in order to preserve the old Form of Government, which ought not to be destroy'd,) as soon as any one of them had receiv'd Sentence, and before he was executed, the People should name some Man of Probity, to succeed him. By this Stratagem, *Pacuvius* saved the Lives of all the Senators; for the Multitude could not agree upon this Man of Probity. Some Disqualification or other was still objected to whoever was named; so that in the end, the People were convinced, that it was better to keep those they had, than chuse worse; and they ordered all the Prisoners to be releas'd. Thus *Pacuvius* acquired an absolute Dominion over the whole Nation, and reigned in the Hearts of the *Capuans*. After the Defeat of the *Romans* at *Cannæ*, the *Capuans* were again disposed to side with the *Carthaginians*. Two Reasons restrained them; the Intermarriages before-mentioned, and the Consideration that the Flower of their Nobility were in the Service of the *Romans*, in *Sicily*, and were therefore as so many Hostages for their Fidelity. And the Relations of these young Men prevail'd to have a Deputation sent to the *Consul Terentius*, to offer him Succours. These Deputies found the *Consul* so dejected and *desponding, that, weighing the Circumstances of Things, they thought the time now come to shake off the *Roman* Yoke, and recover their ancient Liberty. But to do this with the more Decency, they first sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, with such Proposals as they knew would not be receiv'd. They demanded, That for the future, one of the *Consuls* should be chosen out of the *Capuans*, &c. §. 15. The *Conscript Fathers* having haughtily rejected the insolent Demand, it was carried by a Majority of Voices, both of the Senate and People of *Capua*, to send Deputies to treat with *Hannibal*. They demanded entire Liberty, and Independence, and that four hundred *Roman Knights* should be put into their Hands, to be exchanged against the same Number of *Capuan* Youths in the Service of *Rome*. *Hannibal* granted all that was ask'd, without designing to perform any Part of the Agreement. One *Decius Magius*, a Man of *Roman* Virtue, and a Friend to the *Romans*, warned his Countrymen of this, and put them in mind of *Pyrrhus* and the People of *Tarentum*; but his Discourse was despised. As to the *Roman* Garrison, the People had contrived to shut them up in the publick Baths, and to suffocate them there. When *Hannibal* was to make his Entry, all the Town crowded to meet him, except this *Magius*, and some few of the Nobility, among whom was *Perola*, the Son of *Pacuvius*, who tho' not Governor of *Capua* at this time, had been the Soul of all the late Proceedings. *Perola* was afterwards obliged, by his Father, to go and pay his Homage to *Hannibal*; however, having strongly imbibed the Sentiments of *Magius*, he afterwards form'd a Design to stab the *Carthaginian* General, at a magnificent Entertainment which *Pacuvius* was to give him. But his Father, to whom he communicated his Intention, dissuaded him from it, by Tears and Intreaties; and *Hannibal* escaped this Danger. The next Day the Senate was assembled, and *Hannibal* complaining to them of the Disaffection of *Magius*, this brave and worthy Man was delivered up to him, loaded with Irons, and put on board a Ship bound for *Carthage*. The Vessel, however, was by a Tempest driven into the Port of *Cyrene*, a City belonging to the Kings of *Egypt*; there the Prisoner ran and embraced a Statue of *Ptolomy Philopator*; and the *Carthaginians* durst not drag him from that Sanctuary. *Ptolomy* gave him Leave to return either to *Capua*, or to *Rome*; but he chose to continue at *Alexandria*, under the Protection of his Deliverer. §. 16. The

* Vide p.
142.

Mago gives same Ship had *Mago* on board, whom his Brother had dispatch'd to give an Account of *Hannibal*, in six pitch'd Battels, had kill'd two hundred thousand *Romans*, and taken fifty thousand Prisoners; That the *Apulians*, the *Bruttii*, the *Lucani*, and the *Campanians*, had all submitted to the *Carthaginian* Dominion, &c. So much good Fortune seem'd incredible, and *Mago* was not believ'd, till he spread abroad in the Senate-house, some say, one Bushel, others, three Bushels, of Gold-Rings, taken from the *Roman Knights*, and Senators. Having thus prepossess'd the Senate in favour of his Brother, he proceeded to solicit Succours for him, that he might be enabled to carry on so successful a War. The Request was universally applauded; and the *Barcan* Faction triumphed. *Himilco*, the Head of it, turned towards *Hannibal*, as it were to insult him. Well, said he, do you now repent of conferring the Generalship on *Hannibal*? Has the War he undertook turn'd to the Disadvantage of our Country? Must we deliver up *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, rather than put him at the Head

Year of Head of our Troops? Speak, if you dare, the Language of a Roman, in a Carthagi-
 ROME nian Senate. Hanno was provoked; but yet answered with Moderation. If I had Hanno de-
 537. not been compelled to it, I should not have spoken to Day, for fear of interrupting the clares a-
 publick Joy. But not to reply, when thus interrogated by a Senator, would argue Pride, gainst send-
 or a Disaffection to the State. I therefore answer, That I shall not triumph before the ing Succours
 time. The War is successfully begun, I grant it; but I shall still be sorry that it has to Hanni-
 been begun, till an End be put to it by a happy Peace. Send me Troops and Provisions, bal.

says Hannibal. Is this the Language of a Conqueror, who is Master of so many Na-
 tions in Italy? The Roman Republick, we are told, is reduced to Extremities, and
 without Troops, or Generals. But pray let me ask a few Questions. Has any Latin
 Nation come over to us? Has any one Man of The Roman Tribes deserted Rome? Do
 the Vanquish'd shew any Signs of Despair? Do they make any Advances towards a
 Peace; or do they seem to desire it? Mago answered No, to each of these Questions.
 I conclude then, resumes Hanno briskly, that we are scarce any farther advanced,
 than we were the Day Hannibal entered Italy. We have indeed done enough to obtain
 an advantageous Peace with Rome; and that ought to be our utmost View. One single
 Defeat may undo any other mighty Project; as was the Case, when our Fleet was de-
 feated at the Ægades Islands. All our Hopes that Hannibal's Father would conquer
 Sicily, proved abortive. I therefore vote against sending any Succours to the Army in
 Italy. If it be as victorious as is represented, it needs no Reinforcement; if it sends
 us false Accounts, it deserves no Relief from us. Hanno's Speech was full of good Sense;
 but it was not hearkened to. By a Plurality of Voices, a Decree was pass'd, to
 send immediately to Hannibal four thousand Numidians, forty Elephants, and a thou-
 sand Talents of Silver. Nor was this all. A Commissioner was sent with Mago
 to Spain, with Powers to raise Levies there, to be equally divided between the Car-
 thaginian Army in Spain, and that in Italy.

§. 17. Indeed this last Provision
 was necessary, in order to support the Carthaginian Interest in Spain; for Asdrubal
 had been as unsuccessful against the Scipio's, as Hannibal had been prosperous against
 Flaminius and Terentius. However, he had just gained a considerable Advantage over
 some revolted Spaniards, and had subdued the Country of the Carpetani, when he
 received an Order from the Senate of Carthage, to leave Spain, and march with his
 Army to the Assistance of his Brother in Italy. Asdrubal knew that the Spaniards Asdrubal
 were well inclin'd to the Romans, and would undoubtedly go over to them, as soon order'd to
 as he was gone, unless new Forces were sent to supply the Place of his. This march from
 therefore he remonstrated to the Senate in a Letter; and Himilco was thereupon or- Spain, to
 dered to Spain, with a moderate Army, and a sufficient Number of Galleys to keep join Hanni-
 the Seas. And now Asdrubal, considering that it was by the Force of Money that bal in Italy.
 his Brother Hannibal had obtained so easy a Passage thro' Gaul, he exacted heavy
 Contributions from the Spanish Nations, and he hastened the Preparations for his
 Departure, that they might not have time to assemble together, and oppose it.
 §. 18. The March of the Carthaginian towards the Ebro, in his Way to the Pyrenees,
 gave the Scipio's great Uneasiness; they knew, of what dangerous Consequence it The Scipio's
 would be to Rome, for Hannibal to receive so strong a Reinforcement. They re- oppose his
 solved therefore to oppose his passing that River; and the two Armies, pretty equal March, and
 in Number, pitch'd upon the same Day, as it were by Consent, to come to a gene- defeat him
 ral Battel. The Scipio's gained a compleat Victory, Asdrubal was disabled for some in a pitch'd
 Years, from going into Italy, and the wavering Nations in Spain declared for the Battel.
 Romans.

§. 19. This News from Spain raises the Courage of the Dictator Junius, and of
 the Senate of Rome. And while Hannibal is losing time at Capua, being captivated
 by the bewitching Pleasures of that Place, the Romans make their Preparations,
 with the Diligence and Expedition peculiar to them. The Dictator releases from The Ro-
 Prison all Criminals, and Persons confined for Debt, who are willing to enlist them- mans enlist
 selves; and of these he forms a Body of six thousand Foot, armed with Sabres and Criminals,
 Bucklers, formerly taken from the Gauls. And the Levies of all Sorts now amount- and Prison-
 ing to twenty five thousand Men, he marches with them from Rome. The Troops ers for Debt.
 commanded by Marcellus, who is now at Casilinum, are about fifteen thousand, be-
 ing chiefly the Remains of Terentius's routed Army.

§. 20. At length, Han- Hannibal
 nibal begins to move from Capua, in order to subdue the rest of Campania. He leaves Ca-
 makes a second Attempt upon Naples, by Promises and Menaces; but the Neapoli- pua, to pur-
 tans continue steady. Nor does he succeed better at Nola; for Marcellus comes to sue his Con-
 its Relief. The Neapolitans being likewise strengthened by a new Roman Garrison, quests in
 his third Attempt on their City proves as fruitless as the former ones. Nuceria in- Campania.
 deed, in the Neighbourhood of Naples, is, for want of Provisions, forced to capi-
 tulate; but he cannot prevail with any of the Inhabitants to serve in his Army.

§. 21. The Burghers of Nola were very much inclined to favour him; and their
 Affection that way was kept up by the Intrigues of one Bantius, a young Man of
 great Bravery, who being found upon the Field, after the Battel of Canne, all co-
 ver'd

ver'd with Wounds, which he had receiv'd fighting near *Æmilius*, had been taken up by the *Carthaginians*, and cured; and this Benefit had engaged him by Gratitude in their Interest. *Marcellus* could easily have destroyed him; but he chose rather to gain him. One Day, when *Bantius* came to an Audience, the *Prætor* pretended not to know him, and asked him his Name. *My Name is Bantius*; answered the young Warrior, modestly. *What*, reply'd *Marcellus*, *are you the famous Bantius, so much celebrated in Rome? I have often heard of you. It was not your Fault that a Roman Consul fell into the Hands of his Enemies. How much Blood you lost in endeavouring to save his Life! What a Pleasure is it to me to see and embrace so brave a Man, who does Honour to his Country, and may be a Means of saving Rome!* Then *Marcellus* to tender Embraces added Presents; and in short, entirely gained over the young Man to himself, and to *Rome*; and *Bantius* brought many of the *Nolans* into the same Interest. After this, *Marcellus* made a Sally out of the Town at three several Gates, and kill'd five thousand of *Hannibal's* Men, not losing above five hundred of his own. §. 22. The *Carthaginian* being thus repulsed before *Nola*, undertook the Siege of *Casilinum*, another Town of *Campania*. He thought it garrisoned by *Campanians*; but it had happened that a Body of *Prænestini* passing that way, had found the Inhabitants wavering in their Fidelity to *Rome*, and had therefore cut their Throats in the Night, and possess'd themselves of the Walls. They were afterwards reinforced by about four hundred *Perusini* from *Hetruria*, and some *Romans* and *Latins*. And all these, being Men of Bravery and Resolution, made so vigorous a Resistance, that *Hannibal* was forced to retire, and turn the Siege into a Blockade. §. 23. Winter approach'd; and voluptuous *Capua* enticed him to spend it there. And now he gets a thorough Relish of Pleasure; and by an effeminate Life is brought down to a Level with the rest of Mankind. [Valerius Maximus tells us, that he visited a Place in *Capua*, call'd *Seplasia*, where the Perfumers Shops were kept, oftener than he did his Camp.] And the General's Example infects the Soldiers. When he leads them again in the Spring, to the Siege of *Casilinum*, he finds them quite altered, softened, and cowardized. They are follow'd by their Mistresses to the Camp; and have the Appearance of new Levies, who have never been inured to Fatigue. They think it hard to live in Tents, in the hot Weather, and many of them return to *Capua*. *Hannibal*, instead of attempting to storm the besieged Town, endeavours to reduce it by Famine. And indeed, the Garrison are exceedingly straitened, by Want of Provisions. The Dictator *Junius* is gone to *Rome* to consult new *Auspices*; and his General of Horse, *Sempronius* dares not undertake any thing in his Absence, having received Orders to the contrary. *Marcellus* is willing to run all Hazards, for the Relief of the Besieged; but the People of *Nola* will not suffer him to leave them, imagining that *Hannibal's* main Design is against their City. In the mean time, the Garrison is so press'd with Hunger, that many of the Soldiers kill themselves. This News greatly affects *Sempronius*; and tho' he dares not disobey his General's Orders, he endeavours to relieve the Besieged, by throwing Barrels of Meal into the *Vulturnus*, which runs thro' the Town. And when this Artifice is discover'd by the Enemy, and the Supply this Way is cut off, the *Romans* throw Nuts into the Stream; but this new Convoy of Provisions is likewise stopped; and then *Hannibal* summons the Garrison to surrender. However, these brave Men prefer Death to the Chains of the *Carthaginian*; they feed upon Rats, and spare no Animals whatsoever. Nay, they at length pull off the Skins of their Bucklers, boil them soft in Water, and live on them with great Frugality. And lastly, to give the Enemy a Proof of their Perseverance, they plough up the Ground near their Houses, and sow it with Pulse. When *Hannibal* hears of this, he cries out, *What! will the Besieged then keep me here till their Seed is come to Maturity?* And from this time, he becomes more ready to grant them Terms. They are allow'd to march out of the Town, provided each Freeman among them pays seven Ounces of Gold. The Condition is accepted; and the *Prænestini* and *Perusini* leave the Place; after having acquired immortal Glory, by defending the Cause of *Rome*, with more than *Roman* Steadiness. §. 24. The Inhabitants of *Petelia*, in *Bruttium*, give likewise a signal Proof of their Attachment to *Rome*, and shew how agreeable her Government is to her Subjects. They resolutely stand a Siege, and give *Hannibal* almost as much Trouble as the Garrison of *Casilinum*; tho' the Senate of *Rome* had excused themselves from sending them Succours, when earnestly requested. At the same time that the News of the Surrendry of this Place comes to *Rome*, Couriers arrive from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, with Complaints from the *Prætors* of those two Provinces, of the Want both of Provisions and Pay for their Armies and Fleets. The Answer sent them is, That they must shift for themselves and their People, as well as they can; for that *Rome* is not in a Condition to help them. And to add to these Misfortunes of the Republick, *Demetrius of Pharos* is at this time stirring up King *Philip of Macedon* to take Measures to compleat her Ruin. §. 25. But now The Conscrip Fathers begin to think

Marcellus gains an Advantage over him, before Nola.

Hannibal enervates himself and his Army at Capua.

The brave Defence of the Garrison of Casilinum.

Year of think of filling up the many vacant Places in their Assembly. And because there *The vacant*
ROME are no *Censors* in being to do this, they order *Terentius Varro* to nominate some Per- Places in
 537. son, formerly *Censor*, to be a second *Dictator*; and to have his Office wholly con- the Roman
 fined to this Affair. *Terentius* names *M. Fabius Buteo*, the oldest of the former Cen- Senate fil-
sors; but without allowing him a *General of Horse*: And never did *Dictator* dis- led up.
 charge his Office with more Modesty and Prudence. He consults the Senate upon
 the Choice he is to make, in which there is some Difficulty; for the best Part of
 the *Roman Nobility* had lost their Lives in the Wars with *Hannibal*. *Carvilius* pro-
 poses, to admit some of the *Latins*, those most ancient and faithful Allies, to sit among
 them; but this Motion is rejected with Indignation. And *Fabius* reproves him for
 his Imprudence, in chusing so improper a Season to expose the Senate to a shameful
 Innovation, or the *Latin Nation* to an odious Refusal, which might provoke them;
 and he tells the *Fathers*, that it is of the utmost Consequence, to observe an eternal
 Silence upon this Matter, that so the *Latins* may never know that such a Proposal
 was made. They all promise Secrecy, and no Mischief follows. And now the
Dictator, to fill the vacant Places in the best Manner possible, first chuses all those
 who since the last *Censors* have obtain'd *Curule Magistracies*, but have not been yet
 ranked among the *Fathers*; then all those, without Exception, who have been cho-
 sen *Tribunes of the People*, *Plebeian Aediles*, or *Quaestors*, by the Suffrages of the
 Commons; and lastly, to complete the Number of three hundred, such of the *Ci-*
tizens as have distinguished themselves in the Army, or have obtained any military
 Rewards of their Generals. By this impartial Election, the *Romans* have the Hap-
 piness to see an hundred and seventy seven new Senators made without Jealousy or
 Contention. The *Dictator* is highly applauded for his Conduct; and, when he has
 read the List to the People, abdicates his *Dictatorship*. §. 26. The next Busi-
 ness is for the *Centuries* to chuse the Great Officers of the State, for the next Year.
Sempronius Gracchus, (*General of Horse* to the *Dictator Junius*), and *Posthumius Albi-*
nus, (who is commanding a Body of Troops in *Cisalpine Gaul*), are elected *Consuls*.
 Then the several *Prætors* are appointed; but in all these Promotions *Marcellus* is for-
 gotten, probably thro' the Jealousy of the *Dictator*. §. 27. The Elections
 being over, *Junius* returns to his Camp in *Apulia*; but *Sempronius* continues in the
 City, to consult with the Senate about the Operations of the approaching Cam-
 paign. And while they are deliberating on this Matter; News is brought to *Rome*, A Roman
 that *Posthumius Albinus*, one of the *Consuls* elect, with all his Army, are cut in Army cut to
 Pieces by the *Boii*. Nevertheless, the Constancy of the Republick enables her to pieces by the
 surmount this last Calamity of so unfortunate a Year. *Sempronius* assembles the Se- Boii.
 nate, and endeavours to raise their dejected Spirits. The *Battel of Cannæ*, says he,
 ought to have hardened us against the *Vicissitudes of War*. Shall we be discouraged by
 moderate Losses, after having supported the greatest Misfortunes? The War with the
 Gauls may be deferr'd. Let us have no more Army in Gaul; but turn all our Forces
 against *Hannibal*. He is the Source of all the Evils we suffer; and when he is once
 driven out of Italy, the rebellious Nations will soon be reduced again. This Advice is
 follow'd, and all the *Roman Forces* are order'd to the Provinces near *Hannibal*. In
 the new Disposition, *Terentius Varro*, notwithstanding his former ill Conduct, is in-
 trusted with the Command of an Army in *Apulia*, with the Character of *Pro-Con-*
sul. His Behaviour since his Misfortune had procured Forgiveness. He had let his
 Hair and Beard grow, and had never taken a Meal lying on a Bed, after the usual
 manner; nay, he had modestly declin'd the *Dictatorship*, to which the People, still
 well-affected to him, would have rais'd him, in order to fill the vacant Places in
 the Senate. §. 28. What now remains, is to chuse a new *Consul* in the room 237th Con-
 of *Posthumius Albinus*. *Sempronius* being jealous of the Merit of *Marcellus*, who fulship.
 might eclipse him, endeavours to keep him out of the Way; but the People insist
 upon his being present; and they unanimously chuse him *Consul*. However, a Storm
 of Thunder happening to fall during the Assembly, the *Augurs* lay hold of the Ac-
 cident, to declare that the Election of *Marcellus* is not agreeable to the Gods.
 Their true Reason for opposing it, is his being a *Plebeian*; for *Sempronius* being
 likewise a *Plebeian*, should *Marcellus's* Election be confirm'd, *Rome* would, for the
 first time, have two *Plebeian Consuls*. Indeed the *Augurs* dare not pronounce the
 Election to be unlawful, for fear of the People; but *Marcellus*, on this Occasion, *Marcellus*
 shews himself a true Republican, and refuses to accept the *Fasces* contrary to the declines the
 pretended Will of the Gods, and the Inclination of the Nobility. And then the *Consul-*
Great Fabius is chosen in his Stead. §. 29. And now the *Romans* begin to be ship; and
 in Motion. *Fabius* puts himself at the Head of those Troops which the late Dic- *Fabius is*
tator had commanded; *Sempronius* is General of the new Levies made at *Rome*, and elected in
 of twenty five thousand Auxiliaries; the *Prætor Levinus* is ordered to cover *Apulia* his Stead.
 with two *Legions*; *Marcellus* has the Conduct of the same Troops which he had
 commanded at *Nola*; and lastly, *Terentius Varro* leads an Army into *Picenum*, to de-
 fend that Country, and raise Recruits. §. 30. As the *Prætor Levinus* lies en-
 camp'd

K. Philip of
Macedon,
makes an
Alliance
with Han-
nibal.

* Vide p.
171.

The Consul
Semproni-
us routs an
Army of
Campanian
Rebels.

Another
Semproni-
us defeats
Hanno.
The Ro-
mans re-
solve to car-
ry the War
into Mace-
don.

camp'd at *Luceria*, in *Apulia*, a Company of *Macedonians* are, to his great Surprise, Year of brought before him. At the Head of them is an *Athenian*, named *Xenophanes*, the *ROME* Son of *Cleomachus*, and he is their Speaker. These Strangers had landed near the 538. *Lacinian Promontory*, and were making their Way to *Hannibal's* Camp at *Capua*, when *Lævinus's* Scouts intercepted them. Being examined by the *Prætor*, the *Athe- nian* answers, that he is commissioned by King Philip of Macedon, to treat of a Peace with the Roman Republick. *Lævinus*, overjoy'd at this, shews great Respect to the Ambassador, and furnishes him with Guides, and a Guard, to conduct him to *Rome*.

It is unknown, by what Artifice the *Greek* escap'd out of the Hands of his Con- ductors, to *Hannibal's* Camp: But the Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, which, in his Master's Name, he made with the *Carthaginian*, is preserved to this Day. Having finish'd his Commission, he returns to his Ship; and *Mago*, *Bostar*, and *Gisco*, three Ambassadors from *Hannibal*, embark with him. But they are scarce out at Sea, when the Vessel is spy'd by the Fleet of *Fulvius Flaccus*, appointed to guard the Coast. She is soon forced to strike to some Frigates, sent after her; and then *Xenophanes* endeavours to escape a second time, by the same Story of his Em- bassy from Philip to the Senate; adding only, that not having been able to reach the Ca- pital, because the Enemy infested the Roads, he had negotiated his Business with the *Præ- tor Lævinus*. And he would have imposed upon *Fulvius*, if the Habit and Language of the three *Carthaginians* had not betray'd him. *Fulvius* having discovered the Truth, detaches a Squadron of five Galleys, under the Command of *Valerius An- tias*, to transport them to *Rome*.

§. 31. But to return to *Hannibal*. *Cam- pania* was now the Seat of the War; and the *Campanian* Rebels themselves rais'd an Army of fourteen thousand Men, to assist him. This Army was commanded by one *Marius Alfius*; and his first Expedition was an Attempt upon *Cumæ*, a City which adhered to the *Romans*. He propos'd, by a Stratagem, to surprize all the *Cuman* Senators at a solemn Sacrifice, which us'd annually to be made at a Place called *Hamæ*, and at which the Senators of all the Cities of *Campania* were wont to assist, and there hold a Diet, to deliberate upon the general Affairs of the Province. But the *Cumans*, being suspicious of some Treachery, give Notice of the Matter to *Sempronius*, who was encamped within six Miles of them; and he contrived to sur- prize *Alfius's* Army in the Night, routed them, killed two thousand of them, and, among the rest, the General. Nevertheless, as *Hannibal* was not far off, he did not continue long on the Place of Victory, (being unwilling to expose his unexperienced Troops to the Danger of a Battel,) but retired to *Cumæ*, where he shut himself up.

§. 32. And now the *Carthaginian* was so softened, and had lost so much of his martial Ardour, that the *Capuans* were forced to intreat and importune him to undertake the Siege of that Place; and he was even forced to raise it, and return to his Camp on Mount *Tifata*, near *Capua*, after he had lost thirteen hundred Men.

§. 33. And whilst *Sempronius* was thus defending *Cumæ*, the *Roman* Arms prospered in two other Places. Another *Sempronius*, surnamed *Longus*, gained a Victory over *Hanno*; and *Lævinus* retook three Cities in the Country of the *Hirpini*, which had revolted to *Hannibal*.

§. 34. During these military Expeditions, the intercepted Am- bassador from King Philip, and his Letters, are brought to *Rome*. And the Senate finding that the Treaty is actually concluded, resolve immediately to keep the *Ma- cedonian* out of *Italy*, by carrying the War into his own Country. A Resolution so extraordinary, and so noble, in their present Situation, that one cannot consider it, without confessing, that No People ever deserved better to command the World, than the *Romans*! A Fleet of fifty Galleys, ready equipp'd, was order'd for this Expedition, and *Lævinus* himself was directed to embark at *Tarentum*, sail for *Ma- cedon*, and find King Philip Employment at home.

§. 35. And now *Fabius* (who had hitherto made use of religious Pretences, to continue quiet in his Camp at *Calé*, where he had studied *Hannibal's* Designs,) discovering, at length, that his Ri- val's Remissness is not Dissimulation, but a real Languor, he boldly passes the *Vul- turnus*, and joins his Collegue *Sempronius* at *Cumæ*. Neither *Hannibal*, on one Side, nor the *Capuans*, on the other, durst attack him, tho' he was obliged to cross a Plain between *Capua* and Mount *Tifata*.

§. 36. *Marcellus*, who is encamp'd at *Nola*, does not suffer his Troops to languish in Idleness. *Hannibal's* former Ac- tivity seems to be transferr'd to him; insomuch that he was called *The Sword of the Republick*; as *Fabius* was, *The Buckler of Rome*. He made Incursions into the Coun- try of the *Hirpini*, and into *Samnium*, as far as *Caudium*. The *Samnites* had uni- versally gone over to *Hannibal*, and were now surprized to find him so unactive, and so little zealous in their Defence. They sent Deputies to him, to complain of his Neglect of them, and to reproach him with his Indolence, in sarcastical Ex- postulations. And all this was necessary to awaken him out of his Lethargy. He promised them to draw the Enemy out of their Country, by carrying the War into the Territories of the Allies of *Rome*. And then, with an Air of Ostentation, which Men generally affect most, when they have least true Valour, Of the Victo- ries

Year of *ries I have gained*, said he, *the last has always been the greatest. That of the Lake*
ROME *Thrasymenus was more considerable than that of the Trebia; and the Battel of Cannæ*
 538. *eclipsed them both. I promise you a fourth Victory, superior to all the past.* After
 this, having received a Reinforcement of Troops, and some Elephants, sent from
Carthage, he march'd to attack *Marcellus*, who upon his Approach retired behind
 the Walls of *Nola*. And when the *Carthaginian* besieged the Town in form (after
 having in vain attempted to gain the Inhabitants by Artifice) *Marcellus* not only re- *Marcellus*
 pulsed him by a vigorous Sally, but the next Day defeated him in a pitch'd Battel, *defeats*
 in the Plain before the Town, and killed five thousand of his Men. The *Roman* *Hannibal*,
 gained this Victory by wisely taking his Opportunity, when *Hannibal* had sent *in a pitch'd*
 away a great Detachment of his Army to pillage, and by furnishing his Infantry *Battel*.
 with a Sort of long Pikes, used in Sea-Fights, but never before in Engagements at
 Land. And after this Defeat, *Hannibal* had the further Mortification that twelve *A great Ro-*
 hundred and seventy two of his best Horse, partly *Numidians*, and partly *Spaniards*, *dy of Han-*
 who had crossed the *Alpes* with him, deserted all in a Body to the Enemy. It was *nibal's best*
 their Esteem for the *Romans*, which induced them to it; and they afterwards con- *Horse desert*
 tinued faithful to the Republick, and did her important Services; for which they *to the Ro-*
 were, in their old Age, rewarded with Estates in their own Countries, when the *mans*.
Romans had conquered *Africa* and *Spain*. *Hannibal* was so touch'd with the Re-
 proach which this Desertion of his old Companions in Victory threw upon him,
 that out of mere Vexation he left *Campania*, and marched away into *Apulia*.
 §. 37. As soon as he was gone, *Fabius* drew near to *Capua*, and laid the Country
 about it waste; and then went and encamped at *Suessula*. He was willing to give
 the *Capuans* time to sow their Land, being fully resolved to come and seize their
 Corn for Forage, as soon as it should be grown up. Accordingly he did so; and
 laid up his Magazines at *Suessula*, in order to spend his Winter there. And now,
 whether out of Jealousy, or to lessen the Expences of the Republick, he ordered
Marcellus to disband his Army. *Marcellus* obey'd, but stay'd himself at *Nola*, and
 did not return to *Rome* with his Troops. Tho' ambitious of the *Consulship*, he dis-
 dain'd to solicit that Honour, and was resolved to owe his Promotion, if he ob-
 tained it, wholly to his Merit and Services.

Here follows

A Critical and Historical DISSERTATION on the Galleys of * *Vide p.*
the Ancients. 185.

ALL agree, that the ancient *Triremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, *Quinquerèmes*, &c. were
 so called, according to the Number of *Ranks of Oars*, on each Side of those
 Vessels. But the Difficulty is, to know what is to be understood by *Ranks of*
Oars.

1. Some understand, by them, only *Oars*; so that a *Triremis* had only three, and
 a *Quinqueremis* only five *Oars*, on each Side of her.

2. Others imagine, That when a Ship is said to have so many *Ranks of Oars*, we
 are to understand by it, the Number of *Oars* on each Side allotted to each of the
 three Classes of Rowers, the *Thalamioi*, who sat towards the Prow, the *Zygioi* in
 the Middle, and the *Thranitai*, towards the Stern.

3. A third Opinion is, That there were as many *Rowers* to each *Oar*, as the Ship
 is said to have *Ranks*.

4. And lastly, Some think that the *Rowers* in the Ancients Galleys were seated on
 different *Stages*, obliquely placed one above another; and that the Vessels took their
 Names from the Number of those *Stages*.

These four Opinions are discuss'd at large, and the last is made to appear the
 most probable.

BOOK XXIX.

§. I. **T**HE Republick had already gained several Victories in *Italy*, since the fatal Battel of *Cannæ*, and now the News she receives from *Sardinia* and *ROME* 538.
Spain revives her Confidence. The *Prætor*, *Manlius Torquatus*, had defeated the Rebel-*Sardinians*, tho' assisted by an Army sent from *Carthage*, under the Command of *Asdrubal the Bald*. Twelve thousand of the Enemy were kill'd upon the Spot; *Asdrubal* himself, with *Hanno* and *Mago*, his chief Officers, were taken Prisoners; and the Island was entirely reduced.

Sardinia
once more
reduced.

§. 2. And the *Scipio's* had been equally fortunate in their Wars in *Spain*. However, they wrote to the Senate, that their Troops wanted their Pay, Cloaths to cover them, and Provisions to subsist them. As to the first indeed, they told the *Fathers*, that if the publick Treasury was exhausted, they would find Means to get Money from the *Spaniards*. And as for the last, the Senate ordered the *Publicans*, or Farmers of the Revenue, to advance out of their own Pockets what was necessary for the Army, promising to reimburse them out of the first Money that should come into the Exchequer. The *Publicans* readily comply'd, and took care that the Troops in *Spain* wanted nothing.

The *Scipio's*
have great
Success in
Spain.

§. 3. The *Scipio's* being thus supply'd, immediately took the Field. And these Thunder-bolts of War (so they were call'd) immediately forced their Way thro' the Enemy, who were besieging a Town call'd *Illiturgis*, and stock'd it with Provisions, for Want of which the Besieged had been greatly distress'd. Soon after this, they gained two very considerable Victories over *Asdrubal*, whose Army consisted of sixty thousand Men; whereas theirs scarce amounted to sixteen thousand.

K. Hiero, at
his Death,
leaves his
Crown to his
Grandson
Hieronymus;

§. 4. But the Accounts which the Senate received from *Sicily* were not so satisfactory. The good King *Hiero* was dead, and had left his Dominions, by Will, to his Grandson *Hieronymus*, (whose Father *Gelo* had rebelled against the old King the Year before his Death, and had come to an untimely End,) under the Tuition of fifteen Guardians. And he had required the *Syracusans*, in his Will, to keep up a good Understanding with the *Romans*, as he himself had done for fifty Years past. But this Will did not universally please the People. Some were fond of having a Republican Government established; and others were dissatisfy'd with the perpetual Alliance directed to be made with *Rome*, already half subdued by *Hannibal*, and in a tottering Condition.

Who insults
the Roman
Ambassadors;

§. 5. As for *Hieronymus*, being suffered by his Guardians to take the Reins of the Government into his own Hands at fifteen Years of Age, he ran into all Excesses of Vice and Cruelty. He affected an extravagant Pomp, was difficult of Access, never gave Audience but with an Air of Contempt, and often added severe Jest to his Denials. Some of his Guardians kill'd themselves to avoid seeing the Vices of their Ward; and others went into a voluntary Exile, to avoid being put to Death by him. Only three Lords of Distinction continued about him, *Andranodorus* and *Zoippus*, (his two Uncles in Law,) and *Thraso*, surnamed *Charcharus*. This last was a Friend to the *Romans*; but the other two favoured *Carthage*.

And makes
a Treaty of
Alliance
with Car-
thage.
He is assassinated.

§. 6. And *Thraso* being put to Death, upon a false Accusation of Treason, they easily persuaded the young King to enter into a Negotiation with *Hannibal*. *Claudius Pulcher*, the Roman *Prætor* in *Sicily*, sent a Deputation to him, to renew the ancient Alliance between his Grandfather and the *Romans*. But *Hieronymus* only rallied and insulted the Deputies, asking them, whether they or the *Carthaginians*, were the Conquerors at the Battel of *Cannæ*. *I am told*, added he, *such surprizing things of that Battel, that I would fain know all the Particulars of it*. Upon this, and some other Reproaches, the Roman Envoys left him, without answering him, and returned to the *Prætor*.

§. 7. The young King immediately sent Deputies to *Carthage*, to ratify a Treaty he had already made with *Hannibal*; the Substance of which was, that he and the *Carthaginians* should divide *Sicily* between them, when they had jointly conquered the whole Island. But being afterwards persuaded to think that he had himself a Right of Inheritance to all *Sicily*, by being descended from *Nereis*, the Daughter of *Pyrrhus*, (who had been unanimously declared King of it) he sent a new Embassy, with Instructions to lay before the Senate of *Carthage* his pretended Rights; and to conclude only a Treaty of mutual Assistance with them. The *Carthaginians* were glad, at any Rate, to draw off *Syracuse* from the Roman Interest, and readily yielded to the Proposals.

§. 8. So that *Claudius* the *Prætor* delay'd no longer to begin Hostilities, but entered the Territory of *Hieronymus*. And this unfortunate King, as he was marching at the Head of his Troops towards the Confines of his Dominions, was assassinated by some Conspirators among his own Subjects.

§. 9. But this Accident did not promise any great Advantage to the *Romans*; for it was probable that *Syracuse*, whether it became a Republick, or not, would declare for the *Carthaginians*. And indeed, considering the Treaty which the

Year of the King of *Macedon* had made with *Hannibal*, *Rome* (notwithstanding her late Successes) was at present in little better Condition than immediately after the Battel of

538. *Cannæ*. The Campaign being ended, *Fabius* took the Road to *Rome*, to hold the *Comitia* by *Centuries* for the new Elections. But the prudent *Consul* did not enter the City, but appeared at the Assembly in the *Campus Martius*, on the Day appointed, in his military Habit, and attended by his *Liſtors*, with their *Fasces* and *Axes*. It fell by Lot to *The Tribe of the Anio*, to enter the Voting-place first, and to that *Century* of this *Tribe*, which consisted of the youngest Men, and the Majority of these nominated to the *Consulship*, *T. Otacilius*, and *M. Æmilius Regillus*, two Men, not without Merit, but yet not of such Abilities as the present Necessities required. *Fabius* therefore thought fit to interrupt the Election for a little time, to * harangue * Vide p. the Assembly. He first excused the Irregularity of his Proceeding, by the present 214. Dangers which threatened the State. He then represented to the Assembly, that every Man was not qualified to make Head against *Hannibal*, tho' otherwise a Man of some Merit. That *Æmilius*, as High-Priest of *Quirinus*, could not be absent from *Rome*; and that tho' *Otacilius* was his Relation, he could by no Means be so partial to him, as to think him equal to such an important Charge. And as for you, Romans, added he, chuse such Consuls, as you would do, if you were now to name two Generals, who were immediately to give *Hannibal* Battel. I pronounce, That the Youth of *The Tribe of the Anio* shall return to the Voting-Place, and give their Suffrages again. *Heralds*, proclaim my Orders. *Otacilius* at first made some Opposition to this; but the *Liſtors* with their *Axes* surrounded him, and soon forced him to Silence. Then the *Century* of the young Men of the *Tribe Aniensis*, return'd to the
539. Voting-Place, and unanimously gave their Suffrages for the President himself, (*Q. 238th Consul Fabius Verrucosus*, surnamed *Cunctator*, or the *Temporizer*,) and *Claudius Marcellus*, *fulship*. who was absent. *Rome* had never seen two greater Men together at the Head of her Affairs. And tho' *Fabius*, by an irregular Proceeding, had contributed to his own Continuance in the *Consular* Dignity, contrary to Law and Custom, yet no one accused him of Ambition or Tyranny, or of being actuated by any other Motive than a Zeal for his Country. *Fabius's* Speech to the *Comitia* had likewise this farther Effect, that the *Romans* were convinced of the Necessity of continuing the Commanders of their Armies more than one Year in Office; and they made very little Alteration in the Disposition of Employments, ordered the last Year. §. 10. And now, as a Law had been pass'd the last Year (at the Motion of *Oppius*, a *Tribune of the People*) to restrain the Luxury of Women, forbidding them to wear above half an Ounce of Gold in Toys, and to ride in a Chariot; within a Mile of *Rome*: So now the *Censors* make a strict Enquiry into Offences committed by the Men, to the Detriment of the Publick. *Cæcilius Metellus*, who would in Despair have left *Italy*, after the Battel of *Cannæ*; the ten Deputies from the Prisoners taken at that Battel, who had not returned to *Hannibal*, according to their Oath; and several young Men of military Age, who had neglected to enroll themselves for the Service; are all degraded, expelled the *Tribes*, and made incapable of Employments. The *Romans* never exerted their Virtue, and disinterested Zeal for their Country, in a greater Degree than in this Crisis of the second *Punick* War. The *Publicans* voluntarily advanced Money for the publick Works. The Masters who had sold their Slaves to the Republick, desired that Payment might be deferr'd till the War was ended; and scarce a *Centurion* or Trooper demanded his Pay; but if any one had so little Generosity as to receive it from the *Quæstor*, he became the Jest of his *Legion*. A remarkable Instance of the Romans Love for their Country.
- §. 11. Such being the Dispositions of the People, it was easy to make new Levies. Six *Legions* were added to the twelve already on Foot. The *Sicilian* Expedition seemed to require the most Dispatch; and *Otacilius* was therefore ordered to embark with all Diligence for that Island, with one *Legion*. And in order to man and equip the Fleet, a Tax was laid upon the Rich. Each Head of a Family, who by the *Censors* Register was found worth from fifty thousand to a hundred thousand *Asses*, was obliged to maintain a Rower, or Sailor, at his own Expence, for six Months. And the more wealthy, three, five, seven, in proportion to their Riches.
- §. 12. What remained now, was to march the Land-Forces, and begin the Campaign in *Italy*. *Hannibal*, who had spent the Winter in *Apulia*, returned to his Camp on the *Tifata*, at the Request of the *Capuans*, who thought their City threatened. He had order'd *Hanno*, with an Army of seventeen thousand Foot, and twelve hundred *Numidian* Horse, to come from the Country of the *Bruttii*, and seize *Beneventum*; but *Sempronius*, with his Army of *Volones*, prevented him, by the Direction of *Fabius*, and possess'd himself of that defenceless City. From thence he march'd to give *Hanno* Battel; and to engage his *Volones* to exert themselves, he promised every Man his Liberty, who should bring off the Head of an Enemy. The Senate had given him Power to enfranchise whom he pleased. But this Promise had like to have ruin'd his Affairs. For though his Troops fought bravely at first, they lost much time in cutting off the Heads of the

Sempronius, with an Army of Volones, defeats Hanno.

Marcellus defeats Hannibal, near Nola.

Lævinus surprises the Camp of the King of Macedon.

Enemies they had slain, and the Ardour of those who had performed the Condition Year o of obtaining their Freedom, was immediately abated: So that he was forced to pub- ROM E
lish a new Declaration thro' all the Ranks of his Army, *That none should obtain their* 539.

Liberty, unless the Carthaginians were routed. Upon this, the *Volones* renewed the Fight with fresh Impetuosity, and gained so complete a Victory, that scarce two thousand of the Enemy escaped. However, four thousand of *Sempronius's* Legionary Slaves did not behave themselves so well as the rest. They were afraid to pursue the Enemy to their Camp; and being ashamed of their Cowardice, after the Battel they retired to a high Mountain, for fear of becoming the Jest of their Fellows. But *Sempronius* had Compassion for their Weakness, and sent a *Tribune* to invite them back: And then, to perform his Promise, he pronounced all, without Exception, free. Nevertheless, that some Distinction might be made between the Brave and the Cowards, he forbade the latter to eat sitting, or lying down, all the time of their Service.

§. 13. In the mean while, *Hannibal* seem'd to shun meeting the *Romans*. His main Recourse was to Plots, Corruption, and Surprize. However, he fail'd in an Attempt to surprize *Puteoli*; and *Nola*, whither the Populace (who were still in his Interest, in Opposition to the Senate,) invited him, proved again fatal to him. *Marcellus* attack'd him, near that City, and kill'd two thousand of his Men, with the Loss only of four hundred; and would have entirely ruined him, had *Claudius Nero*, whom the *Consul* had ordered, with some Squadrons out of *Nola*, to make a Tour, and take the *Carthaginians* in the Rear, during the Action, come up in time. *Marcellus* offer'd *Hannibal* Battel the next Day; but the latter declined it, and decamp'd the Night following.

§. 14. He had entertained strong Hopes that the City of *Tarentum* would open her Gates to him, upon his first Appearance before it. Some *Tarentine* Prisoners, whom he had formerly released without Ransom, had engaged a great Number of the young Men of that Place in his Interest, and these had invited him thither. But the *Pro-Prætor Lævinus*, who watch'd that Coast, took such effectual Measures to prevent the Designs of the Factious, that the *Carthaginian* was again disappointed. He quitted the Enterprize, and took the Road to *Salapia* in *Apulia*, where he resolved to spend the Winter. Thither he order'd Corn to be brought from *Lucania*; and then sent his *African* Horse to pillage *Apulia*. They found there about four thousand Colts, which *Hannibal* ordered to be broke; and with them he remounted his *African* Horsemen. And these were all his Exploits, during the whole Campaign.

§. 15. But whilst the *Carthaginian* was lying idle, *Fabius* besieged *Casilinum*, and sent to *Marcellus* to come with some *Legions*, and cover the Siege, apprehending an Attack from the *Capuans*. The Garrison in the Place consisted of two thousand *Campanians*, and seven hundred *Carthaginians*; and they made so vigorous a Defence, that *Fabius* was much discouraged by the daily Slaughter of his Men. He would have raised the Siege, if *Marcellus* had not represented to him, *That a wise General should consider all the Difficulties of an Enterprize, before he undertakes it; and that he is obliged in Honour to go thro' with it, when he has once begun it. And that if he should now desist, it would much lessen the Credit of the Republick among her Allies, by lessening the Reputation of her Generals.* Upon this, *Fabius* renewed his Attacks with more Ardour than ever; and the *Campanians* were so intimidated by it, that they sent to him to ask Leave to march out of *Casilinum*, and return to *Capua*. *Fabius* consented to what was asked; but *Marcellus* took his Opportunity, before fifty of them were come out of the City, seized the Gate, entered the Place, and put all to the Sword, who opposed him, without Distinction. The Prisoners he sent to *Rome*.

§. 16. *Hannibal* still depended on his Alliance with the King of *Macedon*; and indeed, *Philip* began to move, and draw towards *Italy*. He first besieged *Apollonia*; but not succeeding in that Design, he turned his Arms against *Oricum*, whose Inhabitants sent Notice of their Danger to *Lævinus*, at *Brundisium*. *Lævinus*, in two Days after the News, arrived at *Oricum*, and found it already taken; but he easily recovered it, and then formed a Design of surprizing *Philip's* Camp in the Night, and seizing the King in his Tent. The *Macedonians* were so negligent of posting Centinels about their Camp, that the *Prætor* would have executed his Project, if his Advance-Guards had abtained from Slaughter; but the Groans of the dying waked others, and the Fugitives carried the King off with them, half naked, to his Ships.

§. 17. But *Hannibal* soon made himself amends for his Disappointment on the Side of *Macedon*, by the Troubles he found Means to raise in *Sicily*. [In this Section, and the two following, are a Description of *Syracuse*, and of the Commotions and Revolutions which happened there, after the Murder of *Hieronymus*. After several Plots, Counter-Plots, and Assassinations, *Hippocrates* and *Epicycles* (the two Agents whom *Hannibal* had sent to make a Treaty with *Hieronymus*, and whom the young King had placed at the Head of his Army) were chosen into the College of *Prætors*, by the People; so that *Syracuse* was likely to become wholly devoted to the *Carthaginian* Interest.] §. 20. It was thought necessary therefore

Year of to send *Marcellus* with his Army, from *Nola*, to the Assistance of *Claudius* and *Len-* *Marcellus* *ROME* *tulus*, the two *Roman Prætors* in *Sicily*. Upon his Arrival, he heard the Proposals sent into *Sicily*, to

539. of the Deputies from the *Syracusan Prætors*, (the Majority of whom were for pre- cily, to serving the ancient Alliance with *Rome*;) and he sent an Embassy to *Syracuse*, to con- quiet the firm the Treaty. But before his Ambassadors arrived, a Report was spread in the Troubles City, That a *Carthaginian Fleet* appear'd off *Cape Pachynum*. *Hippocrates* and *Epi- there.*

cydes laid hold of this Opportunity, to renew their Attempts in favour of *Carthage*; and, by their Agents, they infused such a Jealousy of the Friends of *Rome* into the Minds of the People, as must have produced an entire Rupture, if the wisest of the *Prætors* had not prevented it. These assembled the People in the Market-place; and there *Apollonides*, one of the chief Men in the City, in a long Harangue, represented to them the Necessity of unanimously adhering to one or the other of the rival Republics: And then, comparing the Happiness which the *Syracusans* enjoy'd, during the Reign of *Hiero*, a steady Friend to the *Romans*, with the Miseries and Misfortunes of the Reign of *Hieronymus*, who embraced the *Carthaginian Interest*, he declared himself entirely for *Rome*. After several Debates, it was agreed, That the Treaty of Peace with the *Romans* should subsist; and That an Embassy should be sent to *Marcellus*, to assure him of it. But now the *Consul* would not accept of the Alliance, unless *Leontini* and the other Cities belonging to the *Syracusan Kings* were included in it. Nothing could be more disagreeable to the two Heads of *Hannibal's* Party, than this Contederacy; however for the present they gave way to Numbers.

§. 21. But *Hippocrates*, being a few Days after commission'd to lead four thousand *Roman* Deserters and Mercenaries to protect the Inhabitants of *Leontini* against the Incursions of their Neighbours, he took this opportunity to create a Misunderstanding between the *Syracusans* and *Romans*; and contrary to his Instructions, committed Hostilities upon the latter. Upon this *Marcellus* sent Deputies to *Syracuse*, who declared on the part of the *Consul*, That no Alliance was to be expected with *Rome*, so long as the two *Hannibalists* continued in *Sicily*. The *Syracusans* were very ready to comply with the Motion; but *Hippocrates* was now at the Head of an Army at *Leontini*; and *Epicides*, upon the first Rumour of what was intended, had made his Escape to him. There he inspired the *Leontins* with a Jealousy of the *Syracusans*, as his Colleague had before embroiled them with the *Romans*. These two Men, by an artful Use of the Word *Liberty*, gain'd such an Ascendant over the Peoples Minds, that the latter return'd a haughty Answer to the Remonstrances made by the *Syracusans*, in relation to their Conduct towards the *Romans*; and *Leontini* declared herself independent of *Syracuse*.

§. 22. While *Marcellus* was marching to punish the *Leontins*, a great Company of those Fugitives from the Battel of *Cannæ*, who had been banish'd to *Sicily*, by a Decree of the Senate, met him on the Way, and earnestly begg'd Leave to be admitted to serve in his Legions; and he wrote to *Rome* in their Favour: But the Senate were for keeping up the Rigour of Discipline, and allow'd him to incorporate but a very few; and even to these, he was forbidden to give any military Rewards, how bravely soever they behaved themselves.

§. 23. *Leontini* was taken upon the first Assault, but the two *Hannibalists* made their Escape and retired towards *Erbesfus*. By the Way they understood, that a Body of eight thousand Men from *Syracuse*, under the Command of *Sosis* and *Dinomenes*, two of the *Prætors*, were marching to join *Marcellus*. They immediately hired Men of their Faction to meet those two Commanders on the Road, and to pretend, That they had escaped from the general Destruction at *Leontini*, where the *Romans* had put all the Inhabitants to Death, and burnt the City to the Ground. This false Story (so inconsistent with the Conduct, and natural Temper of *Marcellus*) made such an Impression on the Soldiers, that their Officers could not prevail with them to march any farther; and they were forced to lead them to *Megara*, a City in the Neighbourhood. But being there inform'd of the Cheat put upon them by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, they resolved to be revenged, and pursued them to *Erbesfus*.

§. 24. The two *Hannibalists* were now reduced to Extremities, and therefore took a desperate Step. Remembering that they had formerly acquired some Reputation among the *Syracusan Troops*, who had served under them in the Time of *Hieronymus*, and who consisted chiefly of Foreigners and Mercenaries, they resolved to leave their *Asylum*, meet the Army, and deliver themselves up to the Soldiers, to be treated as they thought fit. It happened, luckily for them, that a Body of *Cretans*, who had formerly served the *Romans* as Auxiliaries, had been taken Prisoners at the Battel of the *Thrasymenus*, and had been set at Liberty by *Hannibal*, was then marching at the Head of the *Syracusan Troops*. To these *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* address'd themselves in a suppliant Manner, presenting them Olive-Branches and Wreaths; *Cretans*, said they, we now expect that you will shew us some Marks of your Friendship and Gratitude, and not suffer the *Syracusans* to give us up to the Fury of the *Romans*. The *Cretans* immediately promised them their Protection; and when *Sosis* and *Dinomenes* ordered the

two Prisoners to be laid in Irons, they found no Obedience from their Troops, but Year of rather an Inclination to revolt. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, who saw the Dispositions ROME of the Soldiers, invented a Stratagem worthy of *Hannibal* himself. They coun- 539. terfeited a Letter from the two Generals to *Marcellus*, and hired a Courier, who was to suffer himself to be taken, in the Road from *Megara* and *Syracuse*. The Letter ran thus: *Sosis and Dinomenes, to the Consul Marcellus, greeting. We are rejoiced to hear that you have not spared the Life of any of the Leontins, and especially of the Mercenaries, whom Hippocrates commanded. Our Republick will never be at rest while we have any of those Foreigners among us. Turn then your Arms towards Megara, and come and deliver Syracuse from the Mercenaries whom we command. It is easy to imagine the Effect which the reading of such a Letter must necessarily have upon a Multitude, who never penetrate beyond the Surface of Things. Sosis and Dinomenes were obliged to fly in haste to Syracuse, whither the Calumny followed them. A Soldier, suborned on purpose, was sent thither to spread the Story among the Citizens; and it had such Effect, even upon the chief Men in the Republick, that it was thought necessary to shut the Gates, and guard the City against the Romans, as an Enemy whose Avarice and Cruelty would spare nothing. In the mean time, Hippocrates and Epicydes got themselves into the Command of the Syracusan Army, and then march'd it to Syracuse: And, notwithstanding some Opposition from the Magistrates, they were admitted within the Gates, and became absolute Masters of the City. And now, foreseeing that Marcellus would soon lay Siege to it, their chief Care was to put it in a Posture of Defence. They gave the Slaves their Liberty, releas'd all Prisoners, and got themselves confirm'd in their usurp'd Authority, by the Suffrages of the People.*

§. 25. During these Transactions in *Sicily*, the two *Scipio's* in *Spain* gained great Advantages over the *Carthaginians*, who lost in two Battels above twenty thousand Men. The Fruit of these Successes was the retaking of *Saguntum*, the old Inhabitants of which City were reinstated in their former Possessions. And thus *Rome*, in the Consulship of *Fabius* and *Marcellus*, gradually recover'd her Losses in *Italy*, kept *Hannibal* in Awe there, made a considerable Progress in *Spain*, check'd the *Macedonians*, and courageously prepared to maintain her Dominions in *Sicily*, against all the Efforts of *Carthage*.

B O O K XXX.

§. 1. **T**HE Consulship of *Fabius Cunctator*, and *C. Marcellus*, was now expiring. But the Republick thinking it of Consequence to keep these two Great Men at the Head of her Armies, found Means to do it, without infringing the Laws. As for *Marcellus*, he was continued in *Sicily*, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*, to carry on the Siege of *Syracuse*, already begun; and he was likewise made Governor of all those Territories which had belong'd to *Hiero*; so that his Power there was as great as when he was Consul. And that *Fabius* might still have the Conduct of those Forces which were to act against *Hannibal*, the Centuries chose his Son *Q. Fabius*, to be one of the new Consuls. They knew that the Father, who was to 239th Consulship. serve as Lieutenant-General under his Son, would have the chief Direction of the Campaign. With young *Fabius* was join'd, in the Consulate, that *Sempronius Gracchus* who had disciplin'd an Army of Slaves call'd *Volones*, and had gain'd a Victory with them. Almost all the other Generals were continued in their respective Commands. The *Scipio's* govern'd *Spain*, as before; *Terentius Varro* had still the Care of *Picenum*; *Otacilius* commanded the Fleet in *Sicily*; *Mucius Scaevola* remain'd in *Sardinia*; and *Valerius Levinus* was station'd at *Brundisium*, to guard the Coasts with his Fleet, and watch the Motions of the King of *Macedon*. *Attilius Regulus* was made *Prætor Romanus*; *Æmilius Lepidus*, *Prætor Peregrinus*; *Sempronius Tuditanus*, *Prætor* in *Cisalpine Gaul*; and *Caius Fulvius*, a *Prætor*, had the Command of two Legions near *Suessula*. After the Consuls had continued as long as was necessary at *Rome*, to appoint Expiations to appease the Gods, (who, from a superstitious Regard to Prodigies, were thought by the People to be angry,) young *Fabius* went to *Suessula*, to take Possession of the Army. Whilst he was giving some Orders there, Word was brought him, that his Father drew near. Upon this, he immediately went out to meet him, his *Lictors* marching in a File before him. Old *Fabius* was on Horseback; and it was the Custom for all Generals to dismount, as soon as they came near the first *Lictor*. However, he kept his Horse, advanced towards his Son, and had already pass'd eleven of the *Lictors*, before any one of them took the Liberty to stop him. But the twelfth, by the Consul's Order, cry'd out, *Dismount*. Upon which, the Father immediately obey'd, and with great Joy ran to embrace his Son. *I had a mind to try you*, said he; *and with Pleasure find that you know how*

540.

Year of to support the Dignity of your Station. Always remember, that all private and domestic Relations and Regards, are to give way to the Respects due to Persons in a publick Character.

540. §. 2. While the two *Fabii* continued at *Suessula*, one *Dufius Altinus*, a rich, but covetous Citizen of *Arpi*, who had betray'd that Place to *Hannibal*, came to the Roman Camp, and offer'd, for a Sum of Money, to put it into the Possession of its old Masters. Young *Fabius*, enraged at the Villain's Treachery, was for treating him as *Camillus* had done the Schoolmaster of *Falerii*. But his Father represented to him, that tho' such Traitors ought never to be trusted as Friends, yet, in the present Circumstances of the Republick, no Discouragement should be given to those Rebels who were disposed to return to their former Obedience; and he advis'd that *Altinus* should only be kept in an easy Confinement till the End of the War, when it would be time enough to judge whether he had made sufficient Amends for his Revolt, by his Repentance and Return.

[§. 3. Two other * Instances are given, of Old *Fabius's* great Moderation, and of his Indulgence for the Weakness of his Soldiers, so contrary to the Cruelty exercised by *Hannibal*.] * Vide p. 243.

§. 4. However, upon the Report of *Altinus*, the *Fabii* resolv'd to open the Campaign with the Siege of *Arpi*, in which was a Garrison of five thousand *Carthaginians*. They surpriz'd and enter'd it in the Night, on that Side which was thought impregnable. The Troops in the Town believing undoubtedly that it would be attack'd on the weaker Side, had all repair'd thither, and by that means left the other defenceless. After this, the Father and Son made it their Business to follow *Hannibal*, and watch him; and they reduced him so low, that he durst not attempt any considerable Enterprize, all the Campaign.

§. 5. In the mean time, the *Prætor Fulvius*, near *Suessula*, watch'd the Motions of the *Capuans*; and was much surprized to see an hundred and twelve brave Men of their Nobility, arrive at his Camp. They declared an Abhorrence of the Revolt of their Countrymen; and they were readily receiv'd again into the Friendship of the Romans. By this Defection of the *Capuan* Nobility, it appear'd how much *Hannibal* had lost his Credit. The *Prætor Sempronius Tuditanus* took *Aternum* by Storm; and with the Booty he found there, and the Ransom of seven thousand Prisoners, much enriched the Treasury of the Republick. The *Consul Sempronius* gain'd great Advantages in *Lucania*; and a Part of *Bruttium* return'd to its former Obedience.

§. 6. In *Spain*, the two *Scipio's* not only made great Progress there, but extended their Views even to *Africa*. They engag'd *Syphax*, King of *Masæsyliæ*, (the Western Part of *Numidia*;) to take Arms against *Carthage*: And *Statorius*, one of the three *Centurions*, whom the *Scipio's* sent upon the Negotiation, continued with the *Numidian* King, at his Request, to discipline his Troops. But on the other hand, the *Carthaginians*, alarm'd at the Motions of the *Masæsylian*, prevail'd with *Gala*, King of *Masseyliæ* (the Eastern Part of *Numidia* and the nearest to their Territory,) to join with them to divert the threatened Storm. *Gala* was himself no Warrior; but he had a Son, named *Masinissa*, in the Flower of his Age, whose Inclinations were wholly for War; and he being put at the Head of his Father's Troops, and joining the *Carthaginians*, fell so vigorously, and so seasonably, on the *Masæsylians*, that the latter were entirely routed, and lost thirty thousand Men in the Action. The vanquish'd King retired into *Mauritania*, made Levies there, and prepared to pass *The Straights* and join the *Scipio's* in *Spain*. But *Masinissa* gave him a second Overthrow, and reduced him so low, that he was not in a Condition to try the Fortune of Arms again, for a long time.

§. 7. In the mean while, the Roman Army under *Marcellus* was still before *Syracuse*, the Siege of which had been begun the last Year. [The famous Siege are related in this and the thirteen following Sections.] All the Attempts of *Marcellus* to storm the Place were frustrated, by the surprizing Inventions of *Archimedes*.

This great Man is said to have once told King *Hiero*, that he had invented an Engine, by which he could move the Globe of the Earth, provided he had another Earth to stand upon. And he now contriv'd such Machines as would cast Stones of a prodigious Weight upon the Romans, and break to Pieces all their battering Engines. Nay, he invented a Sort of Iron Crows, fastened to Chains, which being let fall with great Violence upon the Roman Gallies (which were brought close to the Wall of the Town, next the Sea) stuck fast in the Prows of them; and then, by a counterpoise on that Part of the Machine which was within the Rampart, the Vessels were set on one End, or overturn'd, or hoisted into the Air, and the Men shaken out of them. Insomuch, that the Romans were utterly discouraged, and *Marcellus* was oblig'd to remove to a farther Distance. But tho' the *Pro-Consul* was somewhat disconcerted, he express'd himself with Pleasantry, and said, *Archimedes is a Briareus, a Giant with a hundred Hands, who makes War with the Gods, but to his own Ruin*. However, it was resolv'd in a Council of War, to attack the Place no more, but to shut up all the Avenues of it, in order to reduce it by Famine. At length, *Marcellus* took the Opportunity of a Festival-

Season, when the Soldiers and Citizens in *Syracuse* had drank plentifully, and were Year of
in their first Sleep, to surprize a Tower which was ill guarded, and thereby made *ROME*
himself Master of some of the chief Quarters of that great City. However, there 540.
was a great deal yet to do. *Hippocrates*, with ten thousand Foot, and fifteen
hundred Horse, had left the City, and broke thro' the *Roman* Lines, in order to
join the *Carthaginian* Army under *Himilco*, who was come into *Sicily*, to the As-
sistance of the *Syracusans*. *Marcellus* had indeed surprized this Detachment, near
Acrille, and surrounded the Infantry; but *Hippocrates* had escaped with the Cavalry
to *Himilco*. And when these two arrived with their Troops to relieve the Besieged,
it gave the *Romans* some Apprehensions; and indeed they were forced to employ
all their Bravery and Skill, to maintain the Advantages they had gained. But now
a Plague made terrible Havock, both in the City, and in the two Camps. *Hippo-
crates* and *Himilco* were both carried off by it; upon which, the *Sicilian* Troops in
their Service immediately disbanded, and return'd to their native Homes. The *Ro-
man* Soldiers suffered less than the *Carthaginian*, by the Infection, because having
been a long time before *Syracuse*, they were inured to the Air and Water of the
Country. After this, and the Departure of *Epicydes* from *Syracuse*, to join *Bomilcar*,
(who, he heard, was come from *Africa*, to his Assistance, with a new Fleet of a
hundred and thirty Gallies, and seven hundred Transports, and lay at *Pachynum*;) the
remaining Part of the City, yet unconquered, would have capitulated, if the *Roman*
Deserters, of whom the Garrison partly consisted, and who had no Hopes of Par-
don, had not persuaded the foreign Mercenaries that their Ruin likewise must in-
evitably be the Consequence of a Peace. Fired by these Insinuations, the Merce-
naries ran, Sword in hand, to the Houses of the *Prætors*, who had made Proposals
of Peace to *Marcellus*, and massacred them. Then they spread themselves about
the Streets, and killed all they met, without Distinction. But at length, the Tu-
mult was appeased; they were made sensible of the Difference between their Case
and that of the *Roman* Deserters; and that there was no Design against their Lives.
It happened, that among the six new Governors whom the Seditious chose, there
was one *Meris*, a *Spaniard*, who detested the late Slaughter of the Citizens, tho'
he had contributed to it, by giving in, too lightly, to the Prepossessions of the
Mercenaries. *Marcellus* made it his Business to gain this Man, and succeeded in
the Attempt, by the Means of a young *Spaniard*, whom he privately sent from his
Army for that Purpose. *Meris* engaged himself by Oath to use his Endeavours to
bring the *Roman* Forces into that Part of the City called *Acradina*. *Meris*, the
better to accomplish his Design, feigned an extraordinary Zeal for the Preservation
of the Place, and proposed to the *Syracusans*, as the most effectual Way to guard
against the Artfulness of *Marcellus*, that each of the *Prætors* should have his dis-
tinct Quarter of the City assigned him, and be responsible for any Neglect of Duty
in it. The Motion was agreed to; and upon the Division, *Acradina* fell to his
Care. *Marcellus* being informed of what was done, took his Measures accordingly.
He sent a Body of Troops to that Side where *Meris* commanded; and the *Spaniard*
admitted them into *Acradina*, by the Gate of *Arethusa*. At the same time the *Pro-
Consul* order'd a false Attack to be made on a neighbouring Quarter; and this draw-
ing almost all the Soldiers of the Garrison thither, that Part of *Syracuse* call'd *Or-
tygia*, was in a manner left defenceless. *Marcellus* foresaw this, and had detach'd
some Soldiers on Purpose to take Advantage of it. These enter'd *Ortygia*, almost
without fighting; and the *Romans* became entire Masters of the City.

Syracuse
taken.

§. 21. And now the Conqueror, who during the Siege had wept with Compassion for the Miseries of the Inhabitants, gave a signal Proof of his Clemency to a faithless City, taken by Assault. To avoid shedding the Blood, even of Traitors, he first ordered that the *Roman* Deserters should be suffered to escape; and then he granted all the Citizens their Lives, without Exception. The City, however, was given up to be plundered by the Troops, as soon as the *Consul* had secured the late King's Treasures, for the Use of the Republick; and the Soldiers exceeded the Liberty allow'd them. They were cruel in their Avarice, and took away the Lives of many of the Inhabitants; and among the rest, of the incomparable *Archimedes*. He was very intent on a Demonstration in Geometry, and calmly drawing his Lines, when he saw a Soldier enter his Room, and clap a Sword to his Throat. Hold, Friend, said *Archimedes*, one Moment, and my Demonstration will be finished. The Fellow was surprized at his Unconcern in so much Danger, and resolv'd to lead him to the *Pro-Consul*; but *Archimedes* taking under his Arm a little Box full of Spheres, Sun-Dials, &c. the Soldier thought it contain'd Gold and Silver, and not being able to resist the Temptation, kill'd him upon the Spot. *Marcellus* lamented his Death, shew'd Favour to all his Relations, for his sake, and took an utter Aversion to his Murderer.

§. 22. After this, the *Pro-Consul* took *Engyum* by Assault, a Place famous for a strange Superstition. The People fancied, that certain Goddesses, call'd *The Mothers*, appeared from time to time, in a Temple in the City.

Year of City. One *Nicias*, a Man of Wit, had talk'd a little jestingly upon these Apparitions, and being likewise a Friend to the *Romans*, the Inhabitants resolved to put him to Death. But he avoided the Danger, by counterfeiting Madness, and then made his Escape to *Marcellus*. At the Request of *Nicias*, the *Pro-Consul* spared likewise this City; so that the *Romans* began now to have the Reputation of Clemency, as they had long had of Courage, and of Propity.

§. 23. In the mean time, *Hannibal* still continued in *Italy*, running over the *Roman Provinces*; and was more intent on surprizing Cities, than besieging them, or giving Battel. The two *Fabii* watched his Steps, and reduced him to this Inaction. At *Rome*, all was peaceable; only Religion suffer'd by the great Concourse of idle People, whom the War had driven thither from all Parts. Each of these Fugitives brought with him his own Gods, and his own Way of Worship; and a thousand Innovations in Religion were introduced. The foreign Priests and Diviners had dispersed little Books, in which the Poison of their Novelties was artfully couched. And the Evil became at length so great, that the *Conscript Fathers* were forced to interpose. The *Prætor*, by their Order, assembled the People, and read to them the following Edict. *I command all Persons, who have any Books of Divination or Prayers, or containing Instructions concerning the Rites of Sacrifices, to bring them to me, before the first of April. And I forbid all Persons to offer any Sacrifice in publick, or in any sacred Place whatsoever, according to the new and foreign Ceremonies.* This Edict was put in Execution, the Innovations were suppress'd, and Religion was settled again upon its old Foot.

B O O K XXXI.

§. 1. **T**HE time for the new Elections drawing on, and the present *Consuls* being both engaged Abroad in the War, *Sempronius*, the elder of them, nominated *C. Claudius Centho*, Dictator; to hold the *Comitia* by Centuries. And there *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, were chosen *Consuls* for the 240th Con-
 541. new Year. At this time likewise, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and his Brother *Lucius*, the *fulship*. Sons of the *Pro-Consul* in *Spain*, were elected *Curule Ædiles*, by the *Comitia* by Tribes, notwithstanding the elder of them was but twenty three Years of Age, and the Law required that every Candidate for that Office should be thirty. The personal Merit of young *Cornelius Scipio*, and that of his Father and Uncle, made the People dispense with their old Customs.

§. 2. And now the *Consuls* thought fit to add two *Legions*, to the twenty one already on foot. A surprizing Multitude of Soldiers, to be all raised out of the *Citizens of Rome*, and exclusive of the Troops of the Allies, which were at least as numerous as the *Legionaries*! But when these new Levies were compleated, the Departure of the *Consuls* was still delay'd for some time, by an Incident, which revived the Hatred of the People to the *Publicans*.

§. 3. It has been observed before, that the *Publicans* undertook to supply the *Roman Armies* in foreign Countries with Provisions; and the Senate had agreed to indemnify them, in case of Losses by Shipwreck. And now *Posthumius*, an avaricious Wretch, took Advantage of this Condition, to practise Rogueries, and impose upon the Republick. He plac'd to her Account many Shipwrecks, which had never happened; and not only so, but overloaded some Barks with Merchandize of little Value, and thereby sunk them. By this Means, he made his Losses run very high, and demanded great Sums in Consideration of them. But his Knavery was at length discovered, and he was cited by two *Tribunes of the People*, to appear before the *Comitia* by Tribes. The Assembly presently concluded, upon the Evidence brought by the Accusers, that the Offender ought to be fined two hundred thousand *Asses* of Brass. The Friends of the Accused seeing this, apply'd themselves to one *Servilius Casca*, a Relation of *Posthumius*, and one of the *Tribunes*. But when *Casca* would have protested against the Proceedings of his Colleagues, the Assembly drown'd his Voice with their Clamours, and he could not be heard. The *Publicans* therefore, who were all interested in the Affair, had Recourse to Violence, and insulted sometimes the People, and sometimes their Magistrates. And they were just ready to come to Blows, when the *Consul Fulvius* said to THE TRIBUNES OF THE COMMONS, *You see how little Respect is shewn to your Persons. If you don't dissolve the Assembly, the Affair will end in Sedition.* The *Tribunes*, upon this, dismissed the Assembly. But the *Consuls* reporting what had happened, to the *Conscript Fathers*, and being authorized by them, changed the Manner of the Proceeding, and made it a criminal Affair. Both *Posthumius*, and the other *Publicans* who assisted him in the Riot, were cited to appear as Criminals. Some were dragg'd to Prison, for want of the Sureties required of them; others went into a voluntary Banishment; *Posthumius* himself fled, and *Rome* was deliver'd from a Gang

Tarentum
betray'd to
Hannibal.

He besieges
the Citadel
of Taren-
tum.

Gang of avaricious and audacious Villains.

§. 4. About this time, the *Pontifex Maximus* died, and the Assembly of the *Tribes* chose one *P. Licinius*, a young Man, who had never been in any *Curule Magistracy*, to succeed him; notwithstanding that *Fulvius*, now *Consul* the third time, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who had been twice *Consul*, and once *Censor*, were his Competitors. So capricious are popular Elections!

§. 5. And now the *Consuls* join'd their Forces, march'd together to *Samnium*, and resolv'd to besiege *Capua*. But in the mean while, *Hannibal* found Means to surprize *Tarentum*. The Inhabitants of this Place had been greatly disgusted, on account of some Hostages whom they had been obliged to send to *Rome*, and who had been put to Death in a cruel Manner, for attempting to make their Escape. Thirteen of the principal of the young Nobility enter'd into a Plot to deliver up the City to *Hannibal*. *Nico* and *Philomenus*, two of the Number, were at the Head of the rest; and they made Hunting their Pretence for Night-Excursions. The Game they brought home, and with which they furnish'd the Table of *Livius*, the Commander of the *Roman* Garrison, pleas'd him so much, that he allow'd them free Liberty of going out, and coming in, without the least Suspicion. By this Means, the Conspirators had frequent Conferences with *Hannibal*, whose Camp was not far off. And having engaged him to promise with an Oath, That when he should become Master of *Tarentum*, the Inhabitants should enjoy their Laws, Liberties, and Estates, without Infringement; and that they should not be subject to pay any Tribute, or obliged to receive a *Carthaginian* Garrison, without their own Consent; and that the Effects of the Romans only, should be given up as free Booty to his Troops; they undertook to bring him into the Town.

§. 6. The better to cover the Design, and to prevent Distrusts, *Hannibal* retired three Days Journey from *Tarentum*, and feigned himself sick in his new Camp. At length *Philomenus* gave him notice, that a favourable Opportunity offered to put their Project in Execution. *Hannibal* came away with a strong Detachment, and concealed himself in a Valley fifteen Miles from *Tarentum*; whither *Philomenus* brought him word, that the next Night the *Roman* Governor was to be at an Entertainment, and would probably drink to Excess; and that when he was fast asleep, it would be the proper time to make the Attempt. And now all Preparations being made by the Conspirators, both within and without the City, *Philomenus* came about Midnight to a Postern Gate, which used to be opened to him upon the first Whistle. He followed two young Men, who carried a wild Boar of an enormous Size in a Hand-Barrow; and when the Wicket was opened, and the *Roman*, upon Guard, was examining the Beast, *Nico* ran him through with a Hunting-Spear. Then thirty *Carthaginians* entered in an Instant, broke down the Gate, and let in a Body of their Fellow-Soldiers, who became Masters of that Part of the Town.

§. 7. *Hannibal* was let in, by *Nico*, at the Gate *Temenides*, as had been before agreed, and then the Slaughter of the *Romans* was very great, both that Night, and the next Day; but *Livius* escaped, with his Domesticks, in a Bark to the Citadel.

§. 8. The *Carthaginian*, after some vain Attempts to take the Citadel by Assault, despairing of Success in that Enterprize, contented himself with fortifying the City on that Side; which before lay open, and defenceless. He built a strong Wall there with a Ditch behind it; and then, that he might not give Umbrage to the *Tarentins*, retired with his Army to a River, (which was sometimes called *The Galefus*, and sometimes *The Eurotas*) five Miles from *Tarentum*.

§. 9. When he had pitched his Camp on *The Galefus*, he undertook to besiege the Citadel in Form; but the Garrison having received a Reinforcement from *Metapontus*, a *Roman* City on *The Gulph of Tarentum*, repulsed the *Carthaginian*, burned his Machines, destroyed his Works, and made him once more lay aside the Thoughts of that Conquest. However, it was necessary to secure the *Tarentins* a free Passage to the Sea, which was at present cut off by the Citadel, which stood at the Entrance of the Port. No Vessel could safely go out, or come in; and this made the *Tarentins* apprehend a Scarcity of Provisions. But *Hannibal*, who was not to be discouraged by Difficulties, form'd a Scheme, which the Ancients have much admired, to remedy this Evil. There were a good Number of Ships in the Haven of *Tarentum*; and he caused the lightest of them to be transported to the Sea by Land on Carriages made on Purpose. These Vessels anchored before the Mouth of the Haven, and suffered no other to come there, but such as were loaded for the Use of the City; so that the Citadel, which before commanded the Sea, could now receive no Provisions that Way; and the City was supply'd. After this, *Hannibal* returned to the Banks of *The Galefus*, leaving the Citadel blocked up by Sea and Land.

§. 10. And now he received a Deputation from the *Capuans*, who had reason to expect a Siege from the *Consuls Fulvius* and *Appius*; and, by the Devastation of their Fields, began already to feel the Miseries of Famine. The *Carthaginian* was unwilling to leave the Neighbourhood of *Tarentum*, and therefore ordered *Hanno*, with an Army from *Bruttium*, to the Relief of his favourite City. *Hanno* collected vast Quantities of Corn, and having pitched his Camp near

Beneventum,

Year of
ROME
541.

Year of *Beneventum*, gave notice to the *Capuans*, to send their Waggon to fetch it. But so indolent and lazy were these effeminate Wretches, that they sent but four hundred Waggon, and a few Mules. *Hanno* could not forbear expressing his Indignation at

541. such intolerable Negligence, and ordered them to send, on a Day appointed, a greater Number of Carriages, to remove the rest of the Corn. In the mean time, the *Consuls* had notice of what was doing, from the People of *Beneventum*; and *Fulvius* with his Troops marched thither with all Expedition. He entered the Town in the Night, unknown to *Hanno*, and the next Morning appeared by Break of Day before the Enemy's Camp. Two thousand *Capuan* Carts were arrived there, while *Hanno* was abroad foraging, and the Carters and Peasants mixing with the Soldiers, caused a good deal of Disorder. However, the Camp was situated upon an Ascent, and therefore very difficult to be taken by Assault; but the *Roman* Soldiers signalized their Bravery on this Occasion, beyond the Expectation of their General, who was for quitting the Enterprize, or at least suspending it, till his Colleague should come to his Assistance. One *Vibius*, a *Centurion* of the *Latin* Troops, and after his Example, *Pedanius*, a *Centurion* of the third *Roman* Legion, threw each a Standard over the Enemy's Ramparts, to excite the Soldiers to recover it. Upon this, the *Carthaginian* Entrenchments were forced, and the Slaughter was terribly great.

§. 11. As for *Hanno*, having lost his Camp, he was forced to return to *Bruttium* with only a few Horse; and the *Capuans* sent a new Deputation to *Hannibal*, to press him to come to their Assistance, being now more apprehensive of a Siege than ever. Nevertheless, the *Carthaginian* only sent two thousand Horse to preserve their Fields from being laid waste. He was so intent upon reducing the Citadel of *Tarentum* by Famine, that he could not be prevailed upon to move from thence. In the mean time Measures were taken at *Rome* to frustrate his Expectations. The *Prætor* dispatched his Lieutenant-General with a Convoy of Provisions for the Citadel. The Convoy arrived safe, forced its Way through the Barriers of the *Tarentine* Galleys, and stocked the Place with Provisions.

§. 12. But tho' *Hannibal* was disappointed in this Undertaking, he succeeded better in his Design upon *Thurium*, by the Treachery of the Inhabitants; and he had before taken Possession of *Metapontus*, as soon as it was evacuated by the *Romans*.

§. 13. However, these Advantages gained by the *Carthaginian* in the East of *Italy*, did not hinder the *Consuls* from entering the Territory of *Capua*. Their Design was to besiege the City in Form: and believing undoubtedly, that *Hannibal*, with all the *Capua* *Carthaginian* Forces, would come to its Relief, they ordered *Sempronius Gracchus* sieged by to leave *Lucania*, and draw near to *Capua*, with his Army of *Volones*. *Sempronius* the *Roman* had already named his Successor to command in that Province, and was preparing means for his March, when one *Flavius*, a *Lucanian*, and hitherto always zealous in the *Roman* Interest, changed his Inclinations on a sudden; and in order to recommend himself to the *Carthaginians*, betrayed the *Pro-Consul* to them. He pretended to *Sempronius*, that the Heads of the *Carthaginian* Faction in *Lucania* were disposed to a Reconciliation with the Republick, and only desired a private Conference with him. And the brave *Roman*, not suspecting any Deceit, suffered himself to be led by the Traitor into an Ambush, where *Mago*, with a Body of *Carthaginians*, surrounded him; and *Flavius* immediately went over to the Enemy. The *Pro-Consul*, seeing himself betrayed, dismounted, wrapped his Left Arm in his *Paludamentum*, for Want of a Buckler, and rushed, Sword in Hand, to the Place where he saw *Flavius*, in hopes to kill the Traitor, before he fell himself; but he perished in the Attempt, tho' the *Carthaginians* endeavoured to take him alive.

§. 14. The Body of this great Man was carried to *Hannibal's* Camp, who erected a Funeral Pile for him, and did Honour to his Memory. As for the Army of *Volones*, they disbanded themselves upon the Death of their Commander: So that the *Consuls* Project of besieging *Capua*, was a little disconcerted.

§. 15. And for an Addition to all these Misfortunes, News was brought to *Rome* from *Spain*, that both the *Scipio's* were dead. The two Brothers had divided their Forces, to make Head against three *Carthaginian* Generals. *Asdrubal*, the Brother *Scipio's* of *Hannibal*, commanded an Army apart. *Mago*, and another *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gisco*, had united their Forces, and acted in Concert. *P. Scipio*, the *Pro-Consul*, and *kill'd* had taken two thirds of the *Roman* Troops, to march against *Mago* and the Son of *Gisco*, and had left his Brother *Cneius* only one third of the *Romans* with thirty thousand *Celtiberians*. These *Spaniards*, being richly bribed by *Asdrubal*, soon deserted their General, tho' they did not act against him; and *Cneius* found himself obliged to retire before the Enemy.

§. 16. On the other hand, *Mago* and the Son of *Gisco* being joined by *Masiniſſa* from *Africa*, and by *Indibilis* a *Spanish* Prince, defeated the Army of the *Pro-Consul*, who himself lost his Life in the Action.

§. 17. The Conquerors lost no time in attacking *P. Scipio's* Camp, but joined *Asdrubal*, and pursued *Cneius Scipio*, who not being able to gain any better Retreat, posted himself on the Top of a rocky Eminence, where the Nature of the Ground

would not suffer him to make any Fortification but with the Baggage of his Army. Year of Being there surrounded and attacked by all the *Carthaginian* Forces united, he likewise lost his Life; but the best Part of the *Legionaries* escaped, and gained the Camp of the deceased *Pro-Consul*, *P. Scipio*. §. 18. Thus all the Hopes of the *Romans* in *Spain* seemed extinguished by the Death of the *Scipio's*. But *C. Marcius*, a Disciple of *Cneius*, (the abler Soldier of the two Brothers) revived them. Being chosen General by the *Legions*, he first repulsed *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisco*, who came to attack him in his Camp. §. 19. And then, the next Night, he boldly marched to the Enemy's Camp, surprized it, killed thirty seven thousand of them, and took one thousand eight hundred and thirty Prisoners. 541.

241st Consulship.

§. 20. And now, the *Consular* Year being ready to expire, the Senate ordered the *Prætor* of *Rome* to write to the *Consuls* before *Capua*, to return to the City. However, it not being proper for both to leave the Camp, *Appius Claudius* only went to preside in the *Comitia*, where *P. Sulpicius Galba*, and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, were elected to the *Consular* Dignity. *Apulia* was assigned for their Province; while the late *Consuls* were in Quality of *Pro-Consuls*, to continue the Siege of *Capua*. §. 21. But as these proposed to reduce the Place rather by Famine than Force, they turned the Siege into a Blockade. 542.

§. 22. In the mean time, Couriers came from *Marcius* in *Spain*, with Letters to the Senate, in which he informed them of his Success against the Son of *Gisco*, and demanded Succours and Provisions to enable him to maintain the War. In these Letters he unfortunately stiled himself *Pro-Prætor*, a Title which he had acquired only by a military Election in the Camp; and this slight Offence against the Authority of the proud Republick, was highly resented. Inasmuch, that, notwithstanding the important Services of *Marcius*, it was resolved to send a new Commander into *Spain*. §. 23. But the assembling of the People for this Purpose was suspended by a more urgent Affair. *Cn. Fulvius*, Brother to the late *Consul*, had by his Cowardice suffered a Defeat in *Apulia*, where he had commanded in Quality of *Prætor*. One of the *Tribunes* of the People, named *Sempronius Blæsus*, cited him to appear before the *Comitia* by Tribes, purposing to get him fined. But when the Witnesses came to be examined, the Charge appeared so heavy, that all the People cried out, that instead of a *Civil*, it ought to be made a *Criminal* Process. For this it was necessary to assemble the *Centuries*; capital Affairs not being cognizable by the Tribes. In the mean time, the Accused sent to his Brother, who was busy before *Capua*, to exert his Interest, in order to divert the Blow that threatened him. And the *Pro-Consul* accordingly wrote to the Senate for Leave to come to *Rome*, and solicit his Brother's Affair: but *The*

Conscript Fathers thinking it a Case, wherein the publick Interest was concerned, were inexorable. So that *Fulvius* having no Hopes, went into Exile, without waiting for his Sentence; and the *Comitia*, after his Departure, adjudged him guilty of the Banishment he had chosen. §. 24. Nor did the *Pro-Consul* resent the Affront he had received in the Person of his Brother. The Love of his Country had the Ascendant in his Breast, and he continued to apply himself vigorously to shut up *Capua* on all Sides. §. 25. However, a *Numidian* Horseman, having had the Address to cross the *Roman* Camp in the Night, without being discovered, carried the News to *Hannibal*, of the Extremity to which the City was reduced. And this engaged him at length to leave the Blockade of the Citadel of *Tarentum*.

Hannibal attempts in vain to relieve Capua. He marched away with all Expedition with his Horse, his light-armed Infantry, and three and thirty Elephants. And having found means to give the *Capuans* notice of the time when he intended to attack the Besiegers, he ordered them likewise to make a Sally at the same time. §. 26. The Design was well laid, but the Execution was not successful; both *Hannibal*, and the *Capuan* Garrison, were repulsed with great Loss.

Hannibal marches to Rome.

§. 27. And now the *Carthaginian* was much perplexed what Step to take next, it being impossible for him to subsist long in a Country which was laid waste. And at length he formed a Design worthy of himself, and the fittest to support his Credit and his Glory. He resolved to march directly to *Rome*, and endeavour to surprize it. One Advantage at least he concluded he should gain by this Enterprize; that it would cause a Division of the *Roman* Forces before *Capua*; by which means Provisions might more easily be conveyed into that City. And that the *Capuans* might not be so disheartened by his Absence as to surrender, he gave them notice of his Design. The News of *Hannibal's* Approach caused great Apprehensions at *Rome*. Each of *The Conscript Fathers* gave his Opinion according to his Fears, or his greater or less Insight into the Consequences of Things. Some were for calling all the Armies in *Italy* into the Neighbourhood of the Capital. But the great *Fabius* opposed this Opinion. *What*, said he, *shall Hannibal fill us with Terror as often as he thinks fit? Is it possible that a Man who durst not appear before Rome, after he had vanquished us at Cannæ, should besiege us with Success, after we have routed him before Capua? His Design is not to take Rome, but to deliver Capua.*

Year of The Army we have here, the Protection of our Gods, and the Height of our Ramparts, ROME are sufficient Defences against an Attempt, boldly bazarred out of Artifice or Despair.

542. However, a middle Way was taken, and Messengers were sent to the *Pro-Consuls*, to inform them of the State of *Rome*; and it was left to their Judgment, either to continue both before *Capua*, or to detach one of them with such Forces as could be spared, and should be thought proper to relieve the Capital. Upon this it was agreed by the two Collegues, that *Fulvius* should march away with fifteen thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse; but he took *The Appian Way* to *Rome*, and not *The Latin*, which the *Carthaginian* had pursued. §. 28. As for *Hannibal*, he took

a Compass, and marked his Way with Ruin; and at length arrived by *The Prænestine Way*, within eight hundred Paces of *Rome*. But while the City was in the utmost Alarm, the *Pro-Consul Fulvius* appeared with his Troops, and entered *Rome* by the Gate *Capena*, having first received from the Senate an Authority equal to that of the *Consuls*, for the better Discharge of his Employment. He marched through the City, and encamped his Army between the Gates *Esquilina* and *Collina*. There the two *Consuls* (who had not yet left *Rome*) held a Council of War with the Senate; the Situation of *Fulvius's* Camp was approved, and all the Officers were assigned their Posts. After this, *The Conscript Fathers* thought it necessary to keep their House continually sitting in *The Forum Romanum*, to be ready against all Emergencies. §. 29. These Dispositions, of which *Hannibal* had notice, so much

intimidated him, that he retired about three Miles farther from the City, and encamped beyond the *Anio*. Nevertheless, as he had the Curiosity to see with his own Eyes the Condition of the *Romans*, he advanced towards the Gate *Collina*, and appeared over-against the Temple of *Hercules*, attended by two thousand Horse. The *Pro-Consul Fulvius*, provoked at this Insult, instantly sent out a Detachment of Cavalry to attack him. And not only so, but he ordered the twelve hundred *Numidian* Horse (who had formerly deserted from *Hannibal*, and were his irreconcilable Enemies,) to leave their Post on Mount *Aventine*, and march to the Assistance of the *Romans*. These *Numidians* were obliged to cross the City, and they marched in good Order thro' the Streets. But the *Citizens*, who knew not that they were in the Service of the Republick, were seized with a sudden Fright at the Sight of them within the Walls. And the Commotion was so great, that if *Hannibal* had not been at the Gates of *Rome*, most of the Inhabitants would have left it. It was with Difficulty, that the *Africans* made their Way thro' the terrify'd Crowds, but they at length join'd the *Roman* Squadrons; and *Hannibal* being repulsed, retired to his Camp. However, the *Carthaginian* had no mind yet to quit his Enterprize; and therefore, repassing the *Anio*, he drew up his Troops, and offer'd the Enemy Battel. The *Romans* accepted the Challenge; but when all things were ready to begin the Engagement, a sudden Tempest prevented it; and the same thing happened again the next Day. This is the Account given by the *Roman* Historians, who make a Prodigy of the Matter, and embellish the Story with other miraculous Circumstances. But *Polybius* says nothing of these Preparations for fighting, nor of any Prodigies that hindered it. *Hannibal* continued quiet in his Camp; and *Rome* being no longer in any Terror, provided for all Affairs Abroad with as much Tranquillity as if the Enemy had not been at her Gates. §. 30. And

as the Armies of the Republick in *Spain* wanted Reinforcements, *The Conscript Fathers* sent some Troops thither; which *Hannibal* thought an Insult upon his Weakness. And he was yet more concerned at the Account given by a Deserter, That a Piece of Land in the Place where he then was, had been lately sold at *Rome* for as much Money, as it would have sold for, if he had not been Master of it. This exasperated him so much, that by Way of Bravado, he put up to Sale the Bankers Shops round *The Forum Romanum*, as if he had really been in Possession of the City. Then he drew nearer to it, and encamped not far from the Gate *Capena*; but he soon retired again, and went into the Territory of the *Capenates*; where finding a Temple dedicated to the Goddess *Feronia*, he rifled it, and carried thence a considerable Booty of Gold and Silver. §. 31. After this, he pursued his March

Hannibal retires from before Rome.

Eastward; and *Fulvius* endeavoured in vain to intercept him. The *Carthaginian* passed the *Liris*, drew near to *Capua*, and fell suddenly on *Appius's* Camp in the Night. A great Number of *Romans* were killed on the Spot, and the *Pro-Consul* was forced to take Refuge on some Eminencies, till he should receive a Reinforcement. But now *Hannibal*, expecting to have all the *Roman* Forces immediately upon him, abandoned all Thoughts of preserving *Capua*, marched through *Lucania*, then through the Country of the *Bruttii*, and fell down with such Expedition on the Territory of *Rhegium*, that he had like to have surprized that City. §. 32. As

for *Capua*, the Departure of *Hannibal*, and the Return of *Fulvius*, who joined his Collegue *Appius*, put the Siege upon the same Foot as before. The *Pro-Consuls* sent the Inhabitants word, that they would spare the Lives of all those of them who would repair to the *Roman* Camp; but not one *Capuan* accepted the Offer. The

Commanders

Commanders of the *Carthaginian* Garrison wrote Letters to *Hannibal* full of Re- Year of
proaches, and pressing him not to desert them in so shameful a manner. These Let- ROME
ters were committed to the Care of some *Numidians*, who pretended to desert, and 542.
then sought an Opportunity to escape to *Rhegium*. One of them being followed by
his Mistress, to whom he had disclosed the Secret, she betrayed it; and above se-
venty of these pretended Deserters were seized. They were whipp'd, had their
Thumbs cut off, and then were driven back to *Capua*. §. 33. At the Sight
of these maimed Refugees, the City was in the utmost Consternation. The People
forced the Senators, who had for some time absconded themselves, to assemble to-
gether, and their House was never fuller. The Majority were for sending a Depu-
tation to the *Pro-Consuls* to capitulate; but *Vibius Virius*, the first Author of the
Revolt, and the most declared Friend of *Hannibal*, opposed this Motion, and made
a * Speech, in which every thing favoured of Rage and Despair. He endeavoured
to shew the Folly of hoping for any Favour from the *Romans*, after such great Provo-
cations; and then concluded thus. *Let Death be our Resource; 'tis our only Remedy.*
I have prepared a great Entertainment at my House. When we have eaten and drunk
plentifully, a Cup of Poison will end our Days and our Misfortunes together. Let all
those who either are weary of Life, or despise it, or despair of preserving it, follow me.
Funeral Piles are ready to burn our Bodies. A glorious Death will at least procure us
Respect from our Enemies; and the perfidious Hannibal will lament the Loss of Allies,
who did not deserve to be thus deserted and betray'd. Twenty seven of the Assembly
followed *Virius*, took Part of the Entertainment to which they were invited, and
closed all with a Cup of Poison. §. 34. As to the Terms of the Treaty, which
the rest of the *Capuans* made with the *Romans*, we can only guess at them by the
Event. As soon as the latter were in Possession, the Soldiers of the *Carthaginian*
Garrison were seized, and the Senators were sent to the *Roman* Camp, to be tried
by the *Pro-Consuls*. They were first made to discover all their Treasures, which
amounted to seventy Pounds Weight of Gold, and three thousand two hundred
Pounds Weight of Silver; and then fifty three of them, who had been the most
active against *Rome*, were sent to two *Roman* Cities; and it was resolved to deter-
mine their Fate, before any thing was decreed concerning the rest of the Inhabitants.
Appius inclined to Clemency, but *Fulvius* to Severity; and the Dispute grew warm
between them. The former, to put an end to it, wrote to the Senate, and referre
the Matter to them; but his Colleague, without waiting for the Senate's Decree,
hastened with two thousand Horse, first to *Cale*, and then to *Teanum*, whither the
fifty three Senators had been transported, and caused them to be first beaten with
Rods, and then beheaded by the *Lictors*. He might well have spared those at *Teanum*,
having just before the Execution received Letters from *Rome*, with Orders to
suspend it; but he put the Letters in his Bosom, and would not read them till all
was over. Nor did the Republick ever blame him for this Instance of Severity;
being doubtless pleased to have her Revenge, without incurring the Odium of In-
humanity among her Allies. The Charge fell only upon *Fulvius*. §. 35. And
the Impression of his Cruelty in the Minds of the People became yet stronger by
the following Incident. One *Jubellius*, a Man reputed brave among his own Party,
had come from *Capua*, and had been present at the late Massacre of the Senators.
Pierced with Compassion, and full of Indignation, he thus addressed himself to the
Pro-Consul, just as he was going to dismiss the Assembly. *Stay one Moment, Ful-*
vius. In order to complete thy Cruelty, I am yet left to be executed. And then thou
may'st boast of having kill'd a braver Man than thyself. *Fulvius* (who had published
the Decree of the Senate) replied, *You come too late to be punished, and are mad*
with Rage. At which, *Jubellius* leap'd about in a frantick manner, *Wretch that I*
am, said he, I have lived to see my Country reduced to Slavery! I have stabbed my
Wife and Children, to preserve them from the Insults of an infamous Conqueror; and I
am come hither, to have my Blood mixed with that of my Friends and Countrymen.
And do my Enemies, after all, deny me Death? My own Arm at least shall give what
they refuse me. And then he stabbed himself to the Heart with a Dagger he had
brought under his Robe, and fell dead at the Foot of the Tribunal. §. 36. As
for *Capua* itself, the Senate decreed, not to raze it to the Ground, as some advised,
but to make it a Retreat for the Husbandmen, who were employed in cultivating
the finest and most fruitful Territory in *Italy*. And the Republick therefore kept
to herself the Property of those vast Plains, and of the Houses in the City; and
transplanted thither Freed-men, and Workmen of all Sorts, to manure the Land,
and promote Commerce. However, the new Inhabitants were no more than mere
Villagers. *Capua* was no longer a City. She had neither Senate, *Comitia*, nor Ma-
gistrates. *Rome* sent only a *Præfekt* thither, annually, to preserve Order in the
Place, and to hear Causes. And the ancient Inhabitants were dispersed, without
any Hopes of a Return.

* Vide p.
309.

Capua sur-
renders to
the Ro-
mans.

BOOK XXXII.

Year of §. 1.
ROME
542.

THE taking of *Capua*, in a manner before *Hannibal's* Face, extended the Reputation of the *Romans* into all Parts of *Greece*, and even into *Asia Minor*. And as *Philip* of *Macedon* was now preparing to come into *Italy*, pursuant to his Engagements with the *Carthaginian*; the *Pro-Prætor Lævinus*, who with a Fleet of Ships had been appointed to watch the Motions of the *Macedonian*, endeavoured, with the Approbation of the Senate, to draw some of the *Greek States* into the Interest of *Rome*. He began with the *Ætolians*, who were much injured by *Philip's* Usurpations; and having gain'd over these, they sent Ambassadors to *Elis*, *Lacedæmon*, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* in *Asia Minor*, *Pleuratus*, who was Master of a Part of *Thrace*, or perhaps of a Portion of *Illyricum*; and lastly, to *Scerdilædus*, King of the best Part of the last-mentioned Country.

§. 2. In the Senate of *Lacedæmon*, two Orators, *Chlæneas* and *Lyciscus*, made long * Harangues, * Vide p. the first in favour of the *Ætolians*, the other in favour of King *Philip*; and the 315. *Ætolians* carried their Point. A Confederacy was form'd against *Macedon*, and the Treaty was drawn up in these Words. *If the Ætolians, and the Inhabitants of Elis, the Lacedæmonians, Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdilædus, think fit to enter into an Alliance with the Romans, let them immediately arm, to make War with King Philip. The Romans shall furnish the Confederates with twenty five Ships, at the least. All States in a the Conquests which shall be made between the Confines of Ætolia and Corcyra, shall belong to the Confederates; but the Booty which shall be taken, shall belong to the Romans. The latter shall do their utmost to get Acarnania restor'd to the Ætolians, its ancient Masters. The Ætolians shall not make a Peace with King Philip, till he has promised to leave Rome and her Allies in Peace; and on the other hand, Rome shall never be reconciled to him, till he shall cease to make War with the Ætolians, and their Confederates.*

§. 3. But these Articles were not signed till two Years after. However, Hostilities were begun with *Philip*; and he was therefore obliged to turn his Arms against his *Greek Enemies*, instead of going into *Italy*.

§ 4. In the mean time, the *Ætolian Army* entered *Acarnania*, but found the People of the Country so desperately resolute to defend themselves at all Hazards, that they retired again into their own Territories, and there continued quiet, till *Lævinus*, coming in the Spring with his Fleet to *Naupactus*, put them in Motion again. In Conjunction with the *Pro-Prætor*, they besieged *Anticyra*, (a City of the *Locri*, in the Neighbourhood of *Ætolia*;) by Sea and Land, and reduced it. But *Lævinus*, after this, being seized with a long and dangerous Sickness, was obliged to tarry there a great while unactive.

§. 5. But while the Affairs of the Republick prospered on the Side of *Greece*, *Claudius Nero*, whom she had sent to command in *Spain*, suffered himself to be shamefully outwitted by *Asdrubal*. *Claudius*, by seizing a Neck of Land covered with Wood, had so shut up the *Carthaginian*, who was encamped at the Foot of the Mountains, called to this Day, *The Black Rocks*, that he could not receive any Supplies of Provisions. This artful Brother of *Hannibal* had therefore Recourse to Negotiation, and promised to leave *Spain*, with all his Troops, if the *Romans* would only grant them their Lives. *Claudius* accepted the Proposal; and then the Roman expert *Carthaginian* continually raised unexpected Difficulties, about evacuating Places, and delivering up Provinces; and by this means prolong'd his Departure. Every Night he sent away Numbers of Men from his Army, who climbed up the Mountains, and silently passed over them, without the Knowledge of the Enemy. And every Day was spent in fruitless Interviews and Conferences. Till at length, all the *Carthaginian* Infantry had gained the Plains, and *Asdrubal* had only his Elephants and Cavalry left in the Camp. And even these, he found Means to save, by the Help of a very thick Fog, which cover'd both Armies. He marched them away under the Covert of the Wood, the Skirts of which the *Romans* had seized, and safely got out of his Prison. When the Weather clear'd up, *Claudius* perceiv'd the Cheat, and pursued after the Enemy, but to little Purpose.

§. 6. The Senate and People of *Rome* were much mortify'd when they receiv'd this News; and the *Centuries* were assembled, to chuse a *Pro-Consul* capable of recovering the Glory of the *Roman Name*, in *Spain*. But upon this Occasion no Candidates appear'd; on the contrary, a Dislike to the Employment was visible in the Faces of all the Great Men in the Republick. Till at length, young *P. Scipio*, the Son of the deceased *Pro-Consul*, courageously offered himself for the hazardous Enterprize; and not only all the *Centuries*, but every Voter in each *Century*, declared him *Pro-Consul* of *Spain*.

§. 7. However, *Rome* seem'd to repent of her Choice, as soon as she had made it. He was but twenty four Years of Age; and his very

His Character.

Name was deemed inauspicious. The *Pro-Consul* perceiving the Uncaſineſs of the Year of People, aſſembled them, and harangued them in ſuch a manner as raiſed their Confidence. No Man ever ſpoke better, or with a finer Grace. His noble Mien, and that Air of Sweetneſs, mix'd with Maſteſty, which appear'd in his Countenance, made as great Impreſſions on his Hearers, as his Words. Beſides, he had found Means to ſupport, from his Youth, an extraordinary Prejudice in his Favour, *That he had private Conferences with the Gods, and was govern'd by ſecret Inſpirations.* When any body ſpoke to him upon this Subject, his modeſt Silence perſuaded the People, that their Conjectures were undoubtedly true. Not that *Scipio* was always ſtrictly regular in his Conduct. From the time he became ſuſceptible of Paſſion, he had his Gallantries. His Chaſtity, which has been ſo much admired, was not complexional, but rather the Effect of his Policy, or of his Virtue. In ſhort, perhaps no Man had ever a more happy Mixture of Civil and Military Accompliſhments; and his Diſinterreſtedneſs was ſuch, that he neglected every Advantage, but his Glory. Such was the General, whom the Republick choſe to repair her Loſſes in *Spain*. He embarked, at the Port of *Oſtia*, with ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, on board a Fleet of thirty *Quinqueremes*. ROME 542.

Marcellus is refus'd a Triumph.

§. 8. The Winter now approach'd, and *Marcellus* return'd from *Sicily* to *Rome*, for the firſt time ſince the taking of *Syracufe*. He demanded a Triumph, at his Arrival. But having, according to Orders, left his Army in *Sicily*, and it not being the Cuſtom for Generals to triumph when their Army was not preſent, to give Teſtimony to their Exploits, he was granted only an *Ovation*, by the Senate.

The liberal Arts introduced among the Romans.

§. 9. However, to do himſelf Juſtice in the beſt Manner he could, he decreed himſelf a Triumph, on *The Hill of Alba*, according to former Practice, in ſuch Caſes; and the People approved it. And tho' his Army was not preſent, to march in Proceſſion, yet both his *Ovation* and Triumph were not leſs pompous than uſual. A Plan of *Syracufe*, the Machines which *Archimedes* had invented to defend it, Statues and Paintings of an exquisite Taſte, coſtly Vaſes, and immenſe Quantities of Gold, Silver, and Braſs, were carried on Biers before him. §. 10. It was at

this time that *Marcellus* introduced among the *Romans* a refined Taſte for Paintings, Carvings, and the polite Arts; which made ſome of the old *Romans* uneaſy. They feared it would deſtroy the Peoples Love of Huſbandry and War, and would be a Means to ſoften and enervate them. And indeed, ſome of the declamatory Hiſtorians have made *Marcellus* the Author of the Luxury and Debauchery of the *Romans*. But yet it is certain, that *Rome* never gain'd more or greater Conqueſts, than after the time of his Triumph.

242d Conſulſhip.

§. 11. And now, the time for electing new Magiſtrates drawing on, *Fulvius Centumalus* was recalled to *Rome*, to preſide in the *Comitia*. The firſt Century that voted, named *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *T. Otacilius*, for *Conſuls*; but the former immediately declared himſelf unqualify'd for the Office, by his being ſhort-ſighted, exhorted the Aſſembly to begin the Election anew, and adviſed them to chule ſuch *Conſuls* as were fit to cope with the famous *Hannibal*. And then *Marcellus*, the fourth time, and *Levinus*, the ſecond time, were elected to that Dignity.

§. 12. *Levinus* was ſtill lying ſick at *Anticyra*, in *Greece*. Nevertheleſs, *Marcellus* began to diſcharge his Office on *The Ides of March*, and aſſembled the Senate. He told *The Conſcript Fathers*, *That he found himſelf much aſperſed, by Reports privately ſpread about the City to his Prejudice. That for his own Part, he was ſo far from deſiring to ſtiſle the Complaints of his Accuſers, that he would, for their Satisfaction, aſſemble the Houſe himſelf, and give them all the Opportunities they could wiſh, to bring their Accuſations againſt him.* (The Calumnies which *Marcellus* complained of, were raiſed by ſome *Syracuſans*, ſuborn'd by *Corn. Cethegus*, *Prætor of Sardinia*, who was jealous of him, and hop'd to build his own Reputation on the Ruin of his Rival.) The candid Proceeding of the *Conſul* begat a ſtrong Prejudice in favour of his Innocence; and the Affair reſted here, till *Levinus* arrived. During the Interval, the People at *Rome* were at once ſeized with a Spirit of Sedition, on account of the unſettled Condition of the Affairs of the Republick; but a more preſſing Evil, on a ſudden drew all their Attention another Way. Several Fires broke out at the ſame time, in different Quarters of the City, near *The Forum Romanum*. Five hundred of the young Nobility of *Campania*, whoſe Fathers had been put to Death, had plotted together to burn *Rome*, out of Revenge. A Slave diſcovered the Secret, and the Conſpirators were taken, and puniſhed.

§. 13. In the mean time, as *Levinus* paſs'd through *Campania*, in his Return to *Rome*, the Inhabitants of that Country crowded about him, and implored his Protection againſt the Tyranny and Cruelty of the *Pro-Consul Fulvius Flaccus*. *Levinus*, touch'd with Compaſſion, order'd them to follow him to *Rome*; and when he drew near the Capital, the Company of *Sicilians*, ſuborn'd to accuſe *Marcellus*, join'd him likewiſe; and he ſuffer'd them to enter the City with him. However, he was not in haſte to procure them an Audience from the Senate. He firſt gave *The Conſcript Fathers* an Account of his

543.

Year of his own Conduct, and the State of Affairs in Greece. §. 14. And the next
 ROME thing to be done, was to assign the *Consuls*, and the rest of the Generals of the Ro-
 543. man Armies, their respective *Provinces* for the ensuing Campaign. *Italy* fell by Lot
 to *Lævinus*, and *Sicily* to *Marcellus*. But this was no sooner declared, than the *Si-*
cilians who were present at the Ceremony, made a horrible Outcry, and express'd
 as much Terror and Consternation, as they had done at *Syracuse* when *Marcellus*
 surprized it. They declared they would never return home, rather than be again
 subject to *Marcellus*; and that it would be better for *Sicily* to perish in the Flames
 of Mount *Ætna*, than to fall once more under the Government of such a Tyrant.
Marcellus, to remove the Prejudices which these Exclamations might raise against
 him in the Minds of the compassionate *Romans*; and to give the *Syracusans* the
 more Liberty to accuse him without Fear, before the Senate, offer'd to change
Provinces with his Collegue, if the Senate and *Lævinus* consented to it. §. 15. The
 Exchange was accordingly made; and then the *Sicilians* were admitted into the Se- *Marcellus*
 nate, to bring their Complaints against him. Their Accusation turned upon his *accused of*
 pretended Cruelty at *Leontini*, his having sack'd *Syracuse*, and stripp'd the Citizens *Tyranny, by*
 of every thing, though (as the Accusers protested) it had been by Compulsion, and *the Sicili-*
 against their Will, that the *Syracusans* had sided with the *Carthaginians*. And they *ans, and*
 pray'd that what had been taken from them, and could be recover'd, might be re- *acquitted.*
 stor'd. When the *Sicilians* had done speaking, *Marcellus* left the *Curule* Chair, and
 went to the Place where Persons Accused were wont to make their Defence. He
 fairly laid before the House the Matters of Fact; (as they have been related in the
 History,) and then withdrew, to give the Senators more Freedom in their Debates.
 And tho' he had some Enemies among *The Fathers*, and particularly *Manlius Tor-*
quatus, who spoke in Favour of the *Sicilians*, the Majority voted the Proceedings
 of *Marcellus* to have been regular; and confirm'd the Donations he had made of
 the Effects and Lands of the *Syracusans*. However, in Consideration of their former
 Services, in the Time of King *Hiero*, it was decreed, That *Rome* for the future
 should consult the Interest of *Syracuse*. When the *Sicilians*, being call'd again into
 the House, had heard the Decree read, they threw themselves at the Feet of *Mar-*
cellus, and beseech'd him to pardon the Attempts which the present Sense of their
 Misery had induced them to make against his Honour. The *Consul* receiv'd them
 graciously, became their Advocate, and obtain'd for them, That the *Syracusans*
 should enjoy their Liberty, without any Change in their Laws and Customs; and
 That they should be treated only as Allies. Hence proceeded the eternal Gratitude
 of the *Sicilians* to *Marcellus*, and his Posterity. They made an Order among them-
 selves, That whenever any of his Family set Foot in *Sicily*, the People should walk
 before him, crown'd with Garlands, and celebrate the happy Day with Sacrifices.
 And the whole Island was, ever after, under the Patronage of the *Marcelli*.
 §. 16. The Cause of the *Campanians* was next to be heard. Their pleading con- *Fulvius*
 sisted wholly of a pathetick Representation of the Miseries they suffer'd. When *Flaccus* ac-
 they had said all that they had to offer, they were order'd to withdraw. And then *cused of*
M. Attilius Regulus, who had serv'd in the Army at the taking of *Capua*, was ex- *Cruelty by*
 amin'd, as to the Facts. This Senator could say little to the Advantage of the *Ca-*
puans; but he moved, that the Senate might not determine the Affair, till they had *nians, and*
 obtain'd the Consent of the *Tribes* so to do. For that the *Capuans* being *Roman* *acquitted.*
Citizens, they could not legally be judg'd by the Senate, without the Approbation
 of the People. Accordingly, a *Tribune of the People* was desired to summon the
Comitia by Tribes; and there he presented his Request to them, to empower the Se-
 nate to pronounce Sentence on the *Capuans*. And then the *Comitia* answer'd in that
 Stile of Authority, which shew'd their Sovereignty, especially in criminal Causes.
Our Will and Pleasure is, That the Conscrip Fathers, now assembled, determine
the Affair proposed to us, by a Majority of Votes, after they have been sworn again.
 The Senate being thus authorized, pronounced Judgment, and proportion'd the
 Punishment of the Offenders to the different Degrees of their Guilt. But in short,
 when the Sentence came to be executed, *Campania* was stripped of all the Monu-
 ments of its Grandeur, and *Capua* was in a manner left desolate. Its former sloth-
 ful and effeminate Inhabitants, were transplanted elsewhere; and were succeeded by
Roman Colonies of laborious and industrious Husbandmen. §. 17. And now,
 the *Consuls* applied themselves wholly to the Preparations for the approaching Cam-
 paign. The Navy wanted great Repairs; and the publick Treasury was exhausted.
 A Poll-Tax was therefore decreed; but this falling heavy on the common *Citizens*,
 already drain'd by Taxes, since *Hannibal's* Invasion, it caused an Insurrection. The
 People threatened to do themselves Justice, if the Edict was not revok'd in three
 Days. Nevertheless, the Senate continued obstinate: But the *Consuls*, with a more
 disinterested Temper, propos'd a Method to make Matters easy, which gained
 them great Applause. They mov'd, That all the dignify'd Persons in the State,
 and the Senators, should give a good Example of Zeal for the Republick, by vo-
 luntarily

luntarily carrying in all their superfluous Gold, Silver, and Brass, to the Treasury. Year of
This Motion was universally approved; and the *Knights* and common *Citizens* so ROME
readily follow'd the Example of the *Consuls* and Senators, that there was an Emu- 543.
lation who should first enter their Names in the Register of the Contributors.
Thus the *Roman Fleets* were recruited; and *Rome* was in a Condition to support
the War on all Sides.

§. 18. When *Marcellus* and *Lævinus* set out, each for
his *Province*, the Affairs of the Republick seem'd, in all Places where she had Ar-
mies, to be in a perfect *Equilibrium*; and the People of the several Countries were
in Suspence between Her and her Enemies. But *Hannibal*, who, since the Reduc-
tion of *Campania*, was retired into *Bruttium*, lost much of his Interest, by a bar-
barous Resolution he took to lay waste all the Lands he could not keep. *Marcel-
lus* took Advantage of this, to attempt the Recovery of some Cities in the Hands
of the *Carthaginian*. And *Hannibal* having left *Salapia* in *Apulia*, under the Go-
vernment of two Men, *Dafius* and *Blasius*, the *Consul* gain'd the latter to his Inte-
rest. But as *Blasius* could do nothing without the Consent of his Colleague, he at
length ventured to open his Mind to him, tho' a zealous *Hannibalist*. *Dafius* im-
mediately turned Informer, and *Hannibal* cited both to appear before him. But
then *Blasius*, who spoke first, accused his Colleague of the Correspondence with the
Enemy, with which he himself had been charged. And the *Carthaginian*, not hav-
ing Proof against either of them, imagin'd that their mutual Accusations were
only the Effect of their personal Animosities and Envy. He therefore dismiss'd
them both, after he had exhorted them to live in Concord. After this, *Blasius*
gained over his Colleague to his Sentiments, and they took Measures together for
the Surrendry of the Place. *Marcellus* on a sudden appear'd before it; and then
the *Carthaginian* Garrison, which consisted of five hundred brave *Numidian* Horse,
finding themselves betray'd, resolv'd to sell their Lives dear. They quitted their
Horses, which were of no use to them in the Engagement, and fought on foot,
till they were all kill'd, except fifty, who surrendered themselves Prisoners. This
was a considerable Loss to *Hannibal*; not on account of the Number, but of the
Valour, of this chosen Troop, who were the main Strength of his Cavalry. And
it is observable, that in all the Battels he afterwards fought, his Cavalry never
gained the Superiority over the Enemy, as formerly.

Hannibal
loses 500 of
his best Nu-
midian
Horse.

§. 19. The *Carthaginian*
had still Hopes of taking the Citadel of *Tarentum*, which he kept blocked up. On
the other hand, the *Romans* sent a Squadron of Ships to supply the Garrison with
Provisions. But this Fleet being obliged to come to an Engagement with the *Ta-
rentine* Fleet, before it could enter the Port, was utterly defeated, and the Admiral
of it kill'd in the Action.

He defeats
the Pro-
Consul of
Apulia.

§. 20. In the mean time, *Marcellus* went on re-
covering Cities in *Samnium*, from the Enemy, and took above three thousand *Car-
thaginian* Prisoners. But *Fulvius Centumalus*, who commanded as *Pro-Consul* in *A-
pulia*, being ambitious of imitating the *Consul*, without his Abilities, and drawing
near to a City call'd *Herdonea*, in hopes to reduce it by Force, or by Treaty, was
surprized by *Hannibal*; and tho' the *Romans* behav'd themselves bravely, they were
totally defeated, their Camp taken, and the General, with eleven *Legionary Tribunes*,
lost their Lives in the Engagement.

§. 21. This complete Victory recover'd
the Affairs and Credit of *Hannibal* for some time, and greatly discouraged the Peo-
ple at *Rome*, whose only Hopes were now in *Marcellus*. The *Consul*, knowing how
much the People were terrify'd, wrote to the Senate, in these Terms. *I am the
same Man that I was after the Battel of Cannæ. I am now going to meet the same
Conqueror, and have Reason to expect the same Successes, as formerly. Be not uneasy.
I shall soon damp the Joy that now swells the Mind of the proud Carthaginian.* He
then pursued *Hannibal*, and came up with him near *Numistro*, in *Bruttium*. The
Carthaginian would not decline a Battel. The Engagement was bloody; and the
Night alone put an End to it. The next Day at Sun-rising *Marcellus* offer'd him
Battel again; but *Hannibal* would not accept the Challenge. He decamp'd; and
the *Consul* follow'd him from Place to Place. So that these two great Generals
spent the rest of the Campaign, the one in seeking for an Opportunity to come to
a general Action, the other in endeavouring to avoid it.

§. 22. During this
Interval, *Fulvius Flaccus* was busy in managing the Affairs of the Republick in *Cam-
pania*. And as this Country abounded with Corn, he sent, by the Senate's Order,
a great Quantity to the Ports of *Hetruria*, to be carried thence to the Citadel of *Ta-
rentum*. Two thousand Men were likewise order'd to the Relief of the Garrison.
And this Convoy had a happier Passage thither than the last.

The Pro-
gress of
Scipio in
Spain.

§. 23. And while the *Carthaginians* were thus kept in Awe by *Marcellus* in *Italy*,
the Arms of the Republick in *Spain* prospered, beyond Expectation, under the
Conduct of young *Scipio*. He landed at *Emporia*, and thence marching to *Tarra-
gona*, ordered his Fleet to follow him thither. From thence he went and visited
all the Cities of the Allies, and won the Hearts of all who saw him, by the Grace-
fulness of his Person, and his wonderful Complaisance. He was continually praising
those

Year of those old Soldiers who had served under his Father and Uncle, and congratulated with *ROME* them on their Constancy in withstanding the Assaults of three Armies of the Enemy,

543. after they had lost their own Generals. He especially heaped Marks of Distinction on *Marcus*, who had assembled together the Remains of the *Roman* Forces, and had saved them by his Conduct. He took him near his Person, and was not ashamed to consult him. §. 24. And now the Season for taking the Field being advanced, he first harangued his Troops in the most engaging manner; and then prepar'd for the Execution of the great Design he had in View. Vulgar Designs, such as might enter into the Thoughts of common Men, were not to his Taste; and he would not hearken therefore to those who would have persuaded him to attack the Army of *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gisco*, which was in *Lusitania*, and at a distance from the other *Carthaginian* Armies. *Scipio* had formed his Scheme even while he was at *Rome*. And he now, for the first time, communicated it to *C. Lælius*, the Commander of his Fleet. This Man was his inseparable Friend. The Love of Virtue, and of Glory, had strictly united them from their Infancy; and there was so great a Resemblance between them in Mind and Manners, that Nature seemed to have formed them for each other. To *Lælius*, and to him alone, the *Pro-Consul* imparted the Secret, That his Intention was to surprize *New Carthage*, the Capital of the *Carthaginian* Empire in *Spain*, and the great Repository of the Enemy's Treasures, Machines of War, naval Stores and Ships. And it was agreed, that *Lælius* should shut up the Port with his Fleet, while *Scipio* invested the City by Land. In seven Days, or rather seven Nights March, after the *Roman* Army had passed the *Ebro*, they arrived before *New Carthage* at Day-Break. §. 25. When *Scipio* had fortified his Camp, not towards the City, but on the other Side, and the Fleet of *Lælius* was drawn up in Line of Battel before the Port, he thought it a proper time to begin an Attack upon the Place. But he first harangued his Troops, and when he had at large represented to them, of what Importance the Reduction of this City was, with regard to the entire Conquest of *Spain*, he then told them, That Neptune had appeared to him, had advised him to the Enterprize, and had promised him Success. And that they would see a Miracle wrought by the God in their Favour, to facilitate the Assault, and make them Masters of the Place. *Scipio* knew the Hour when the Tide would ebb, and leave the City accessible to his Land-Forces, on the Side of the Port; and he made use of this natural Event, which was a Mystery to the Soldiers, to persuade them that he had a supernatural Knowledge. *Mago*, who commanded in the Town, had but a thousand Men of regular Troops to defend it; but he armed two thousand of the Inhabitants. And these behaved themselves so bravely in a Sally which they made, that tho' they were repulsed, the *Pro-Consul* would not let his Men pursue them. §. 26. After this, a double Attack was made, on the Land-Side, and towards the Sea by *Lælius*. But *Scipio* found it impossible to succeed this Way, on account of the Height of the Walls. §. 27. About Noon the Tide ebbed. And the *Pro-Consul* having learnt from some Fishermen of *Tarragona*, that the Bason of *New Carthage* was fordable when the Tide was out, he chose but five hundred Men, and marched at the Head of them through the Water, to scale the Walls on that Side, where they were very low. Come, said he to his Men, nothing can be too hard for us under the Protection of the God. The Soldiers readily and confidently followed him, entered the Town without much Difficulty, and then *Scipio* returned to the rest of his Troops, whom he had ordered to renew the former Attack. And these taking Advantage of the Disorder which the five hundred *Romans* had caused among the Besieged, broke open a Gate on their Side, and entered the Place likewise. Thus was *New Carthage* taken by Assault; and *Mago*, who had retired to the Citadel, soon surrendered at Discretion. §. 28. The Prisoners, in all, amounted to six thousand Men, besides Women, Children, and Slaves. The *Africans* were reduced to Slavery; but the *Spaniards* were put again into Possession of their Houses, and suffered to live by their own Laws and Customs, only in Subjection to *Rome*: And this Lenity gained their Hearts to *Scipio*. Eighteen Gallies, belonging to the Enemy, were taken in the Port, and mann'd with young *Spaniards*; so that now the *Roman* Fleet consisted of fifty three Ships. In the next place *Scipio* examined into the Booty which had been all brought together into the Market-place from the plundered Houses, (for the *Romans* acted with Regularity and Equity even in pillaging and sacking of Towns) and he found immense Riches among the Spoils. The Account that was taken of them, exclusive of the Brass-Money of private Persons, which was all distributed among the Soldiers, was this. In the Port were seized an hundred and thirteen Merchant-Ships loaded with every thing necessary for equipping a large Fleet. From the Citizens were taken two hundred and sixty Cups of Gold, most of which weighed a Pound, eighteen thousand three hundred Pounds Weight of Silver Money, and a prodigious Quantity of Silver Plate. In the Granaries were found forty thousand *Modii* of Wheat, and two hundred and sixty thousand

thousand *Modii* of Barley. All Sorts of Artillery, then used, were likewise found in abundance, and seventy four Standards: and the whole of these rich Spoils was put into the Hands of *Caius Flaminius* the *Quæstor*. The Hostages likewise whom the *Carthaginians* had formerly demanded of the *Spanish* Cities and Provinces, were all in *New Carthage*, when it was taken. They were the Flower of the young Nobility of both Sexes; and *Scipio* immediately conceived Hopes of gaining all *Spain* to him, by restoring these Children to their Parents. He spoke to them with Affability and Affection, and made them little Presents suitable to their Ages. In short, he acted many different Parts in this glorious Day. He was sometimes fierce and terrible, sometimes grave and serious, sometimes sweet and humane, and assumed every various Form in its proper Season. §. 29. The Fatigue of the Day being over, the *Pro-Consul* returned to his Camp to spend the Night there, leaving *Lælius* to command in the City. The next Morning he summoned all his Troops, both in the Land and Sea-Service, to perform a Promise he had made, of giving a Crown of Gold to him who should first mount the Walls. Two Competitors presented themselves, and claimed the Reward; one, a *Centurion* of the fourth *Legion*, the other a private Seaman: and tho' their personal Contention was without Animosity, yet the Marines on one Side, and the Land-Forces on the other, interested themselves so warmly in the Dispute, that the General, to prevent a Sedition, thought proper to declare, that the Competitors had both mounted the Ramparts at the same time, and equally deserved Crowns of Gold. As for *Lælius*, the *Pro-Consul* shared all the Honour of the Conquest with him; and when he assigned him a Crown of Gold and thirty Oxen, declared that they were not intended as a Recompence, but only as a publick Testimony of the Joy he felt at having been so well seconded by so brave and so faithful a Friend. §. 30. When *Scipio* returned to the City, *Mago*, who had omitted nothing to support the Interest of his Country, and whom therefore the *Pro-Consul* esteemed, was the first Man who experienced his Clemency. Both he, and the Senators of *New Carthage*, were put into the Hands of *Lælius*, and treated with great Civilities. This amiable Proceeding of the Conqueror encouraged some of the Female Captives to come and throw themselves at his Feet. A Woman of noble Extraction, and a majestick Air, who had been in Slavery to the *Carthaginians*, addressed him thus; *Pray, my Lord, order your Romans to shew their Captives more Regard than the Carthaginians have done.* Her Modesty hindered her from expressing herself more clearly, and *Scipio* misunderstood her Meaning. He thought that the Captives, contrary to his express Order, had been hardly used, with respect to the Necessaries of Life; he reprimanded those to whom he had committed the Care of them; and promised the Lady to appoint more faithful Persons to provide them Food. But then the virtuous Captive replied, *The Gods forbid that our Desires and Supplications should be confined to the obtaining better Food! The State of Slavery to which we are reduced, obliges us to be content with coarse Provisions. Cares of another kind disturb my Rest, when I consider the Age of these about me.* Which said, she turn'd her Eyes towards the Princesses her Nieces, and the other young Captives, Daughters of the petty Kings of *Spain*, Women of great Beauty, to whom she had been as a Mother, and had undertaken to be the Guardian of their Virtue; and by the tender Look she gave those trembling Virgins, *Scipio* understood the Nature of her Petition. Moved with Compassion for the deplorable Condition of young Princesses, whose Honour had been exposed to so much Danger, Tears dropp'd from his Eyes, and reaching out his Hand to raise the prostrate Suppliant, he reply'd. *The Education of a Roman has taught me to suffer nothing which others think sacred, to be violated among us. But, had I not been a Roman, your Sex and Birth, and that Virtue which has born up, even under the Chains of your Enemies, must unavoidably have engaged my particular Regard.* And then he commanded that the young Captives and their Conductresses should be respected as his Sisters and Daughters. §. 31. And a second Adventure shew'd that it was not mere Policy, but a pure Love of Virtue, which moved *Scipio* to such generous Actions. His Officers, knowing that he loved Women, brought to him a young Virgin of surprizing Beauty. Wherever she appear'd, she charm'd the Eyes of all, and *Scipio* was struck at the Sight of her. But tho' he was unmarried, and not twenty six Years of Age, he would not suffer himself to be blinded by his rising Passion. He examin'd the charming Captive, concerning her Country, Birth and Engagements; and finding, among other things, that she was contracted to a young Prince of the *Celtiberians*, named *Allucius*, who passionately loved her, he gave this Answer to his Officers. *Were I a private Person, I should receive this Master-piece of Nature from your Hands, with the most sensible Pleasure. But you cannot offer me a less acceptable Present, in the Post I now fill. Love may serve for an Amusement when we have nothing to do. But a Mistress is a terrible Burden to a General of an Army, in the Career of Victory. He will be divided between her and Business; she will enervate his Body, and break the Force of his Mind.* Nevertheless, *Scipio*,

A remarkable Instance of Scipio's Contenance.

Year of *Scipio*, with Thanks, accepted the Present; and then sent for the Father of the *ROME* young Lady, and the *Celtiberian* Prince to whom she was engaged. When they came into his Presence, he thus address'd himself to the Lover of the Captive.

543. *We are both young, and may freely open our Hearts, and declare our Inclinations to each other. For my own Part, I confess to you, the Beauty of your charming Mistress made a deep Impression in me at first Sight. I could have heartily wish'd to have spent my Days with her in an honourable Marriage, and that the Business which our Republick has entrusted me with, as well as Decency, would have suffer'd me to wear my Captive's Chains. But since this cannot be, do You, my Lord, enjoy the Happiness which Heaven refuses Me. I restore your Spouse into your Hands, as pure as if your Relations, or her Mother, had always had her in their Sight. And the only Return I expect from you, is your Friendship to the Romans. You knew my Father, and my Uncle, whose Virtue merited some Esteem in these Countries; and you see in what manner I proceed with you. Judge then of all the Romans by the Scipio's. Perhaps no Nation in the World better deserves the Friendship of the virtuous Spaniards.* At these Words, he put the fair Slave into the Hands of the *Celtiberian* Prince; and as her Parents had brought a rich Present of Money for the *Pro-Consul*, and threw it at his Feet, he gave that likewise to *Allucius*, as an Addition to his Wife's Portion. This Action, truly heroic, did the *Roman Republick* more Service than even the taking of *New Carthage*. *Allucius* declared in *Celtiberia*, that Heaven had sent a young Conqueror into *Spain*, terrible and beneficent as the Immortals. And from this time, all *Spain* began to favour the *Roman Cause*. *Scipio* sent Deputies to the respective Cities, to let them know, that he was ready to restore to them the Hostages they had formerly given the *Carthaginians*. And now, having nothing more to do, he dispatch'd *Lælius*, attended by *Mago*, and the Senators of *New Carthage*, in a *Quinqueremis*, to *Rome*, to give an Account there of his Success.

§. 32. The Republick had already receiv'd News from *Sicily*, of the total Reduction of that Island, by the *Consul Lævinus*. *Agrigentum* had been the only Place of Importance which held out for the *Carthaginians*. *Hanno* commanded there a numerous Garrison; but having thro' Jealousy disobligh'd, and even broke, a brave Officer, named *Mutines*, in great Esteem among the *Numidians*, the proud *African* could not brook the Affront. To revenge himself, he enter'd into a Correspondence with the *Consul*; and having engaged a Body of the *Numidians* in the Conspiracy, they opened one of the Gates to the *Roman Troops*. *Hanno*, with *Epicyles*, and a few more Officers, escaped in a small Vessel; but the rest of the Garrison were all cut in Pieces.

§. 33. After this, and when *Lævinus* had settled all Affairs in the Island, (which from this time became the Granary of *Rome*;) he received an Order from the Senate, to return home, to hold *The Comitia by Centuries*. For tho' *Marcellus* was nearer, yet it was dangerous to interrupt his Pursuit of *Hannibal*. However, *Lævinus* was hardly arrived, when he was obliged to go back again, to take care of his Province. An Express came from *Valerius Messala*, who commanded a Fleet in *Sicily*, and had been ravaging the Coast of *Africa*. He sent word, That the *Carthaginians* had resolv'd, not only to send *Asdrubal*, with a powerful Army, into *Italy*, but to fit out a new Fleet, in order to re-conquer *Sicily*. The Senate therefore hastened the Departure of *Lævinus*, and ordered him to name a Dictator, to hold the *Comitia* for the new Elections. The *Consul* did not refuse to obey; but, that he might continue the longer in the supreme Dignity, insisted upon deferring the Nomination till he was in *Sicily*; and he promised that he would then name *Messala*. But it being contrary to ancient Custom, for a Dictator to be named elsewhere than in *Italy*, The *Conscript Fathers* passed a Decree, requiring *Lævinus* to petition the People to recommend a proper Person for the Dictatorship; and enjoining the *Consul* to name that Person. And the Decree provided likewise, That in case the *Consul* refused to petition, as before mentioned, the *Prætor* of *Rome* should do it. *Lævinus* was obstinate in his Nomination of *Messala*, and forbade the *Prætor* to offer any Petition to the People. Upon this, The *Tribunes of the Commons* with Pleasure undertook to get a Dictator chosen in their Assembly. This was augmenting the Power of the People; and they chose *Fulvius Flaccus*, the *Pro-Consul* of *Campania*. And now *Lævinus* was sensible of the Wound he had given the *Consular Dignity*; and being ashamed of his Proceeding, left *Rome* in the Night, and took the Road to *Sicily*. *Marcellus*, being requested by a Letter, confirm'd the Nomination of *Fulvius* to the Dictatorship. And thus the *Consuls* lost the Privilege they had immemorially enjoy'd, of naming whom they pleased to that sovereign Authority.

§. 34. About this time, the Republick sent Ambassadors to *Syphax*, King of *Masæsyliæ*, in *Numidia*, with Presents, in Acknowledgment of the Friendship he had express'd to her in the time of the elder *Scipio's*, and by later Services. And she thought proper likewise to cultivate the Friendship of the King of *Egypt*, by sending thither also an Embassy, with a Present of a Robe and Tunick of Purple, and a Throne of Ivory, for the King; and a Habit of Purple, finely

The Success of the Roman Arms in Sicily.

The Consuls lose the Privilege of appointing Dictators.

243d Con-
sulship.

finely embroidered, with a Scarf of the same Colour, for the Queen. §. 35. And Year of now the *Dictator Fulvius*, having artfully carried on his Intrigues to promote his own Election to the *Consulship*, call'd together the *Comitia*, and was there named *Consul*, with *Fabius Maximus Cunctator*, by the first *Century* which voted; and the rest of the *Centuries* seem'd inclin'd to the same Choice. But two of the *Tribunes* oppos'd it, alledging, *That it was of dangerous Consequence to suffer Presidents of the Comitia to pervert their Authority to serve their private Purposes*; and they broke up the Assembly, which was adjourn'd to another Day. However, *Fulvius* cited former Instances, where *Dictators*, and Presidents of the *Comitia*, were elected *Consuls*, by the Assemblies over which they presid'd; and the People therefore referred the Affair to the Senate. The *Conscript Fathers* were pleas'd with the Choice that had been made of two such able Generals, and declared that neither the *Dictatorship*, nor Presidentship of *Fulvius*, disqualify'd him for being chosen *Consul*. §. 36. And now *Laelius* arriv'd from *Spain*, with *Mago*, the Senators of *New Carthage*, and the rich Booty which had been taken there. And the Republick, as a Mark of Distinction to *Scipio*, continued him in his Commission of *Pro-Consul* of *Spain*, not for one Year only, but for an unlimited time, and till an Order should be made for recalling him. But the publick Joy was somewhat abated, by *Laelius's* Confirmation of the News sent by *Messala*, from *Sicily*, That *Asdrubal*, reinforced by *Masinissa's* Troops, design'd to march into *Italy*, and join his Brother *Hannibal*. §. 37. And the new *Consuls* met with some Difficulties, when they were to make new Levies among the *Latins*, and other Allies, to send into *Sicily*, in the room of two *Legions* which they order'd from thence into *Italy*. Nay, twelve out of thirty *Roman Colonies* absolutely refus'd to furnish their Contingents, either of Men or Money; pretending that they really were not in a Condition to do it. But the other eighteen chearfully comply'd, and declar'd themselves ready to enlarge their Quota's, if necessary. The Agents of these faithful and affectionate *Colonies* receiv'd the Thanks of the Senate, and of the People in full *Comitia*. As for the rest, it was thought more for the Honour of the State to shew a Contempt of them, and to neglect their Contributions, than to extort them by Violence. But to supply the Deficiency occasioned by their Refusal, Recourse was had to a Treasure which had been long hoarded up, in a private Place in the Exchequer. The Republick had, from the earliest times, reserv'd to herself the twentieth Part of the Purchase-Money of every Slave's Freedom. The Produce had been kept against a Day of Necessity, and was now first applied to the publick Use. The whole Sum amounted to four thousand Pounds Weight of Gold, which was all distributed among the Generals, for the Expences of the War. §. 38. The *Censors* also request'd of the Senate, That the Territory of *Campania*, from which the old Possessors had been driven, should be dispos'd of after the best manner, for the Benefit of the Publick. Their Petition was referr'd to the People; and accordingly, the latter decreed, That those vast Plains, and fruitful Hills, should be farm'd out, and the Rents paid into the publick Treasury. But another Affair, of a different Sort, set the two *Censors* at Variance. They could not agree about the Choice of a Prince, or President, of the Senate; a Dignity deem'd more honourable than any other, and more sollicit'd, because for Life. *Sempronius*, the present acting *Censor*, was for the Great *Fabius*, as the ablest Man in the Republick, both in Council, and in the Field. But the other pretended, that according to Custom, the Choice ought to fall on the oldest of those Senators who had been *Censors*; and then *T. Manlius Torquatus* would be the Man. However, *Sempronius* insist'd on his Right of Nomination, and his Colleague at length submitted.

§. 39. And now, the Season of the Year, and the Motions of *Hannibal*, drew the *Consuls* from *Rome*. *Fabius* undertook to besiege *Tarentum*; whilst *Fulvius* was to oppose the Enterprizes of the *Carthaginian*; and *Marcellus* to harass him, without giving him time to breathe. *Marcellus* took the Field with all the Confidence his past Successes had given him. He came up with the Enemy near *Canusum*, in *Apulia*, and pursued him when he retired, but could not yet bring him to a general Action; for *Hannibal* was now become a *Temporizer*. §. 40. At length, being no longer able to avoid fighting, he harangued his Men in the following Manner. *You are going to compleat the Work of Cannæ, and the Lake Thrasymenus. With what Obstinacy and Eagerness do the Romans run to their own Destruction! Their Impunity, if nothing else, deserves your Resentment. How audacious is their General! He harasses and fatigues you in your Marches, and will scarce give you time to breathe. Marcellus and the Sun rise together, to appear before you. Shall these Insults then escape unpunished? One single Victory will free you from the troublesome Pursuits of an Enemy, who is more rash than formidable.* The *Carthaginian* Soldiers were indeed wearied out with the continual Pursuits of the *Romans*, who intercepted their Convoys, and would not suffer them to go in Parties to plunder, at any Distance from their Camp. And these Considerations made them both desire a Battel, and behave themselves

Year of selves with uncommon Resolution in it; so that *Marcellus* was now worsted for the *Marcellus* *ROME* first time. His whole Army was routed, and he lost two thousand seven hundred *is routed by* 544. Men. But not being used to suffer these Indignities, he shew'd his Resentment, *Hannibal*; by bitterly reproaching his Troops with Cowardice, when he had again got them together. They readily own'd their Fault, and ask'd Pardon, but laid the chief Blame on the eighteenth *Legion*, whose faint and timorous Behaviour had occasion'd the Defeat; and they protested that they were ready to expose themselves to any Danger he should think fit, with a Resolution either to die or conquer. *Make ready then*, reply'd the *Pro-Consul*, *to perform your Promises to Morrow, and to merit the Forgiveness you desire.* The next Morning the *Legionaries* were ready to march by break of Day; and then *Marcellus* declared that he would place those *Manipuli* who had behaved themselves dishonourably, in the first Line. *Exert yourselves*, said he to them, *to wipe off the Shame of Yesterday. And let me see you fight with so much Courage, that Rome may be inform'd of your Victory, as soon as of your Flight.* He then march'd his Army out of the Camp, and form'd them as usual. *Hannibal*, surprized at this unexpected Step of the *Roman General*, cried out, *What a strange Man is this Marcellus! Whether he conquers, or is conquered, he is always ready to fight. When he was victorious, he pursued us; and now that he is vanquish'd, he insults us. Let us march out then, and make him fear and respect his Conquerors.* Which said, he gave Orders for the Battel, and the Attack began. The Victory was disputed for some Hours; but at length, the *Romans* prevailed, and drove their *But the* Enemies within their Entrenchments. *Hannibal* lost eight thousand Men. How- *next Day* ever, *Marcellus* bought his Victory dear. Three thousand of his *Legionaries* were gains a *Vic-* killed upon the Spot, and almost all the rest wounded; so that he was forced to lead *tory over* them to *Venusia*, to give them some Respite, and Time to be cured. *Hannibal de-* him. camp'd the Night after his Defeat, retired into *Bruttium*, and there entrench'd himself. §. 41. And while the *Carthaginian* continued in his new Post, the *Consul* *Fulvius* recover'd the two *Provinces* of *Hirpinia* and *Lucania* to the Republick, without Bloodshed. Nay, he enter'd *Bruttium*, and there receiv'd a Deputation from a Part of that *Province*, desiring Pardon, and a Peace; which he readily granted. As for *Fabius*, he had undertaken the Reduction of *Tarentum*, tho' *Hannibal* had provided it with a numerous Garrison, consisting partly of his old Troops, and partly of new Levies raised among the *Bruttii*. §. 42. But while *Fabius* was, with all Prudence, making his Preparations for the Siege, a young *Tarentin*, who serv'd in his Army, came and discover'd to him a Secret, which he thought might be of Use in the present Enterprize. He acquainted the General, *That he had a Sister in Tarentum, whose Beauty had captivated the Heart of the Commander of the Bruttian Troops there; That he believed he could gain over his Sister to the Roman Interest; and that, if so, she could undoubtedly engage her Lover in the same Cause.* *Fabius* thought the Motion not to be neglected; and suffered the young Man to return to his native City, as a Defenter. And the *Tarentin* conducted himself with so much Art, that he soon gain'd his Point. The sixth Night after the Attacks began, he return'd to the *Consul*, and inform'd him of his Success, and when and where the *Bruttian* Officer would be ready to let the *Romans* into the Place. The Plot was happily executed; and some Authors say, that when the *Romans* had sur- *Fabius* prized the Town, they spared neither *Carthaginians*, *Tarentins*, nor the *Bruttii*; and *takes Ta-* that they slew the latter, even in cold Blood, out of inveterate Hatred to them. *rentum.* And others lay the Blame of this odious Massacre on *Fabius* himself, who, they say, gave these cruel Orders out of Fear, lest if he spared the *Bruttii*, this fine Conquest should be imputed more to Treachery, than to his Prudence and Bravery. But this Conduct is not suitable to his general Character. §. 43. The Riches found in this maritime City were immense. The *Quæstors* are said to have receiv'd, for the publick Treasury, eighty seven thousand Pounds Weight of Gold. As to the Pictures and Statues, *Fabius* had not the Taste of *Marcellus*; and therefore, when he was ask'd what he would have done with those Master-pieces of Painting and Sculpture, he answer'd, *Let us leave to the Tarentins their angry Gods*; alluding to the Attitudes, in which the Gods of *Tarentum* were represented. For, after the *Lacedæmonian* Manner, they had generally Swords in their Hands, and were in fighting Postures. Nevertheless, he carried to *Rome* a brazen Colossus of *Hercules*, which had been cast by the famous *Lysippus*; and it was placed in the *Capitol*, with an *Equestrian* Statue of *Fabius* erected near it, to his Honour. As for *Hannibal*, the unexpected News of the Siege of *Tarentum*, made him leave *Bruttium*, to go to its Relief. And when, at about five Miles from the City, he received the Account that the *Roman Consul* had surprized it by Artifice, he cried out, with great Astonishment, *What! have the Romans then their Hannibal too?* However, he did not immediately turn about, but encamp'd on the Place where he heard the News, and continued there some Days. Not to retire before a victorious Enemy, was in some measure to save his Honour, But at length, he marched to *Metapontus*, a City

a City in his Interest, and there invented a Stratagem, which had like to have fa- Year of
tally deceived the cautious *Fabius*. He sent two of the Inhabitants with Letters ROME
to the *Consul*, from the chief Men of the City, offering to deliver up the Place, 544.
and the *Carthaginian* Garrison, into his Hands, if he would promise an Oblivion
for what was past. *Fabius*, not suspecting the Cheat, fix'd the Day for his March,
and would have fallen into an Ambush prepared for him, if the *Augurs* and *Aruspices*,
who had probably better Intelligence than the General, had not detained him in the
Camp, by declaring that the Presages were all unfortunate. *Hannibal*, impatient of
Fabius's Delays, sent new Emissaries; but these being arrested, and terrify'd by
Threatenings of severe Punishment, confess'd the Secret.

The further Progress of Scipio in Spain. §. 44. While *Fabius*, *Marcellus* and *Fulvius*, thus shared among them the Glory
of the Success of the Roman Arms in Italy, Accounts were brought from Spain, of
such new Exploits of *Scipio*, as raised his Reputation to a Level, at least, with theirs.
After the taking of *New Carthage*, he had made it his Business to keep his Infantry
and Sea-Forces in constant Action, by continually exercising * them, and teaching
* *Vide p.* them the exactest Discipline. And when he had fortify'd the City, and raised its
371. Walls on the Side next the Port, he settled a strong Garrison in it, and marched
away to *Tarragona*. Here he took as much care to exercise † his Cavalry, as he had
† *Vide p.* taken with his Infantry before. With regard to the Conduct of Generals, *Scipio*
372. did not approve of the common Practice in his time, of a General's placing him-
self in the first Line of his Army. It exposed his Person too much; and by giving
a good Example of Courage to his Men, he disqualify'd himself to direct and regu-
late their Motions. He was seen by all his Troops, but could see no Body himself.
[*Hannibal had the same Notions, and laughed at Marcellus for exposing himself to*
Danger, like a common Soldier.] *Scipio* therefore, in Action, had never any fixed
Station, but was now at the Head, now in the Rear, and then in the Center of his
Legions; encouraging some, restraining the Impetuosity of others, and animating all
by his Example. And even at the Reviews and Exercises of his Troops, he was
always in Motion. He ran thro' all the Files of his Men, praised the Address of
some, and rectify'd the Faults of others. Till at length, he made his Soldiers so
expert, that he could find little Fault with their Movements. §. 45. While
Scipio continued at *Tarragona*, a Spanish King, named *Edesco*, whose Power was
greater than that of the rest of the petty Princes of the Country, came and offer'd
him his Assistance and Services, on Condition that he would restore him his Wife
and Children, who were fallen into the Hands of the Romans, at the taking of *New*
Carthage. The *Pro-Consul* receiv'd the Prince in that engaging Manner peculiar to
himself, and readily granted what he ask'd. And as soon as the Report of this fa-
vourable Reception was spread beyond the *Ebro*, the Nations which had been Ene-
mies to Rome renounced the *Carthaginian* Party with great Sincerity. Upon which,
the *Pro-Consul* judging that he should no longer want his Fleet, landed all his Ma-
rines, Seamen and Rowers, and incorporated them among his *Legions*. And *Læ-*
lius, without whom he would undertake nothing of Importance, being now re-
turn'd from Rome, he immediately march'd into the Field. §. 46. The *Car-*
thaginian Forces were still divided into three Bodies, under three Generals, whose
Dissentions, as well as the Necessity of their Affairs, had driven them into different
Provinces. *Scipio* march'd to attack *Asdrubal*, (the Brother of *Hannibal*), who was
the nearest to him, and whose Army consisted almost wholly of Spaniards, except
what *Numidians Masinissa* had brought him from Africa. The *Pro-Consul* was no
sooner come near the Enemy, but two Spanish Sovereigns, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*,
whose Wives and Children were in the Roman Camp, contriv'd Means to escape to
him, from *Asdrubal's* Army. They came to *Scipio's* Tent, offer'd their Assistance,
and made a handsome Speech, wherein they express'd their Hopes, that the Consi-
deration of the Services they had done the *Carthaginians*, and of the Ingratitude
they had met with, would preserve them from the Odium which sticks to the
Name of Deserters. *Scipio* received them graciously, allow'd their Plea for leaving
the Enemy to be good, told them that where Violence reign'd, Contracts were not
indissoluble, and restored them their Wives and Children. §. 47. And now the
Carthaginian was much perplexed to know what Course to take; and at length re-
solved to hazard a Battel, intending, if he proved unsuccessful, to make the best of
his Way to the *Pyrenees*, and so cross *Gaul* into Italy. He posted himself on an
Eminence in the midst of a Plain, watered by a River, which winding round the
Eminence, made it a Peninsula. It was a very advantageous Post; but *Scipio*, after
two Days Consideration, resolved to attack him in it, before he could be joined by
the Son of *Gisco*, or by *Mago*; and he succeeded in the Attempt. The Enemy was
routed, and *Asdrubal*, accompany'd by *Masinissa*, fled towards the *Pyrenees*, with
as many of his Troops and Elephants as he could get together. §. 48. The
Fame of this memorable Action brought many more of the petty Princes of Spain,
to the Roman Camp. They fell prostrate at the Feet of *Scipio*, and saluted him
King.

Year of King. But the very Sound of this Appellation made him tremble. He immediately called together his Troops, and in Presence of the *Spanish* Princes, forbade them to style him by any other Title than what the Republick had given him. And then turning to *Indibilis*, and the rest of those Princes, *You shall find me*, said he, *a beneficent Protector, and shall feel the Happiness of the gentle Government of the Romans.* But as for the Appellation of King, *I abhor it, and I desire you never to give it me more.*

544.

§. 49. Whilst *Scipio* continued in the Camp of *Asdrubal*, the *Questor* brought to him a Youth named *Massiva*, found among the Captives, very beautiful, and of a Deportment suitable to his Royal Blood. The *Pro-Consul* having examined him, and finding that he was a Nephew of *Masniſſa*, ordered that he should be treated according to his Rank. And when he had finished some other Affairs, he sent for the young Prince, and asked him whether he desired to return to his Uncle. *Massiva* answered, with Tears in his Eyes, that it was the utmost of his Wishes. Upon this the *Pro-Consul* ordered him to be richly dressed in a *Spanish Sagum*, adorned with a Gold Buckle, and a Cloak embroidered after the *Roman* manner, put a Gold Ring on his Finger, made him a Present of a Horse richly accoutred, and in this manner sent him back under a Guard. These were the Methods by which *Scipio* gained the Affections even of his Enemies.

§. 50. The Flight of *Asdrubal* towards the *Pyrenees*, gave the *Pro-Consul* some Uneasiness; but concluding that he would be joined by *Mago*, and the Son of *Gisco*, who (tho' too late to assist him in the late Battel) had marched from the Extremities of *Spain*, he would not pursue him, but chose rather to lead his victorious Army into the Heart of this Country, and fix the several Nations in an Alliance with the Republick. As for the *Carthaginian* Generals; as soon as they had joined their Armies, they conferred together on the best Measures to be taken, and it was resolved that the Son of *Gisco* should resign his Troops to *Mago*, and go into the *Baleares* Islands to make new Levies there; that *Mago* should post himself in *Lusitania*, near the Streights of *Gades*, where the *Roman* Name was yet scarce known; and that *Asdrubal* should march for *Italy* with all the *Spaniards* he could get together.

§. 51. When the News of *Scipio's* Progress in *Spain* came to *Rome*, the Esteem of the Senate and People for him was much heightened on account both of his Exploits and Virtues. Of all the Generals who had signalized themselves this Year, he was the only one whose Conduct left no room for an Objection. *Fabius's* Conquest of *Tarentum* was more by Artifice than Bravery; *Fulvius* seemed to have slept away the greatest Part of the Campaign; and *Marcellus* had gained his Advantages over *Hannibal* at too much Expence. Nay, one of the *Tribunes of the Commons* openly attacked his Honour, and formally accused him before the People of idly losing his time in Pleasure at *Venusia*, and enervating his Troops, as *Hannibal* had done at *Capua*. But as soon as *Marcellus* was heard in his own Defence, he entirely stifled these ill-natur'd Suggestions.

§. 52. And the People were so sensible of his Merit, that the very next Day, in the *Comitia by Centuries*, he was again chosen *Consul*, together with *T. Quinctius Crispinus*. However, it was some time before the *Consuls* elect entered upon Office; and in the mean while, *Marcellus*, by Order of the Senate, went into *Hetruria*, and quieted some Disturbances in that Province.

B O O K XXXIII.

545. §. 1. **I**N the Beginning of the new Consulship of *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *T. Quinctius Crispinus*, the Affairs of the Republick were in a much better Condition than they had ever been during ten Years past, since *Hannibal's* coming into *Italy*. The *Carthaginian* had few remaining of his veteran Troops, with which he had conquered at *Cannæ*, and the Lake *Thrasimenus*. And the Return of the Nations to the *Roman* Interest was become as frequent as their Revolt had been sudden. Besides, the *Roman* Arms had been surprizingly prosperous in *Spain* and *Sicily*.

§. 2. And now a Report being spread at *Rome*, that *Carthage* was equipping a Fleet of two hundred Sail to ravage the Coasts of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, The *Conscrip*t Fathers likewise ordered a considerable Fleet to be fitted out, to oppose that Enterprize of the Enemy.

§. 3. And then they took under Consideration the Treatment to be given to the rebellious *Tarentines*, and the Merits and Demerits of *Livius* the Governor of *Tarentum*, who had suffered it to be surprized, but had since contributed to the recovering of it, and had all along bravely defended the Citadel. As to the former, the Senate deferred pronouncing a definitive Sentence till more peaceable times. Only a strong Garrison was placed in the City, and the Inhabitants were forbid to stir out of it. And as for *Livius*, his Cause was referred to the *Censors*.

Hannibal
gains an
Advantage
over the
Romans.

Marcellus
is slain.

T. Manlius
Torquatus,
Dictator.

§. 4. The *Consuls*, having nothing more to detain them at *Rome*, took the Field. Year of
And *Quintius* being ambitious of signalizing himself by the Conquest of some im- ROME
portant City, cast his Eyes on *Locri*, a maritime City of that Part of South *Italy*, 545.
now called *Calabria Ulterior*. But being afraid to cope with *Hannibal*, who ad-
vanced towards him, he postponed his designed Expedition, and hastned to join his
Colleague, *Marcellus*. When the two Collegues had conferred together, they deter-
mined not to drop the Enterprize upon *Locri*, and ordered a Body of Troops thi-
ther, from the Neighbourhood of *Tarentum*. But these were surprized by *Hannibal*
in their March, two thousand of them killed, and twelve hundred taken Prisoners.
The *Carthaginian*, however, declined a Battel with the united Forces of the *Con-*
suls; and watched for an Opportunity to deceive his Enemies by Artifice §. 5. Be-
tween his Camp, and that of the *Romans*, was a little Hill, convenient for En-
campments; and the *Roman* Soldiers were equally surprized at *Hannibal's* Neglect of
it, and impatient to take Possession of it themselves. They even murmured at their
Generals not being so quick, as they would have them, to seize such an advan-
tageous Post. And at length, *Marcellus*, to comply with their Importunity, pro-
posed to his Colleague to take with them a Guard of two hundred and twenty Horse,
and go and view the Eminence, which seemed so inviting to the Soldiers; and
Quintius approved the Motion. *Hannibal* had hid a Detachment of *Numidians* in
the Cavities of the Hill, and under the Bushes which covered it. These coming
out of their Ambush, surprized and surrounded the two *Consuls* and their Guard;
and the brave *Marcellus*, in the attempt to retreat, was killed by a Dart. §. 6. Thus
perished this renowned Warrior, surnamed, *The Sword of the Republick*. And tho'
Antiquity has taxed his Prudence as a General, on account of this last rash Step;
yet it is certain, that on all other Occasions, he displayed the accomplished Hero.
And he was the first who taught *Hannibal* that he was not invincible. Add to this,
that he had an uncommon Taste for the liberal Arts, and was the chief Introducer
of them at *Rome*. As soon as *Hannibal* heard of his Death, he immediately went
to the Place where the Body of his Rival lay; and at the Sight of it, shewed no
Marks of Joy, but seemed rather to pity the Misfortune of so great a Man, who
had fallen in a manner unworthy of him. His first Care was to take off the Ring,
which the dead *Consul* had on his Finger, and with which he used to seal his Dis-
patches. Then, having admired for some Moments the Stature and noble Mien of
the Deceased, he ordered the Body to be laid on a Funeral Pile, and burnt; and
gathering the Ashes into a Silver Urn, sent them in a pompous manner to young
Marcellus the Son, who had been Witness of his Father's Death, and had escaped
with the other *Consul*, *Quintius*. [Livy says nothing of this Urn, but tells us, that
Hannibal buried the Body of *Marcellus*.] §. 7. The surviving *Consul* being
dangerously wounded, decamped the following Night, and posted himself between
inaccessible Mountains. And fearing lest *Hannibal* should make a mischievous Use of
the Ring he had taken from *Marcellus*, he dispatched Couriers to all the neigh-
bouring Cities, in the Interest of *Rome*, to prevent their being deceived by Letters,
sent to them in *Marcellus's* Name. And this Precaution preserved *Salapia* in *Apulia*.
Nay, the Inhabitants turned the Artifice of the *Carthaginian* upon himself. He had
sent a *Roman* Deforter with Letters as from the deceased *Consul*, to give them notice
that he would be there the next Night, and that they should prepare to receive him.
The *Salapians* seemed to suffer themselves to be cheated; and admitted six hundred
of *Hannibal's* Men into the Town; but then on a sudden, pulling up the Draw-
Bridge, surprized and slew those who had entered, and with a Shower of Darts
from the Ramparts drove back the rest. §. 8. However, this unsuccessful Ex-
pedition did not so far discourage *Hannibal*, as to hinder him from marching to
the Relief of *Locri*, which was now invested by Sea and Land. And upon the
first Appearance of his *Numidian* Horse, the Besiegers were so terrified, that *Cincius*,
the Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet, sounded a Retreat, embarked all the Land-Forces
on Board his Galleys, sailed away, and returned to *Rome*. In the mean time,
Quintius, whose Wounds were mortal, and who having left his Post between the
Mountains, was now with his Army at *Capua*, sent Letters to the Senate, acquaint-
ing them with the Death of his Colleague, and that he himself was drawing near
his End; and desiring that *The Fathers* would depute to him three Men of Pru-
dence and Integrity, with whom he might entrust the Secrets of the Affairs of the
Republick. Accordingly, three Senators were commissioned to receive his last Ad-
vices; and at their Request, he nominated a *Dictator* to hold the *Comitia* for the
new Elections. The Person whom he pitched upon for that supreme Dignity was
T. Manlius Torquatus. §. 9. The *Romans* were a little comforted for this un-
fortunate Campaign, by News from *Sicily*, that *Lævinus*, who commanded an hun-
dred Sail of Ships, had made a Descent on *Africa*, brought thence a great deal of
Booty, and afterwards defeated a *Carthaginian* Fleet off *Clypea*. §. 10. And
their Fears of *Hannibal* were yet further abated, by the Advices they received from
the

Year of the *Pro-Consul Sulpicius*, of the State * of Affairs in Greece. [The Particulars of the * Vide p. 398.
ROME Transactions there, of the vain Endeavours used to bring the Ætolians off from the Ro-

545. *man Interest, and of a Victory gained over King Philip by Sulpicius, near Elis, are related at large, with an Account of the Hærean and Næmean Games, in this and the five following Sections.]*

§. 16. And now the chief Business of the Senate was to find out two Men for the *Consulship*, who were capable of recovering the Republick out of the bad State, into which the Rashness of *Marcellus* and *Quintius* had brought her. They first cast their Eyes on *Claudius Nero*, who had formerly commanded in *Spain*, a Man of unexceptionable Bravery, but hasty and enterprizing; and they therefore thought it necessary to give him a Colleague, who being more sedate and calm, might temper his Vivacity. *M. Livius Salinator*, who had discharged the Office of *Consul* with great Prudence twelve Years before, had been unjustly censured by the People for a pretended unequal Distribution of the Spoils of *Illyricum*. And tho' *Marcellus* had obliged him to leave his Country Farm, to which, out of Pique, he had confined himself, and return to the City; yet he had lived there like a Man in Disgrace, his Beard long, his Hair neglected, and his Dress slovenly, till the *Censors* forced him to shave himself, and take his Place in the Senate. And even then, he still showed his Resentment of the Affront he had received, by giving his Opinion only by a *Yes* or a *No*, or by barely moving to the Place, where the Senator sat whose Sentiment he embraced. But now his Relation *Livius Macatus*, who had suffered *Tarentum* to be surprized by *Hannibal*, being accused for it, this engaged him to break Silence for the first time in that August Assembly. And he spoke with so much Eloquence, that he drew all the Attention of *The Conscript Fathers*. Upon this Occasion they called to mind his Merit and his past Services, and were surprized at themselves for having so long neglected a Man of his Worth and Abilities. They immediately judged him a proper Person to be joined with *Nero*, and the *Dictator* entered into the same Sentiment. But when the *Comitia* met, *Livius* himself opposed his own Election. *If I am a proper Person*, said he, *to be chosen Consul a second time, why was I condemned? Or if my Condemnation was just, why should I be placed again at the Helm?* However, he was at length prevailed upon to accept of the Dignity offered him.

§. 17. And it fell to his Lot to march against *Asdrubal*, (who was making the best of his Way over the *Alpes* into *Italy* to join his Brother) and to *Nero's* to act against *Hannibal* in *Bruttium*.

§. 18. The rest of the Winter was spent in the Celebration of Games, Processions, and other religious Ceremonies, to render the Gods propitious.

546. §. 19. But when the Spring came, the *Consuls* began to make new Levies with extraordinary Rigour. Five out of seven maritime Colonies, which had been hitherto exempted, by Treaty, from furnishing their Contingents of Troops, were deprived of that Immunity; which was confirmed only to *Ostia* and *Antium*. The *Volones*, who had been disciplined formerly by *Sempronius*, were obliged to serve again. And *Scipio* sent from *Spain* to

Livius two thousand *Legionaries*, eight thousand *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, and near two thousand Horse, partly *Numidian*, and partly *Spanish*. It is surprizing that *Hannibal* did not take more care to advance into the Heart of *Italy*, before the *Consuls* were in Motion, and thereby put it out of their Power to prevent his Brother's joining him. But remembering the Difficulties he had met with in his own March from *Gaul*, he did not imagine that *Asdrubal* could have passed the *Alpes* so expeditiously as he had; and therefore continued too long in the Extremity of the Eastern Part of *Italy*. *Asdrubal* had found means to gain the Affections of the *Gauls* be-

yond the *Alpes*; a good Number of the *Arverni* had listed themselves in his Service; and even the Mountaineers, grown less savage, had been so far from opposing his March, that they had joined his Army, and followed him.

§. 20. This News hastened the Departure of the *Consuls* for their respective Provinces. *Nero* found, that the *Prætor Hostilius* (who met him at *Venusia*, and there resigned the Command of the Troops to him) had already gained an Advantage over *Hannibal*, and killed four thousand of his Men. This was a happy Beginning of the Campaign; and the *Consul* pursued the *Carthaginian* to the Neighbourhood of *Grumentum* in *Lucania*, with an Army of forty thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse. But tho' he encamped within five hundred Paces of the Enemy, he avoided coming to a general Action, till he had contrived to send privately a considerable Detachment to make a Tour, and fall upon the *Carthaginians* in the Rear, from the Eminences behind them. By this Stratagem he gain'd a Victory, *Hannibal* kill'd eight thousand of the Enemy, and took seven thousand Prisoners, with the Loss only of five hundred Men. *Hannibal* decamped in the Night; and the *Romans* the next Day but one pursued him with so much Expedition, that they came up with him again near *Venusia*. Here another tumultuous Battel was fought, in which the *Carthaginian* had once more the Disadvantage, and lost two thousand Men; and then he made the best of his Way to *Metapontus*, to recruit his Army

with the Troops commanded by *Hanno*, whom he sent to make new Levies in Year of *Bruttium*. §. 21. Whilst *Hannibal* was endeavouring by artful Marches to *ROME*

elude the vigilant Pursuits of the *Consul*, a Courier, with Letters from *Asdrubal* to his Brother, fell into the Hands of the *Romans*. These Letters imported, that having failed in an Attempt on *Placentia*, he was repairing to *Umbria*, in hopes that *Hannibal* would join him there. Upon this, *Nero*, without disclosing his Design to the Senate, or to any body, resolved to march with six thousand of his choicest Troops to join his Colleague, and give *Asdrubal* Battel, before his Brother could come to his Assistance. This Step was contrary to the Laws, which forbad Generals to make War out of their own Provinces, or to enter those of their Colleagues. But the *Consul* thought that the present perillous Circumstances would justify his Conduct. He caused a Report to be spread, that he was going to force a *Carthaginian* Garrison in a neighbouring City of *Lucania*; left the Command of the Body of his Army with one of his Lieutenant-Generals; and then in the Night took the Road to *Picenum*. When he was got to a considerable distance from his Camp, he discovered his Intention to the Detachment he had taken with him, and encouraged them to the Enterprize by the Prospect of the Glory they would acquire by a Victory over *Asdrubal*, in which, notwithstanding the Smallness of their Number, they would be undoubtedly thought to have had the greatest Share. But when the *Consul's* Project came to be known at *Rome*, it occasioned various Speculations. Some approved, others blamed it; and the least equitable suspended their Judgment, till they should see the Success. In the mean time *Nero* drew near his Colleague's Camp, and entered it in the Night, to conceal his Arrival from the Enemy. §. 22. A Council of War was held, in which many were for giving

546.

Nero's Troops time to refresh themselves after a long March; but the brave *Consul* himself opposed this Motion, being in hopes to defeat *Asdrubal*, and return to his Camp at *Canusium*, before *Hannibal* should discover his Absence, or be able to take any Advantage of it. But *Asdrubal* by some means perceived that the *Romans* were reinforced; and imagining that his Brother had been defeated, and that the victorious Army was come against him, he decamped, by Favour of the Darkness, and took the Road to *Insubria*, expecting an Answer from *Hannibal*, with more certain Intelligence of his Situation. The two Guides, whom the *Carthaginian* chose to conduct him, proved unfaithful, and on a sudden disappear'd. So that the Army was bewildered, and knew not what Rout to take. At length they came to the *Metaurus*, a River in *Umbria*, marched up along the Side of it all Night, and postponed the passing it till Day-break. But now Fatigue and Want of Rest, robb'd *Asdrubal* of a great Number of his Soldiers; especially of the *Gauls*, who refused to follow him, and laid down to sleep. And while he pursued his tedious March along the winding Stream, the *Romans* had time to come up with him, and he was forced to give * Battel in a disadvantageous Situation, and when his Men were almost spent with Hunger, Thirst, and Want of Rest. The *Consuls* (who had been join'd by *L. Porcius* the *Prætor*, from *Cisalpine Gaul*) obtained a complete Victory. Fifty six thousand of the Enemy are said to have been killed upon the Spot. For tho' *Asdrubal's* Army, when it came down from the *Alpes*, consisted of no more than forty thousand Foot, eight thousand Horse, and fifteen Elephants, it had been since much increased by the *Ligures*, and the *Gauls* of *Insubria*. As for *Asdrubal* himself, he had resolved either to conquer or die; and therefore as soon as he saw the total Defeat of his Troops, he threw himself into the midst of a *Roman* Battalion, and died fighting. *Nero*, who had the greatest Share of the Glory of the Action, did not continue so much as one whole Night in his Colleague's Camp. After he had cut off *Asdrubal's* Head, he took it with him, and returned with such Expedition, that in six Days time he reached his Camp at *Canusium*. §. 23. The Joy of the People at *Rome* on the News of this Success was equal to the Fears they had been in on account of *Nero's* March. §. 24. And indeed the *Consul*, at his Return to his own Army, took an effectual Way to drive *Hannibal* farther from *Rome*. He sent some of the Natives of *Carthage*, whom he had taken Prisoners in the late Battel, to *Hannibal's* Camp in Chains. And not only so, but ordered *Asdrubal's* Head to be thrown at the Foot of the Enemy's Trenches, or, as some say, to be fixed on a Pole near them. This Sight, with the Report of the Captives, fill'd *Hannibal* with Horror and Sadness; and in the Height of his Grief he is said to have cried out; O *Carthage*, unhappy *Carthage*! I am sinking under the Pressure of thy Fate. And then he immediately left his Camp, and retired into *Bruttium*.

§. 25. The Republick, for a whole Year, had received no Account of any new Exploits in *Spain*. But now, to add to her Joy, News came, That *Silanus* the *Pro-Prætor* under *Scipio*, had, with a Detachment of ten thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, routed the united Forces of *Mago* and *Hanno*; (which last General had been sent from *Africa* with a new Army, to supply the Absence of *Hannibal's* Brother.) §. 26. And that *Lucius Scipio*, the Brother of the *Pro-Consul*, had, with

another

* Vide p.
415.

Asdrubal
defeated
and slain.

The Roman
Arms prof-
per in Spain.

Year of another Detachment, besieged and taken *Aurinx*; a City of Importance on the Coast of *ROME* fines of *Lower Baetica*; and lastly, that *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gisco*, (to whom *Mago* §46. had fled after his Defeat) was confined to a Corner of *Spain* near the *Streights of Gades*, as *Hannibal* was to a single Canton of *Italy*. This News was brought to *Rome* by young *Scipio* himself, attended by *Hanno*, and the rest of the *Carthaginian* Nobility taken in the War.

And indeed the Prosperity of the *Romans* this Year was complete. They had been in great Apprehensions of a Famine at home; that King *Philip* would invade *Italy*; and that *Hannibal* would receive Succours from *Carthage*; but the *Pro-Consuls*, *Sulpicius* in *Greece*, and *Lævinus* in *Sicily*, delivered them from all these Fears. The former kept * the *Macedonian* in Awe, and confined him to his own Country. And the latter gained a † Victory over the *Carthaginians* at Sea, and supply'd *Rome* with Corn from *Sicily*.

* Vide p. 421 to p. 429.
† Vide p. 430.

B O O K XXXIV.

§. 1. **T**HE time for the great *Comitia* approaching, the *Romans*, from some Motive, not known, were desirous of having a *Dictator* to preside in them; and accordingly, the *Consul Nero* named his Colleague *Livius* to that Dignity. The new *Consuls*, chosen by the *Centuries*, were *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *L. Veturius Philo*, who had both distinguished themselves by their Valour, in the last Campaign under *Livius*. Then the other Commanders were appointed; and it was remarkable, that in all the new Promotions, *Nero* was forgotten. His Conduct, how much soever justify'd by the Event, had been irregular; and it is probable, that the Republick neglected him by Way of Punishment, for giving an ill Example. §47. At *Rome*, it was dangerous to serve the State at the Expence of the Laws. § 2. The 246th *Consulship*. *Dictatorship* of *Livius* expiring with his *Consulship*, the *Consuls* elect entered upon Office; and they were ordered to carry on the War jointly in *Bruttium* against *Hannibal*. And now, as strange as it may appear, the *Carthaginian* made himself feared, even in the low Condition to which the Defeat and Death of his Brother had reduced him. He gained some Advantages over the *Consuls*, in the Plains of *Consentia*; and they durst not attack him in his Camp. *Hannibal* never appeared greater than in his present Adversity. How excellent must his Conduct have been, to prevent Mutinies and Desertions, and keep under Obedience his disheartened Troops, the greater Part of which were not *Carthaginians* nor *Spaniards*, but gathered out of all the Nations of *Italy*. And this was the more extraordinary, as they were in a manner starving, and in Want of the common Necessaries of Life, with which *Bruttium* could not supply them. *Hannibal*, in the thirteen Years since his passing the *Alpes*, had acted all the Parts of the greatest Commander. While the *Romans* were under their first Terror, his Conquests were exceedingly rapid. When their ancient Virtue revived, he found Expedients in Wiles and Artifices. And now, that an' unhappy Blow had deprived him of the Succours which his Brother brought from *Spain*, he followed the Steps of the prudent *Fabius*, and gained time by wise Delays. His great Misfortune was his having too greedily hearkened to the Dictates of that Hatred, which he had imbibed, against the *Roman* Name, in his Infancy, and his having begun his Conquests with *Italy*. Had he first set about the Reduction of *Spain* and *Gaul*, he would probably have subdued all the West, and *Rome* herself; as *Alexander the Great* had done the East.

§. 3. But now *Hannibal* was upon the defensive in *Italy*, whilst *Scipio* gave the *Carthaginians* no Respite in *Spain*. *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisco* had been driven to a Corner of this Country, near *Gades*. Thither *Mago*, who had for some time employed himself in making new Levies among the *Spaniards*, brought him such large Reinforcements, that his Army consisted of seventy thousand Foot, four thousand five hundred Horse, and thirty two Elephants; and with this Army he ventured to penetrate into the Countries under the Protection of *Rome*. He encamped in a vast Plain near a Town, called *Silpia*, and was there joined by a Body of *Numidian* Cavalry, which *Mastinissa* brought him in Person. *Scipio* was still at *Tarragona*; and upon the News of the Enemy's surprizing Preparations, thought it necessary to arm the *Spaniards* likewise, in his Turn; tho' remembering the Misfortune of his Father and Uncle in relying on them too much, he resolved to be cautious of employing them in critical Occasions. Having swell'd his Army to forty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, he began his March towards the Enemy, who were encamped in a Plain near *Bæcula*, on the Confines of *Bætica*; and he pitched his Camp in the same Plain. The two Armies were frequently drawn up in Order of Battel before their Entrenchments; and as *Scipio* observ'd, that *Asdrubal* always placed his best Troops, which were his *Africans*, in the Center, and his *Spaniards* in

Scipio de-
feats the
Carthagi-
nians in
Spain.

in the two Wings, he constantly made a like Disposition, and posted his *Spaniards* Year of
in the Wings, and his *Romans* in the Center. But this he did to deceive the Enemy. ROME
For when the Day came, on which he resolved to give Battel, he changed this Dis- 547.
position, and placed his *Legionaries* in the two Wings, while the *Spaniards* made up
his main Body. And when he was entring upon Action, he ordered his Wings to
march very fast, and his Center more slowly; so that the bravest of his Troops
came to an Engagement with the weakest of the Enemy, and defeated them, before
the two main Bodies could join Battel. And the *Romans* were very sensible of the
great Prudence of their General, in this Conduct, when after they had routed the
Wings, they came to attack the Center of the Enemy; for these brave Veterans
made so resolute a Resistance, as almost quite disheartened them: insomuch that
Scipio (as one Author relates) was forced to dismount, seize a Buckler, and throw
himself, Sword in Hand, into the midst of the *African* Battalions, before he could
engage his Men to make the necessary Efforts to complete their Victory. But then
the Enemy soon gave way, and the Slaughter was terrible. *Asdrubal*, with the Fu-
gitives, gained his Camp; but the *Spaniards* deserted him so fast, that he laid aside
the Thought of fortifying himself there, and retired in the Night towards the
Shore of the Ocean. *Scipio* pursued him, and came up with him again, and after
a second furious Havock, the three Chiefs, *Asdrubal*, *Mago*, and *Masiniſſa*, had no
more than six thousand Men left about them, and these for the most part disarmed.
Their only Refuge was, with all Expedition to gain the Summit of a steep Hill,
and there entrench themselves as well as they could. *Asdrubal* perceived that even
these poor Remains of his Army continually lessened, and he therefore abandoned
them in the Night. The Sea was near, he found Ships ready to sail, and embarked
for *Gades*. From thence he sent back his Ships to *Mago*, who escaped likewise by
a shameful Flight. But *Masiniſſa* was more constant; he continued upon the Hill
with the miserable Remains of the *Carthaginian* Army. Nevertheless, it is pro-
bable that he, from this time, conceived a Dislike for the Party he had chosen. He
had very soon an Interview with *Silanus*, whom the *Pro-Consul* left with a Detach-
ment to invest the Enemy, while he himself returned to *Tarragona*. And tho' we
know not exactly the Conditions of the Engagement, into which the *Numidian*
King entered with *Rome*, it is certain that he bound himself by such Ties as proved
indissoluble; and he immediately turned all his Thoughts to make the proper Dis-
positions in his own Country to support the *Roman* Cause.

Scipio goes
privately
into Africa
to treat
with Sy-
phax.

§. 4. *Spain* was now almost totally reduced; but the *Pro-Consul* did not confine
his Views to this Conquest alone. He lost no time in paving his Way to *Africa*,
by Negotiations with the *African* Princes near *Carthage*. *Syphax*, King of *Mase-*
sylia, was now in Alliance with the *Carthaginians*; but as *Scipio* knew that present
Interest was the only Tie which bound the *Numidian* to them, he sent his dear *Læ-*
lius to endeavour to bring him over to the Cause of *Rome*. *Lælius* was heard, and
his Argument wrought Conviction; but he being only a Subaltern in *Scipio's* Ar-
my, the King insisted, for his greater Security, upon having a personal Conference
with the *Pro-Consul* himself; and he protested, that if he would come into *Nu-*
midia, he should be received there with Honour, and dismiss'd with Satisfaction.
Scipio consider'd the Hazard of such an Enterprize; but his great Soul was above
the Fear of Danger, when he had the Interest of his Republick in view. He left
Marcius at *Tarragona*, with a Part of his Troops, sent *Silanus* with the rest of his
Army, to *New-Carthage*, embark'd with *Lælius* for *Africa*, and arrived at the Ca-
pital of King *Syphax*. The fugitive *Asdrubal* happened to arrive there the same
Day; and nothing could be more agreeable to the *Numidian* Prince, than to see
two illustrious Generals of the two most powerful Nations in the World, at his
Court, at the same time; and both come to seek his Alliance. He first put on the
Person of a Mediator, and would have had *Scipio* enter into a Conference with the
Carthaginian, in order to an amicable Accommodation. But *Scipio* excused himself,
as not having received any Commission from his Republick to treat of Peace.
However, he accepted of the Invitation to dine at the King's Table with *Asdrubal*.
And then he appeared as much superior to his Rival in the Charms of Conversation,
as he had been in War. *Asdrubal* himself was sensible of it, and is said to have
afterwards express'd himself in the following manner. *What a wonderful Man is*
this Scipio! he is as formidable at an Entertainment, as at the Head of an Army. I
have no Hopes of succeeding in my Negotiation. Scipio has irresistible Charms to gain
the Affections. His Moderation has contributed as much to the Conquest of Spain, as
his Sword; and it is time for Carthage to think of preserving Africa. His Voyages are
not Voyages of Pleasure; nor has he crossed the Seas with so much Danger, but with a
View of reigning in the Hearts of the Africans. Nor was the *Carthaginian* mistaken.
Syphax was so charm'd with *Scipio*, that he enter'd into a secret Treaty with him,
and lest he should be attack'd at Sea by *Asdrubal's* Gallies, in his Return to *Spain*,
he kept the *Carthaginians* with him, and amused them till the *Pro-Consul* was safely
arrived

Year of arrived at *New Carthage*. §. 5. *Scipio* found *Spain* in the same Tranquillity and

ROME Obedience in which he had left it. Nothing remained now, but to punish the Nations and Cities which had formerly rebell'd, and to keep the *Spaniards* to their

547. Duty, by Examples of Severity. He march'd himself to besiege *Illiturgis*, and sent *Marcus* to invest *Castulo*. The former, which had revolted to the Enemy, was taken by Assault, sack'd and burnt; and Men, Women, and Children put to the Sword. The latter capitulated, and was more favourably treated.

§. 6. From *Castulo*, *Marcus* went and appeared before *Astapa*, a City obstinately devoted to the *Carthaginians*. The Inhabitants were desperate. They brought all their Moveables, and threw them in a Heap in the Market-place. Then placing their Wives and Children on the Top of the Pile, which they surrounded with Faggots, and other combustible things, they chose out fifty of the most steady of the Citizens, to guard this dear Depositum; and they gave them the following Charge. *Be assured, we will either repulse the Romans, or all perish in the Attempt. If we are overcome, do you, upon the first News of the Enemy's Approach, save the Honour and Liberty of our Wives and Children. First make use of your Swords, and then of Fire, to rescue these Remains of an unfortunate City from Captivity and Infamy.* After this, they did not wait to be attack'd, but march'd out at one of the Gates, in good Order, to give Battel; and all died fighting. And the News of this general Massacre produced another in the Heart of the City. The fifty *Astapans* discharged their Trust, and then threw themselves into the Flames.

§. 7. Whilst *Marcus* was executing Vengeance on the rebellious Cities, *Scipio* was return'd to *New Carthage*; and there he entertain'd his Army with a Fight of Gladiators, in Honour to the *Manes* of his Father and Uncle, pursuant to the Vow he had made.

§. 8. And during these Diversions, some Deserters arrived from *Gades*, the only City of *Spain* in the *Carthaginian* Interest. And upon their Report of a Conspiracy among the *Gaditani*, to put the *Romans* into Possession of the Place, *Scipio* sent *Marcus*, with some Troops, and *Laelius*, with a Squadron of Ships, to carry on the Enterprize by Sea and Land. But *Laelius*, in his Passage, met and attack'd a Squadron of *Carthaginian* Galleys, which were conducting to *Carthage* the Conspirators who had been discover'd, and who were to be tried there. He gave *Marcus* Notice of it, and advised him to lead back his Troops; and he himself likewise return'd to *New Carthage*.

§. 9. And now it appear'd, how necessary *Scipio's* Presence was, both to preserve his Conquests in *Spain*, and to maintain Discipline in the Army. He happened to fall dangerously sick; and *Fame* made his Case worse than it was. It was first reported that he was dying; and then, that he was dead; and these Rumours had such an Effect, that not only *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* (two petty Kings before mentioned) immediately revolted from the *Romans*, and stirred up the *Celtiberians* against them; but eight thousand *Roman Legionaries*, who were encamp'd on the Banks of the *Sucro*, to keep that Part of *Spain* in Awe, mutinied, drove away their Leaders, who would not enter into their Measures, and chose two insolent common Soldiers, *Atrius* and *Albius*, to conduct them. And the Madness of these two Fellows was such, that they usurp'd the *Consular* Dignity, and order'd *Lictors* to walk before them. The Pretence for the Mutiny was the Want of Pay, which they had not receiv'd for six Months.

§. 10. The *Pro-Consul* recover'd his Health; but was much embarrassed how to manage the Mutineers, so as not to push them to Extremities, and yet to make such Examples as should keep his Troops in their Duty. At length, he contrived to decoy them to *New Car-*

thage, by promising to pay them their Arrears there, and by giving such Orders as deceived them into a Belief, that the Troops with him were immediately to go up- on some new Expedition; by which means the Seditious would have the absolutely at their Mercy. Full of these Hopes, the Mutineers enter'd the City. *Scipio* had before sent seven *Tribunes* to them, to supply the Place of those whom they had driven away. And these, who had by an artful Conduct gain'd the Confidence of the Rebels, were order'd each of them to invite five of the most guilty to their Houses, give them Plenty of Drink, then bind them, and give the General Notice of the Success. This Scheme was executed; and thirty five of the Mutineers were thus secur'd, without the Knowledge of the rest. The next Morning, by break of Day, *Marcus*, who was to lead away the faithful Troops, pretended to make Preparation for his March, and drew up his *Manipuli* near the Gates. But his secret Orders were to return into the Heart of the City, upon a Signal agreed on. *Scipio*, at a proper time, gave the usual Notice for assembling his Soldiers in the Market-place; and upon the first Sound of the Trumpet, the Seditious all ran without their Arms, as the Laws required, to hear the *Pro-Consul's* Harangue. *Marcus*, at the same time, receiv'd Orders to bring back his armed Troops, and surround the Assembly. And then the *Pro-Consul*, in a long Harangue, expostulated with the Mutineers on the Baseness and Folly of their late Proceeding, whilst

the Sum of their Complaints could amount to no more than this: *That their Gene-*

Scipio artfully quells a Mutiny in his Army.

* *Vide p.*

446.

ral, being sick, had neglected to pay them at the usual time. And was this, he added, Year of a sufficient Reason for you to betray Rome, and violate all Laws, human and divine? ROME You are more distemper'd in Mind, than I was in Body. I cannot recall to my Thoughts 547- your Wishes, Hopes, and Discourses concerning me, without the utmost Indignation. But may they be buried in eternal Oblivion! And Heaven grant that you yourselves may forget all, even the Vehemence of this Discourse! Your base Conduct deserv'd my Resentments. But this is the last time that I will reproach you with it. The Marks you shew of Repentance, suffice to efface out of my Memory your shameful Proceedings. But as for Atrius and Albius, with some of the chief of their Accomplices, they shall expiate with their Blood, the Crimes they have caused you to commit. You shall be Spectators of their Punishment; and if your Repentance be sincere, you will rejoice at it. These Incendiaries have done no body more Injury than they have done you. As soon as Scipio had ended his Harangue, the Names of the thirty five Chiefs of the Revolt, who had been already condemn'd by a Council of War, were call'd over; they appear'd before the Tribunal half naked, and their Heads were struck off by the Lic-tors. Then the Herald call'd over the Names of all the rest of the Mutineers; the General took a new military Oath of them; and thus ended the Sedition.

§. 11. The Pro-Consul was yet at New Carthage, when he receiv'd an Account that Mandonius and Indibilis had rais'd an Army among their Subjects and Allies, of twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse, and were living upon free Quarter, in the Territories of the Friends of Rome. It was necessary to put a Stop to the Progress of these faithless Princes, and to employ the seditious Troops (who were now quiet, and had receiv'd their Pay) jointly with the rest, in the Expedition. Scipio therefore having assembled all in the Market-place, spoke to them in the following manner: *The Resolution I have taken to punish the perfidious Spaniards, gives me much less Uneasiness than the Vengeance I was forced to execute on the late Mutineers. Among these, I found none but Citizens of Rome, or Latins, old Soldiers who had been attached to my Father, and the Companions of my Victories. I could not do Justice upon them without Tears. But among those I am going to punish, I shall find none but Strangers and Ingrates. Two Kings, degenerated into Robbers, lay the Fields of our Allies waste, and burn their Granaries. Let us go then, and clear the Plains of these Banditti; nor let it be said that I left the least Seeds of Trouble here, at my Departure. And since the Assistance of our Allies is not wanting for this Expedition, let the Romans alone have the Honour of giving the finishing Stroke to the great Work of conquering Spain.* Whilst the Pro-Consul was speaking, he had the Pleasure to see Alacrity and Joy painted on every Face; and taking Advantage of the present Disposition of his Soldiers, he immediately began his March. In fourteen Days he came up with the Enemy, in the Country of the Sedetani, and there gained a compleat Victory. Seventeen thousand of the Spaniards were kill'd upon the Spot.

§. 12. And after this Defeat, Mandonius and Indibilis had no Resource, but in the Clemency of the Conqueror. Indibilis was asham'd to appear, but Mandonius, in the Name of both, came and threw himself at his Feet, and cast the Blame of their Revolt on the Misfortunes of the Times, and the unaccountable Effect which the Report of his Death had caused in the Minds of Men, even of the Romans themselves. Scipio gave him the following Answer: *Both you and Indibilis have deserv'd to die; but you shall both live, and shall owe your Lives to my Republick. Nor will I disarm you: That would look as if I fear'd you. Nay, I will not so much as require Hostages of you; that would perhaps end in spilling their Blood, for new Treacheries, in which they would personally have no Share. The Fear of our Arms will be sufficient to keep you in your Duty. See whether you shall like better to feel the Effects of our Clemency in Tranquillity, or to experience once more the Severity of our Revenge.* The Pro-Consul carried his Resentments no farther; only he order'd the two Kings to furnish him with Money enough to pay his Troops. Then he divided his Army into two Parts; gave one to Silanus, to conduct it to Tarragona; and the other to Marcus, to lead it to the Shores of the Ocean; and he himself joined the latter soon after near Gades.

§. 13. The Pro-Consul's chief Design in this Journey was to fix Masinissa in the Interest of Rome. And the Numidian Prince, who had shut himself up with Mago in Gades, was equally impatient to have a Conference with the Roman General, in order to a lasting Treaty of Friendship. He pretended to Mago, that his Cavalry were ruined by continuing idle in the Place, and that it was necessary for him to go seek Forage on the Continent. And he was no sooner landed there, but he sent three Numidian Lords to the Pro-Consul, to fix the Time and Place for a Conference. Masinissa had already conceived a high Opinion of Scipio, and his Admiration and Respect was increased at the first Sight of him. The Pro-Consul's Hair flow'd down his Back to a great length; he had an equal Mixture of Majesty and Sweetness in his Countenance; and he was in his full Strength, and Bloom of Beauty. There was nothing affected, or too negligent, about him. His Habit was plain, but neat, and such as became a Soldier, who despised the studied Elegancies

Rear of gancies of Dress. The *Numidian* began by thanking him for having formerly sent *YOME* him back his Nephew, whom he had taken Prisoner; and then gave him Assurances

547. of his most inviolable Attachment to the Interests of *Rome*, advising him to ask Leave of his Republick to appear before *Carthage*, the Ruin of which would then be inevitable. *Scipio* return'd these Advances with Dignity and Affection. *Masinissa* was young, and a *Numidian*; but there was a great Air of Sincerity in his Looks and Words. The Treaty was concluded, and the *Pro-Consul* return'd to *Tarragona*. The Prince conceal'd the true Design of his Journey, by pillaging some Part of the Continent, before he went back to *Gades*; and *Mago* soon after abandoned the Place, having receiv'd Orders to go and assist his Brother *Hannibal* in *Italy*. §. 14. But the *Carthaginian* signalized his Departure, by cruel Exactions and Oppressions. He stripped the Temples of *Gades*, plunder'd the publick Treasury, and forc'd private Persons to give him their Gold and Silver. His View was, with this Money to raise new Levies among the *Ligures* in *Cisalpine Gaul*. But as he was coasting along *Spain* in his Way thither, he form'd a rash Design of surprizing *New-Carthage*, and in the Attempt lost eight thousand Men; so that he judg'd it necessary to return to *Gades*. When he came there, he found the Gates shut against him; and was therefore forced to retire to *Cimbris*, a neighbouring City on the same Coast. From thence he sent Deputies to the *Gaditani*, (who were themselves a Colony of *Phœnicians*, as well as the *Carthaginians*,) to complain of their Proceedings. The Magistrates of the Place deputed to him the chief Judge and Treasurer of the City, to assure him that the Refusal he had met with was owing only to the Populace, whom the *Carthaginian* Soldiers had plundered at their Departure. But this Civility *Mago* return'd with Cruelty, and caused the two Deputies to be first inhumanly scourged, and then crucify'd. He then continued his Course towards *Italy*, but stopped at the smaller of the *Baleares* Islands, (now call'd *Minorca*,) forced ten thousand of the Inhabitants into the Service of his Republick, sent them to *Carthage*, and did not sail from the Island for *Italy*, till the Spring. As soon as *Mago* had left *Spain*, the *Gaditani* immediately submitted to the *Romans*; The *Roman* and *Scipio's* Conquest was complete. He was Master of all the Countries between the *Pyrenees*, the *Mediterranean*, and the Ocean. §. 15. But the *Pro-Consul* come *Maf-* was not yet return'd to *Tarragona*, when two new *Pro-Consuls*, *Cornelius Lentulus* ters of all and *Manlius Acidinus*, came into the Port with Commissions from the Senate, one *Spain*. to govern *Hither Spain*, from the *Pyrenees* to the *Sucro*; the other to govern *Further Spain*. *Scipio* surrendered up the *Fasces*, without murmuring; and, attended by *Scipio* re- his faithful *Lælius*, and his Brother *Lucius*, immediately set sail, with a Squadron of turns to ten Ships, and return'd to *Italy*. Rome.

B O O K XXXV.

§. 1. **W**Hen *Scipio* arrived from *Spain*, he did not immediately enter within the Walls of *Rome*, but, according to the establish'd Custom of Generals, continued in the Suburbs, and desired that the Senate might be assembled in the Temple of *Bellona*, to hear the Relation of his Expeditions. Accordingly, the *Scipio* re- *Conscript Fathers* met together there, and were almost as much charmed with the late his Ex- Eloquence of the young Hero, as with the Detail of his Exploits. He concluded ploits to the his Discourse with these Words: *When I landed at Empuria, I found in Spain one Senate. Roman Army, in a bad Condition; and three Carthaginian Armies, very flourishing and victorious. When I came from thence, I left not a Carthaginian there; but the Troops of the Republick in sole Possession of that vast Continent.* But though this was true, and no General had ever better deserv'd a Triumph, yet he demanded one but faintly, and did not insist upon it, as knowing that the Laws were against his enjoying that Honour. His Commission for the *Proconsulate* had been extraordinary, and out of Rule. He had not pass'd from the *Consulship* to the *Pro-Consulship*, nor had he taken the Command of an Army under the Sanction of those *Auspices* with which *Consuls* were consecrated. However, he adorn'd his Entry into *Rome*, by a prodigious Quantity of Silver, which he had brought from *Spain*, for the publick Treasury, and which he caused to be carried before him. §. 2. And now the *Comitia* being held for electing new *Consuls*, it is not to be express'd with what Zeal the *Centuries* gave their Suffrages in his favour, tho' he had not yet attain'd to He is chosen the Years customarily required for that Dignity, being only between twenty eight Consul. 548. and twenty nine Years of Age. The Collegue appointed him was *P. Licinius Cras-* 247th Con- sus, surnamed *Dives*, and at this time *Pontifex Maximus*. And then the Republick sulship. proceeded to chuse the other Generals and Magistrates, and to assign them their several *Provinces*. §. 3. These Regulations being made, the new *Consuls* assembled the Senate; and *Scipio* introduced to the *Conscript Fathers* some Deputies from *Saguntum*,

Saguntum, whom he had brought with him from *Spain*. The most venerable of Year of them spoke in the Name of all; and having first mention'd the steady Adherence of *ROME* the *Saguntins* to the Republick, and the just Sense they had of her experienced Fa- 548. vour and Protection, (adding great Encomiums on *Scipio*;) they begg'd that the Privileges formerly granted them by the *Roman* Generals, might be confirm'd by an irrevocable Decree. The Senate readily granted what was ask'd; and the Republick, by Presents to the Envoys, and other distinguishing Civilities, testify'd a generous Gratitude for the Services these *Spaniards* had done her. §. 4. And now the whole Business of the Senate was to settle the *Provinces* of the two *Consuls*. *Scipio* had depended a little too much on the Discourses and Favour of the People, who were as desirous of sending him into *Africa*, as he was of going thither. And when he perceived that Envy and Jealousy had rais'd him Enemies among *The Conscript Fathers*, who would thwart his Designs, he forgot himself a little, in his Expressions. *If the Senate*, said he, *should be obstinate to oppose my finishing the War, and forcing Hannibal to return to Africa, I will have Recourse to the People. And I will obtain in the Comitia, what the Senators, thro' Envy, refuse me.* These unguarded Words gave great Offence to the *Fathers*. Old *Fabius*, now President of the Senate, declared openly against the Pretensions of the young *Consul*, and display'd all the Remains of his Eloquence to hinder his being sent into *Africa*.

Fabius opposes *Scipio's* being sent into *Africa*.

* Vide p. 459.

* Vide p. 461, 462.

In a long and studied * Harangue he labour'd to set forth the Dangers of such an Enterprize, the Insufficiency of *Scipio* for it, and the fatal Consequences which might attend it. He insisted on the Necessity of driving *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, before the War could safely be carried into the Neighbourhood of *Carthage*; and that the *Consul* ought to prefer the Preservation of his Country, to any private Views to his own Glory. And he took great Pains to remove any Suspicion that he was actuated by Jealousy, in the Opposition he made to *Scipio's* Pretensions. *Five Consulships*, said he, *and two Dictatorships, raise me above any Rivalship with a young General, after I am grown old in the Service, and have been so often crowned with Victory.* However, it was very visible that Jealousy of a rising Merit, which already began to eclipse his own, was what chiefly animated *Fabius* at this time; and *Scipio*, in his Answer, did not fail to expose this Infirmary of the old President. And he concluded his * Arguments for the Expediency of the Enterprize in question, with these Words, *And now, Conscript Fathers, what remains for me to do, but to lessen the Exploits of Fabius, as he has labour'd to depreciate my Expeditions in Spain? But Heavens forbid, that the Young Consul should discover as much Weakness as the Old General. What I have done, speaks sufficiently in my favour, and does not need to be heighten'd by odious Comparisons.* But *Scipio's* Discourse was not favourably receiv'd by the Senate. His former imprudent Threatening, of having Recourse to the People, had prejudiced the Assembly against him. And *Fulvius*, a Senator, who had been *Consul* and *Censor*, put this Question to him. *If the Senate should determine the Provinces of the Consuls, will you acquiesce in their Decree, or appeal from it to the People?* *Scipio* answered with Confidence, that he would do what he thought most conducive to the publick Welfare. To which *Fulvius* reply'd, *I plainly foresaw what Answer you would make me. We know what Discourses you have given out. You did not come here to consult the Senate, but to sound them; and have already taken your Resolution to have recourse to the People, to obtain Africa for your Province.* And then turning towards the *Tribunes of the Commons*, he said, *I absolutely refuse to declare my Opinion freely here, since we have to do with a Consul, who will not acquiesce in a Decree of the Senate; and I desire you, Tribunes, to support me in this Refusal.* Upon which *The Tribunes* instantly pronounced, *That if the Consul would submit to the Determination of the Senators, they should determine the Affair by their Votes, and it should never be brought before the People; and That if the Consul would not acquiesce in the Senate's Decree, they would support those who refused to vote.* *Scipio* desired one Day's time to consider of it, and this was granted.

§. 5. The next Day the Assembly met again, and the Affair of the *Provinces* of the two *Consuls* was put to the Vote. And it was decreed, That *Scipio* should command in *Sicily*, and take upon him the Conduct of the *Roman* Fleet there, which consisted only of thirty Ships of War; and That if he thought it for the Advantage of the Republick, he might with that small Armament go into *Africa*. As for *Licinius*, he was directed to carry on the War against *Hannibal* in *Bruttium*. But tho' *Scipio's* Pretensions were thus in some measure disappointed, he did not lay aside his old Design. His Heart was wholly bent on *Africa*, which he still promised himself that he should conquer; and to that End he turn'd his Thoughts entirely to the raising a pretty numerous Army, which he would first carry into *Sicily*, and thence into *Africa*. His Collegue, at the Persuasion of *Fabius*, did all he could to obstruct his Measures; but he nevertheless obtained leave to take with him into *Sicily* as many Volunteers as he could get together; and a Power to ask of the Allies all Necessaries for building and equipping a new

Year of a new Fleet. Many of the Provinces and Cities voluntarily taxed themselves to *ROME* furnish him with Corn, Iron, Cloth for Sails, Timber, &c. So that in forty Days
548. time after the cutting of the Timber, he was in a Condition to set sail with a Fleet of thirty new Gallies, and about seven thousand Volunteers.

§. 6. And now while the Republick was engaged in finding Supplies for the Ex- Mago the pences of the Campaign against *Hannibal*, News was brought to *Rome*, that his Brother of Brother *Mago* had landed at *Savona* with twelve thousand Foot and two thousand *Hannibal* Horse; that having found two Nations of *Liguria*, the *Ingaunians* and *Intemelians*, lands with at War, he had joined the former, and had thereby greatly swelled his Army, as an Army in also with considerable Numbers from all Parts of *Cisalpine Gaul*. These Advices Italy. from *Spurius Lucretius*, who with an Army was watching that Country, caused a general Alarm in the Senate-house. *In vain*, said they, *did we defeat Asdrubal*. The Race of *Hamilcar* is an Hydra, whose Heads grow up again as fast as they are cut off. However, they took proper Measures to oppose the Progress of the new Invader. And the Fears of the People would have been entirely quieted by the wise Precautions of *The Conscript Fathers*, and by the joyful News of the taking and sinking eighty *Carthaginian* Vessels loaded with Provisions for *Mago* and *Hannibal*; if an Account had not come about the same time from the Consul *Licinius*, that a Plague raged in his Camp, and obliged him to continue unactive. However, as *Hannibal's* Troops were likewise afflicted with the same Distemper, and had also a Famine to struggle with, the *Carthaginian* was equally unable to attempt any thing all the Campaign.

§. 7. During this Inaction in *Italy*, the Eyes of the Republick were wholly fixed Scipio on *Scipio's* Conduct in *Sicily*. He made it his first Business to discipline the Volun- makes Pre- teers he had brought thither, and chose out three hundred of the most robust and parations in best made among them to be always about his Person. And in order to mount them Sicily to in- well, and make them an invincible Squadron, he used the following Stratagem. vade Africa. He commanded three hundred young *Sicilians* of Family and Fortune to come well armed and mounted, and serve under him, at their own Expence. He knew that their Mothers and Relations would be very uneasy at the Thoughts of their going into *Africa*; and therefore when the Troop of young Men came to be reviewed, he with a gracious Air addressed them thus. *I have been inform'd, that you are afraid of engaging in the War, for which you are design'd. If so, make no scruple to confess it. I had much rather see you decline the Service at first, than hear you afterwards murmur at it. Speak freely, and be assured I will have regard to your Remonstrances.* At these words, a young Man of the Troop told the General, without Ceremony, that if he were free, he would chuse to continue in *Sicily*. *Very well*, answered *Scipio*, *follow your Inclinations. I have a Man ready to supply your Place. Give him your Horse and Arms, take him home with you, and instruct him in the Exercises proper for a Horseman.* The rest seeing the easy Terms upon which the Consul was ready to excuse them from the Service, followed the Example of the first; and thus *Scipio* mounted his favourite Troop. After this he formed his Army out of the bravest *Legionaries* in *Sicily*, and preferred the oldest Soldiers, who had served under *Marcellus* at the Siege of *Syracuse*, to the youngest. Then he refitted the old Gallies he found in the Island, gave the Command of them to *Laelius*, and sent him to make a Descent on *Africa*, and pillage the Country.

§. 8. *Laelius* landed near *Hippo*, *Laelius* laid the Territory about it waste, and threw the People of *Carthage* into a great makes a De- Consternation; for they falsely imagined, that *Scipio* had made a Descent with a for- scent in Af- midable Army. When their Fright, upon better Information, was a little over, the rica, to pil- *Carthaginian* Senate neglected nothing to divert the approaching Storm. They lage the Country. sent Ambassadors to *Syphax*, and to other petty Sovereigns on the Coasts; and above all laboured to engage King *Philip* of *Macedon* to come to the Assistance of *Africa*, or at least to carry the War into *Sicily*; and they promised him two thousand Talents of Silver, if he would pursue either of these Schemes. Messengers were sent to *Hannibal* and *Mago*, with Instructions to these two Brothers, to hinder, if possible, the Departure of any Troops which *Scipio* expected from *Italy*; and a Reinforcement of six thousand Men was sent to *Mago* in *Liguria*, with vast Sums for hiring Troops in *Cisalpine Gaul*. In the mean time, *Masinissa* having learnt the Arrival of *Laelius* in *Africa*, came without Hesitation to confer with him, assured him that there could not be a more favourable Opportunity to attack *Carthage*, and expressed his Surprise, that *Scipio* so long delayed his Departure from *Sicily*. And he added, *The Moment the Consul lands, I will join him with my Forces. Tho' I am by Violence dispossessed of the Throne of my Ancestors, I am not destitute. I can bring a good Body of Horse and Foot to the Roman Camp. Be gone, Laelius, and delay not; the Carthaginian Fleet is already sailed out of Port to intercept you in your Return; He returns and it will not be for your Advantage to fight it in your Way. Laelius* was prepared to Sicily by to sail when *Masinissa* arrived, and had stopp'd only to receive him. He took the the Advice

Prince's Advice, weigh'd Anchor the next Day, and arrived safe in *Sicily* with a prodigious Quantity of rich Booty.

Year of
ROME
548.

§. 9. In the mean time *Mago* received the new Reinforcement, sent him from *Carthage*, with Orders from his Republick to raise a great Army, and hasten to join his Brother. Upon which he called a Council of the Chiefs of *Liguria* and *Cisalpine Gaul*, and endeavoured to persuade them to declare openly against *Rome*, and furnish him with Troops to force his Way to *Hannibal*. The *Ligures* did as was proposed; but the *Gauls* durst not declare openly for him, because their Countries lay too much at the Mercy of the *Romans*. However, they consented to his levying Men privately in their Nation; so that *Mago's* Forces became considerable. But notwithstanding all he could do, *Livius* and *Lucretius*, who commanded two *Roman* Armies, and encamped together near *Ariminum*, took their Measures so prudently, that he was forced to continue in *Liguria*. And all Motions towards military Exploits were confined to *Sicily*.

Scipio surprizes Locri.

§. 10. But tho' *Scipio's* Thoughts were wholly bent on his *African* Expedition, yet the Greatness of the Attempt made it necessary to proceed with Caution. And while he was at *Messana*, making still greater Preparations for it, he received Information, that a Plot was formed by some *Locrians*, now in Exile at *Rhegium*, to surprize their native City, (which stood on the Sea-Coast near *Sicily*) and put it again into the Hands of the *Romans*. *Scipio* sent *Pleminius* with two *Tribunes*, and three thousand Men, to assist in the Enterprize. There were two Citadels belonging to the Place, and when the *Romans* had happily made themselves Masters of one, the *Carthaginians* retired into the other, and left the Inhabitants in sole Possession of the City. These favoured the *Romans*; and when *Hannibal*, who was in the Neighbourhood, came to invest the Place, they let in *Scipio* (who had hastened to their Relief) privately in the Night: and the *Consul* made so vigorous a Sally on the Assailants, that they were repulsed with Loss. And as soon as *Hannibal* perceived that *Scipio* was in Person at the Head of his Troops, he immediately retired to his Camp near the *Alex*, sending Orders to the *Carthaginians* in the second Citadel to provide for their Safety as well as they could.

§. 11. *Scipio* left *Pleminius* Governor of *Locri*; and little thought that this *Pro-Prætor*, and his *Roman* Soldiers, would surpass the *Africans* in Cruelty and Avarice: but as soon as he was gone, nothing escaped their infamous Violences. The Inhabitants were treated worse than in a City taken by Assault, and even the Temples of the Gods were rifled. *Pleminius* seized the Treasure in the Sanctuary of *Proserpine*, which *Pyrrhus* formerly had had Religion enough to restore, after the like Sacrilege. The Garrison of *Locri* consisted of two Bodies of *Romans*, one of which obeyed *Pleminius*, the other the two *Tribunes*; and they were equally rapacious. The Soldiers of the latter in a Scuffle with those of the *Pro-Prætor*, about some Plunder, happened to wound some of them; and these complaining to their Commander, he ordered the two *Tribunes* to be beaten with Rods. But the latter were rescued by their Followers, who not only beat the *Lictors*, but taking *Pleminius* himself from off his Tribunal, carried him into a private Place, and having there severely beaten him, cut off his Nose and Ears, and left him weltring in his Blood. This Adventure made it necessary for *Scipio* to return to *Locri*. He naturally took the Part of the *Pro-Prætor* as the commanding Officer, put the *Tribunes* in Chains, and ordered them to be carried to *Rome* to be tried there. But this did not satisfy *Pleminius*; and as soon as the *Consul* was gone, he of his own Authority condemned the *Tribunes* to die by the most cruel Torments, and their Bodies to be exposed as a Prey to Dogs and Vulturs; and not yet content, he executed the same Cruelty towards those of the Inhabitants who had complained to *Scipio* of his Rapines and Brutalities. The Odium of these horrible Actions fell in some measure upon *Scipio*, who had been too indulgent to the *Prætor*; and he was afterwards (as we shall see) accused for them before the Senate.

The State of Affairs in Spain.

§. 12. In the mean time, he went on with the Preparations in *Sicily* for his *African* Expedition, hoping that at least the next Year the Republick would suffer him to carry the War into the Neighbourhood of *Carthage*. And now he received an Account of the State of Affairs in *Spain*, and of the Commotions which had happened there after his Departure. *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* had despised the new *Pro-Consuls*, revolted from the *Romans*, and engaged several of the *Spanish* Nations to take Arms against them, to recover their Independence. They got together thirty thousand Foot and four thousand Horse; and made the Country of the *Sedetani*, who continued faithful to the Republick, their general Rendezvous. The *Pro-Consuls*, *Lentulus* and *Acidinus*, tried first to bring the Revolters back to Obedience by pacific Negotiations.

§. 13. But these proving ineffectual, a Battel ensued; *Indibilis* was slain; the Confederate Army totally routed; thirteen thousand of them kill'd, and eight thousand taken Prisoners. And the fugitive *Spaniards* to preserve their Countries from being laid waste with Fire and Sword, seized *Mandonius*, with the

other

Year of other Heads of the Revolt, and sent them under a strong Guard to the Camp of ROME the *Pro-Consuls*; who had insisted on this as a Condition of their obtaining Mercy. 548. Thus the Confederacy was broken, and *Spain* continued for some time after in Tranquillity.

§. 14. But at the same time that *Scipio* received this News, he learnt that his Colleague *Licinius* had made but an unfortunate Campaign against *Hannibal*. The Plague had made great Havock in his Camp, as well as in that of the Enemy; and not being in a Condition to return to *Rome*, he had, with the Approbation of the Senate, named *Cæcilius*, the *Pro-Consul* in *Bruttium*, Dictator, to hold the *Comitia* for the new Elections.

§. 15. And now the Republick, being still in dread of *Hannibal*, and impatient of his Presence in *Italy*, consulted the *Sybilline* Books, for the best means to get rid of him. The *Decemviri* reported, that they found it written in those Oracles, *That if ever any Foreigner came to make War in Italy, he could not be overcome otherwise than by bringing to Rome the Goddess Cybele from Pessinus in Phrygia*. This same *Cybele* (stiled the Mother of the Gods) was nothing more than a shapeless Stone, which, as was pretended, had fallen down from Heaven upon Mount *Ida*. Five Ambassadors, Men of Distinction, were immediately deputed to obtain by Negotiation this powerful Protectress. And because the *Romans* had little Commerce with the *Asiatics*, the Deputies were to engage *Attalus* King of the *Pergamenses* in their Interest. They went by the Way of *Delphi*, and there consulted the Oracle, from which they received this Answer, *That by the Help of Attalus they should infallibly obtain what they desired; but that when they had carried the Goddess to Rome, they should put her into no Hands, but of the best Man in the Republick*. King *Attalus* was so obliging to conduct the Ambassadors himself to *Pessinus*, where the Inhabitants with equal Complaisance granted them the Stone they so earnestly desired. §. 16. One of the Deputies sailed away before the rest, to give notice at *Rome*, that the Goddess was coming, and to report the Answer of the *Delphick* Oracle. And now the great Difficulty was to find out that Man of superior Probity to all others, who alone was worthy to receive the sacred and important Stone, at its landing. History has not told us the remarkable Virtues which gained *P. Cornelius Scipio*, surnamed *Nasica*, the Preference before all others: but this young Man, who was Cousin-German to the Great *Scipio*, and Son to *Cneius Scipio*, (who lost his Life in *Spain*) was the Person who obtained so honourable a Distinction. He went to meet the Goddess, attended by such of the Ladies of *Rome*, as were in the highest Veneration for their Virtue. Some of the *Vestals* likewise accompany'd him, and particularly *Quinta Claudia*; of whom it is related, that she wrought a * Miracle to get the Vessel, on which the Goddess was embarked, off a Bank of Sand near the Mouth of the *Tyber*, where it unfortunately struck. The Day on which *Cybele* arrived at *Rome* became a solemn annual Festival, distinguished by Games, called *Megalenses*. She was deposited in the Temple of *Victory*.

The Romans send to bring the Goddess Cybele from Phrygia to drive Hannibal out of Italy.

* Vide p. 480.

549. §. 17. But before the Arrival of the Goddess, the Dictator *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* had held the *Comitia by Centuries*, where *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, were chosen *Consuls*. *Sempronius* was then in *Greece*, endeavouring to repair the Disadvantages which the Republick had suffered there, through the Negligence of his Predecessor *Sulpicius*. And before he left that Country, he entered into a Treaty of Peace with *Philip* of *Macedon*, which was confirmed by the Senate.

248th Consulship.

§. 18. After this, *Sempronius* returned to *Rome*, and the *Comitia by Tribes* were held for chusing *Pro-Consuls*. *Licinius*, in that Quality, was ordered to continue the War against *Hannibal*, and *Livius* to watch *Mago* in *Cisalpine Gaul*. *Scipio* remained in *Sicily*, continuing his Preparations for a Voyage to *Africa*. But before the new *Consuls* took the Field, some time was spent in superstitious Ceremonies and Expiations, on account of pretended Prodigies and terrifying Phenomena. Young *Marcellus* dedicated Temples to *Honour* and *Virtue*. His Father had formerly vow'd a Temple to them; his Intention being to place them both under one Roof. But the *Pontifices* opposed this, declaring that it was not lawful to worship more than one God in one Temple; and they further urged, that if Lightning fell upon the Building it would be impossible to discover to which of the two Divinities expiatory Duties were to be paid.

§. 19. And now the Republick being to recruit her Armies, she thought proper to call to account the twelve *Roman Colonies*, who six Years before had with Impunity refused their Contingents of Men and Money. The Senate determined, that they should be doubly taxed for both; and the Decree was put in Execution with Rigour, notwithstanding all their Remonstrances. And this Act of Justice was followed by another in favour of those private Persons, who, in the Consulship of *Lævinus*, had lent the Republick the Sums requisite to supply her pressing Wants. At the Motion of *Lævinus* these Debts were ordered to be discharged.

§. 20. Such Instances of Equity in *The Conscrip't Fathers* emboldened all who were oppressed to demand Justice. And particularly the *Locrians*, who

The Character of
M. Cato.
Vide p.
486, &c.

Scipio is
accused be-
fore the Se-
nate.

who the last Year had been so ill treated under the Tyranny of *Pleminius*, came to Year of
Rome, and made their Complaints. The Affair engaged the Attention of the whole *ROME*
City; and the Odium of that *Pro-Prætor's* Violences was like to fall heavy upon 549.
Scipio, who had been too indulgent to him. The jealous *Fabius* took this Oppor-
tunity to attack the Reputation of his young Rival for Glory. And he was as-
sisted by the famous *Marcus Cato*, the first of the *Porcian* Family who distinguished
himself in *Rome*. *Cato* was born at *Tusculum*. He had spent his Youth partly in
the Profession of Arms, partly in the Labours of Husbandry, and partly in the Study
of Eloquence; and was highly esteemed for his Continenence, Moderation, Fru-
gality, Equity, Fidelity, Magnanimity, and great Oeconomy. In short, he was
look'd upon as a Man form'd upon the Model of the *Brutus's*, the *Poplicola's*, the
Fabricius's, &c. and this at a time, when the Virtues of the first *Romans* were a
little upon the Decline. Under the Countenance and Protection of one *Valerius*
Flaccus, who first brought him to *Rome* from his native City, he rose by degrees to
the Office of *Legionary Tribune*; and this Station giving him Access to *Fabius*, a
Conformity of Inclinations and Genius produced a strict Friendship between them.
Cato obtained the *Quæstorship* by the Interest of *Fabius*, and was wholly devoted to
him. And being now *Quæstor*, or Treasurer-General, to the Army which *Scipio*
commanded, it is easy to be imagined that there could be no Harmony between
him and the *Pro-Consul*. For setting apart *Cato's* Attachment to *Fabius*, Nature
seems never to have form'd two Men of more opposite Tempers than the *Quæstor*
and the General. *Scipio* was naturally liberal even to Magnificence. *Cato* was of
a covetous Disposition by Nature, and his Education had made him sordidly thrifty.
Scipio professed solid but sociable Virtues. *Cato* set up for an excessive Rigour, in
which there was more of Ostentation and Humour, than of real Inclination; for
while he outwardly seem'd insensible to Pleasure, he privately gave himself a Loose
in it. In short, *Scipio's* Philosophy was suitable to his Birth, and superior Merit.
He was above being so very circumspect, as to be always upon the Rack for fear
of little Mistakes. *Cato's* Ambition not being supported by these Advantages, he
had recourse to Artifice; and endeavour'd to supply the Want of them by an af-
fected Gravity, and excessive Regard for the Interests of the Publick, in the mi-
nuteft Particulars. From this pretended Zeal, he reproved the *Pro-Consul* for his
Profuseness to his Soldiers, and would have had him stint them to bare Necessaries.
But *Scipio* paid no Deference to the Remonstrances of a *Quæstor* whom he despised.
He had him mind his own Business, obey Orders, and keep his Advice to himself.
Cato, full of Resentment for this Usage, left *Sicily* on a sudden, returned to *Rome*,
and there joined *Fabius* in accusing the *Pro-Consul* of great and useless Expences,
and of losing the time which should be dedicated to military Affairs, in Sports and
Amusements. §. 21. These Accusations had already made some Impression on
the Citizens of *Rome*, when the Affair of *Locri* was brought before the Senate. Ten
Deputies from the *Locrians*, dressed in Mourning, with Olive-Branches in their
Hands, laid before the House their Grievances and Miseries under the Tyranny of
Pleminius. *Fabius* asked the Deputies whether they had not already made their
Complaints to *Scipio*; to which they answered, *That they had been at Syracuse for*
that Purpose; but that they had found the Pro-Consul too busy in making Prepara-
tions for his African Expedition, to hearken to their Remonstrances. And that besides,
he had formerly shewn his Disposition to favour Pleminius, by the Decree he had passed
at Locri. This was enough for *Fabius* to begin a criminal Accusation against his
Rival. He charged him as a Corrupter of the ancient Discipline; and as one who
had countenanced and hardened *Pleminius* in his Crimes. And he gave his Opinion,
That Scipio ought to be recall'd to Rome, for having quitted his Province, and be-
sieged Locri; and That proper Measures ought to be taken in Concert with the Tribunes
of the People, to get him deposed from the Proconsulate by the Comitia. That Ple-
minius should be brought to Rome in Chains, and executed in Prison, if the Depositions
against him proved true. And lastly, that the Senate should disavow the ill Treatment
of the Locrians, and give them full Satisfaction for all the Wrongs they had suffered.
Nor was *Fabius* the only Man in the Assembly, who attacked the Honour of *Scipio*.
Another Senator (probably *Cato*) accused him of going entirely into the Greek Man-
ners and Customs, of laying aside the *Toga* and *Sagum*, of appearing publicly in
the Greek Cloak (or *Pallium*) with Greek Sandals, and of applying himself with
such Assiduity to the Study of Greek Books, as to forget both *Hannibal* and *Car-*
thage. However, the *Pro-Consul* was not destitute of Friends and Defenders. *Quin-*
tus Metellus, after several Sitzings of the House, brought over all the Senators to
his Opinion, which was more prudent and moderate than that of *Fabius*. He ap-
proved the Proposals of the latter with regard to *Pleminius* and the *Locrians*: but
he urg'd, that it was unreasonable to stop a young Hero, the Hopes of the Repub-
lick, and an Honour to his Country, in the Career of Victory, upon merely a du-
bious Charge of a little too much Indulgence and Idleness. And he propos'd, that two
Tribunes

Year of Tribunes of the People, one *Ædile*, and ten other Commissioners, chosen out of the Senate, should be sent into Sicily with Pomponius the Prætor, to take Cognisance of Scipio's Conduct; and in case they found him guilty of being an Accomplice in Pleminius's Crimes, to send him to Rome.

§. 22. The Commissioners, who were to embark at *Rhegium*, went first to *Locri*. There they seized the guilty Governor, laid him in Irons, repaired the Wrongs which the Inhabitants had suffered, and examined them concerning the Conduct of *Scipio*. The *Locrians* declared, that they had nothing to accuse the *Pro-Consul* of, except his being a little too credulous in favour of *Pleminius*, and not ready enough to believe him guilty of those Crimes which they knew he himself abhorred. This Declaration pleased the Commissioners, as it freed them from the disagreeable Task of beginning a criminal Process against the most estimable Man in the Republick. And when they came into *Sicily*, they were thoroughly convinced, by the vast Preparations *Scipio* had made for his intended Expedition, and the fine Appearance both of his Army and Fleet, that the General had not spent his time wholly at the Theatre, and in Amusements. Go, said they to him, Fly to Africa the Moment your Orders come. You will fully answer the Expectations which the People had from you, when they chose you Consul. As for us, we will return to Rome, not to declare our Hopes of some uncertain Advantage, but to proclaim certain Victory. The Report of the Commissioners, at their Return, And is honoured the Glory of *Scipio*. He was honourably acquitted in the Senate; and a Decree was passed, that he should immediately go into *Africa*, and be at liberty to chuse such of the Roman Troops in *Sicily* as he thought fit for his Enterprize. And the Love which the People had for him, made them tender even to the guilty *Pleminius*, for whom they imagined the *Pro-Consul* had some Regard. Their Compassion was likewise raised, by seeing the miserable Figure the Wretch made, without his Nose and Ears; so that, tho' he was often produced before them, he was never condemned to Death by a sufficient Number of Votes. He died of some Distemper in Prison.

§. 23. It has been before observed, that *Scipio*, in order to pave his Way to *Carthage*, had successfully endeavoured to gain over to the Roman Interest the two *Numidian* Kings, *Syphax* and *Masinissa*. On the other hand, the *African* Republick was concerned to destroy those Engagements which they had entered into with Rome. And *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gisco*, undertook to draw off one of them at least, by the means of his Daughter *Sophonisba*. The Historians represent her as a Woman of excellent Beauty, sublime Genius, engaging Manner, and of a Courage above her Sex. Education, and the Study of Letters, had perfected her natural Endowments. Her Discourse was irresistibly winning: she spoke with all the Gracefulness, which a fine Carriage, and the most delicate Politeness, give; and she was Mistress of Musick. Her Father would encourage no Addresses to her from which he could not reap some Advantage for his Republick. He first made use of her to catch the Heart of *Masinissa*, and promised her in Marriage to the enamoured Prince.

Sophonisba is promised in Marriage to Masinissa; But is given to Syphax, who enters into an Alliance with Carthage.

§. 24. But the latter being afterwards unfortunately dispossessed of the Throne of his Ancestors, *Asdrubal* broke his word, and turned his Thoughts to *Syphax* King of *Masesylia*, who was easily taken in the same Snare. The Marriage was concluded; and *Syphax* in the first Heat of his Passion entirely forgot his Engagements with *Scipio*, and readily entered into an Alliance offensive and defensive with *Carthage*. However, to keep some Measures with Rome, he wrote a Letter to *Scipio*, to dissuade him from making a Descent upon *Africa*, acquainting him with his Marriage, the new Alliance he had made with the *Carthaginians*, and the Necessity he should be under of taking Part with them, in case they were attacked. The *Pro Consul* received this Letter at *Syracuse* with some Surprise; and to conceal the Contents of it from his Army, first sent back the Courier immediately with a short Answer to the *Numidian* Prince, advising him to beware how he injured both Gods and Men, by a Violation of publick Faith. And then assembling his Troops, he spoke to them as follows. Let us immediately embark, and set sail for Africa. The two Kings of *Numidia* press me to hasten my Departure. Formerly, *Masinissa* complained of my Dilatoriness to *Lælius*. And now *Syphax* advises me not to delay my Departure. He tells me, that if I have changed my Resolution, he shall be obliged to enter into Measures with *Carthage*. Let us be gone then, without losing a Moment. Every thing is ready. May the Gods and the Winds prove favourable to us! I am now going to order all my Fleet to the Port of *Lilybæum*, and all my Troops to repair thither by Land. This Proposal was approved of by the whole Army; and none of the Troops shewed a greater Ardour to go upon the Expedition, than the unfortunate Remains of the Roman Legions, which escaped at the Battel of *Cannæ*, and had been condemned to stay in *Sicily*, as long as *Hannibal* should continue in *Italy*. *Scipio* did not disdain the Assistance of these Soldiers, notwithstanding the Disgrace they had suffered, but took them with him.

§. 25. It is uncertain what Number of Men *Scipio* embarked on board his Fleet; of which he appointed *Lælius* Admiral,

Scipio *em-* miral. But never was Embarkation made with more Order and Solemnity; and the Year o
barks for Concourse of People, who came from all Parts to see him set sail, and wish him a ROME
Africa. prosperous Voyage, was prodigious. Just before he weighed Anchor, he appeared 549.

on the Poop of his Galley, and after a Herald had proclaimed Silence, addressed this Prayer to Heaven. *O all ye Gods of Earth and Sea, I implore you to make what ever I have done, am doing, or shall do at the Head of Armies, tend to the Glory of the Roman Senate and People, and of the Latin Confederates; May the Gods, who favour my Cause, make it prosper by Sea, at Land, and upon Rivers, and send us favourable Auspices. Preserve my Troops from Danger, and grant them Victory! Enrich them with the Spoils of the Enemy, and bring them back in Health to be honoured with a glorious Triumph! Avenge the Insults offered us by Carthage, and let this proud Republic feel all the Calamities she has made us suffer!* When he had ended this Prayer, he ordered a Victim to be slain, and threw the Entrails into the Sea; and then the Trumpets sounding, he weighed Anchor, sailed away with a favourable Wind, arrived safe on the Coast of *Africk*, and landed at the *Fair Promontory*. We shall leave him here a while, and return to the Affairs of *Italy*.

§. 26. *Hannibal* was encamped near *Croton*, in *Bruttium*. The *Consul Sempronius*, who marched against him, was worsted in the first Action, and lost twelve hundred Men; but in a second he defeated the Enemy, left four thousand of them dead upon the Spot, retook several Towns after the Victory, and then returned to *Rome*, to erect a Temple to *Fortune*, which he had vowed before the last Battel, in case he proved successful.

§. 27. On the other hand, the *Consul Cethegus*, who was to act against *Mago*, kept *Hetruria* and *Cisalpine Gaul* in Awe. By commencing legal Processes against those who had entered into a Correspondence with the Enemy, he prevented the Insurrections which the *Carthaginian* endeavoured to raise there. The Guilty would not appear upon the Summons, but went into a voluntary Banishment; and their Estates were confiscated.

A scandalous Quarrel between the Censors at Rome.

§. 28. But while the *Roman* Generals were thus conducting themselves with Prudence in the Provinces abroad, the two *Censors* at *Rome*, *Livius Salinator*, and *Claudius Nero*, whose Office was near expiring, drew a Contempt on themselves by a most unworthy Behaviour. Tho' their Quarrels had formerly been very great, yet the Distress of the Republick, during their *Consulship*, had reconciled them for a while: but now their mutual Hatred broke out afresh. It was customary for the *Censors* who were going out of their Office, to draw up a List of the Senators, review the *Roman Knights*, assemble the *Tribes*, and set a Mark of Infamy on such Persons as deserved it. As to the first, *Livius* and *Nero* were equitable in their Proceedings; but when they came to review and reform *The Roman Knights*, of which Body they both were, *Nero* ordered his Colleague's Name to be struck out of the List, on pretence, That *Livius* had been formerly condemned by the People for a Misdemeanour. And the latter, when *Nero's* Name was called over, passed the like Sentence against him. *My Reasons*, said he, *for excluding him out of the Number of the Knights, are, That he has borne false Witness against me, and That his Reconciliation with me was not sincere.* And the mutual Resentment of these *Censors* against each other, appeared yet more extravagant, when they came to take an Account of the *Tribes*. *Nero* ranked his Colleague among those whom he declared *ÆRARIJ*, i. e. Persons deprived of the Rights of *Roman Citizenship*, but still obliged to pay the publick Taxes. And *Livius* not only did as much for *Nero*, but disfranchised all the thirty five *Tribes*, except the *Mæcian*, (which was the only one that had formerly voted for him upon his Trial) *because*, said he, *they either condemned me wrongfully, or if their Censure was just, they were Fools to raise me afterwards to the Consulate, and Censorship.* Among the Effects of *Livius's* Anger against the People may be reckoned a Tax he laid, during his *Censorship*, upon Salt; ordering that it should be sold dearer in some Places than others. 'Twas hence that he got the Nickname of *Salinator*. However, it is allow'd, that while these two *Censors* kept up a good Understanding between them, they did not disgrace their Office, but took many prudent Measures. Particularly, they were very exact in taking an Account of the Number of *Roman Citizens*, and even sent to the most distant of the Camps abroad, for that Purpose. The Number appeared to be two hundred and fifteen thousand, fit to bear Arms. Censorial Lists were also drawn up of all the Men in the several *Colonies*, able to serve in War; so that no *Colony* for the future could, upon a false Pretext, as formerly, avoid sending its Contingent of Troops to the *Roman Armies*.

B O O K XXXVI.

Year of §. 1. **A**L L Eyes were now attentively fixed on young *Scipio*: and indeed the Fate *The State of*
ROME of the three Parts of the World then known, seems to have depended on *Affairs in*
 549. the Success of his Descent in *Africa*. When he arrived there, he found that *Masi-* *Africa,*
nissa, the only *African* Prince in the Interest of *Rome*, had been deprived of his *when Sci-*
 Kingdom of *Massyia*, and restored to it again. *Gala* (the Father of *Masinissa*) had, *pio arrived*
 according to the Laws of *Numidia*, been succeeded by his younger Brother *De-* *there.*
salces. And when the latter died, his Son, *Capusa*, had mounted the Throne to the
 Prejudice of *Masinissa*, on whom the Crown should have devolved, as Son of the
 elder Brother. But *Capusa* was slain in a Battel with his rebellious Subjects, headed
 by one *Mezetulus*, a factious Man of the Blood Royal, and a constant Rival and
 Competitor of the Kings of *Numidia*. The Conqueror, tho' he durst not assume
 the Title of King, made himself Tutor to *Lacumaces*, the younger Brother of *Ca-*
pusa, and seized the Government as in Right of his Ward. And to secure himself
 in his usurped Authority, he not only made an Alliance with King *Syphax*, but
 married his Pupil's Mother, who was Niece to *Hannibal*; hoping thereby to gain
 the *Carthaginians* to his Interest. *Masinissa* was then making War in *Spain*; and
 when he returned into *Africa*, had like to have fallen by the Perfidiousness of *As-*
drubal, who was to have been his Father-in-law. The *Carthaginian* engaged the
 Prince's own Guard to dispatch him, either by Sword or Poison: But *Masinissa*
 penetrated into the Design, and escaped into *Mauritania*, where he hastily got to-
 gether fifteen hundred Horse, and in a little time saw them increase to twenty thou-
 sand. With this Body of Cavalry he became formidable to *Mezetulus*, *Syphax*, and
 the *Carthaginians*; and the Advantages he gained over the Enemy, encouraged the
 old Soldiers, who had served under his Father *Gala*, to repair to him from all Parts.
 So that having now a good Army of Foot as well as of Horse, he attempted the
 Recovery of his Father's Throne, and by one single Victory made himself Master
 of it. §. 2. But *Syphax*, who was now married to *Sophonisba*, being prevailed
 upon by the Importunities of her Father, *Asdrubal*, raised a powerful Army to dis-
 turb *Masinissa* in the Possession of his new acquired Kingdom. A pitched Battel
 was fought, in which the Troops of the latter were totally defeated; and the King
 himself narrowly escaped, with only a small Guard of Horse, to *Mount Balbus*.
 Some of his own Shepherds followed him, and by their Fidelity were of great Ser-
 vice to him in his Retreat. For there being Plenty of Pasture and Water round the
 Mountain, he lived on the Milk and Flesh of his Flocks which fed near it. §. 3. And
 having here in a little time got some Troops together, he began to make nocturnal
 IncurSIONS into the Territories of the *Carthaginians*; nay, his Forces augmenting,
 he ventured in open Day to penetrate farther into their Country; destroyed the
 Inhabitants, and brought thence a considerable Booty. *Carthage*, tired out with
 the terrible Devastations he made, engaged King *Syphax* to put a stop to them. But
 the *Numidian* disdained to go in Person to invest a few Robbers, lodged on a Moun-
 tain. He dispatched away *Bocchar* with four thousand Foot and two thousand Horse,
 who surrounded the Mountain, and hindered the Return of those Detachments
 which *Masinissa* had sent out; so that this unfortunate Prince was obliged to gain
 the Top of the Mountain, and fortify himself there. *Bocchar* thinking that he had
 his Enemy secure, ostentatiously sent back all his Troops, except five hundred Foot,
 and two hundred Horse. With these he surprized *Masinissa* in a narrow Pass of
 the Mountain. The Battel was bloody; and the Prince, with fifty Horse only, es-
 caped from the Defeat. *Bocchar* with his two hundred Horse, pursued him, came
 up with him near *Chlyea*, surrounded and killed most of his Troop; but *Masinissa*,
 tho' wounded, escaped once more with only four of his faithful Guard. These five
 fled full Speed, and finding a River in their Way, leap'd Horse and Man into it.
 Two of them were drowned in crossing the Stream; but the Prince, and the other
 two, gained the opposite Shore, and hid themselves among some Reeds and Rushes.
Bocchar, who with his two Troops of Horse pursued them to the River, imagined
 they were all drowned, and went no farther; and from that time it was reported
 at *Carthage*, and the Court of *Syphax*, that *Masinissa* was dead. In the mean while,
 he hid himself in a Grotto, dressed his Wound with Herbs, and lived upon the
 Prey which his two Companions brought him. §. 4. Generous Minds set no
 Bounds to the Passion of recovering a Throne. *Masinissa*, as soon as his Wound
 was healed, left his Cave, and took the Road to his own Dominions. The Belief
 of his Death had increased the Esteem of his Subjects for him. In a few Days after
 he appeared, he got together six thousand Foot and four thousand Horse, and began
 to make terrible Ravages in the Territories of *Carthage*, and of King *Syphax*. The latter
 thought

thought the Affair serious, and therefore went in Person with an Army to stop the Progress of his Rival. And he sent his Son with a large Detachment to take a Compass, and come and attack the Enemy in the Rear during the Action. The Stratagem succeeded, and *Masinissa* was again defeated, escaping only with sixty Horse that guarded him. With these he made his Way to the Port near the lesser *Syrts*, and had there that Conference with *Lælius*, which has been before related. His Dominions being then in the Power of his Rival, and his Mother taken Captive, it is easy to see the Reason of his being so impatient for *Scipio's* Arrival in *Africa*. But before the *Pro-Consul* landed there, the *Carthaginians*, who still dreaded the Bravery, and enterprizing Genius of *Masinissa*, had prevailed upon *Syphax* to come to a Reconciliation with him, and to reinstate him on his Throne. However, he detained the Mother still as a Hostage, to secure her Son's Fidelity. *Masinissa* was sensible, that his new Friends were not sincere at the bottom; and tho' to comply with the Times, he had an Interview with *Asdrubal*, and promised the *Carthaginians* a Reinforcement of Horse, he retained his Affection for *Rome*. And on the other hand, *Syphax* pretended to be in the Interest of *Rome*, while his Heart was entirely *Carthaginian*. This was the Situation of Affairs in *Africa*, when *Scipio* arrived there.

§. 5. The Alarm and Terror which his Descent caused among the *Carthaginians*, was exceeding great, and they took all Precautions to fortify and guard their Capital. They had no General in any degree qualify'd to make Head against *Scipio*, but *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisco*, who was not a Match for him; nor were they provided with disciplined and experienced Troops. *Scipio* having ordered his Fleet towards *Utica*, marched to some distance from the Sea-Coast, and encamped on certain Eminencies which overlooked the Plain. From thence he sent out a Detachment of five hundred Men to forrage. These were attacked by a flying Party, commanded by *Hanno*, a young Warrior, who had been commissioned to watch the Motions of the Enemy. The *Romans* had all the Advantage, and young *Hanno* was slain. This first Success was a good *Augury*; and *Scipio* immediately drew near to *Locha*, a City which seemed to promise his Soldiers a rich Booty. But he had no sooner planted his Ladders for the Assault, when the Inhabitants, being terrify'd, sent a Herald to desire their Lives, with Liberty to retire. Upon this *Scipio* founded a Retreat; but the greedy Soldiers would not obey. They forced the Town, and put all, even Women and Children, to the Sword. It was necessary to punish so signal a Disobedience; and the *Centurions* who had encouraged the Men in it, being most guilty, the *Pro-Consul* ordered them to draw Lots, which of them should die. Three of the *Centurions* were executed, and the Soldiers were deprived of the Booty they had taken.

§. 6. And now *Masinissa* came privately in the Night to confer with the *Roman* General. It was agreed, that the *Numidian* should continue to deceive the credulous *Carthaginians*, till there was a favourable Opportunity to break openly with them, and till he could free himself from the Constraint he was under by the Captivity of his Mother. In the mean time, *Asdrubal*, at the Head of twenty thousand Foot, seven thousand Horse, and an hundred and forty Elephants, drew near to *Utica*, which *Scipio* was preparing to invest. *Masinissa*, who was in the *Carthaginian* Councils of War, persuaded *Asdrubal* to detach his Son *Hanno* with a thousand Horse to watch the Motions of the Enemy, and make an Attempt to enter *Utica* with that Reinforcement, promising to favour the Enterprize with all his *Numidian* Cavalry. He then gave notice to *Scipio* of the Design, and advised him to lay an Ambush of five thousand Men to surprize the Detachment. The Project was successfully executed; *Hanno* was taken Prisoner, and exchanged against the Mother of *Masinissa*; and then the latter being no longer under any Restraint, join'd the *Romans* with all his Forces.

Masinissa
joins the
Roman Army.

§. 7. As for *Syphax*, when he saw that his Rival had declared for the *Romans*, he resolv'd to side entirely with the *Carthaginians*; but for the present he took upon himself the Office of a Mediator, made Proposals of Peace, and encamped apart with his Army, which consisted of fifty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse. And while *Scipio* was carrying on the Siege of *Utica*, he privately endeavoured to draw off *Masinissa* from the Party he had embraced, by offering him the Choice of any of his Daughters in Marriage, and by promising to confirm him in the Possession of his Dominions. The Agent he employed had likewise Instructions, in case he did not succeed in his Negotiation, to bribe one of *Masinissa's* Servants to poison him. This Treachery was discovered; and then *Syphax* kept no longer any Measures with *Rome*. He led his Troops before *Tholus*, a Place where the *Romans* had a Magazine of Corn, surprized it, and put the Garrison to the Sword. And *Scipio* being exceedingly harrassed by the Enemy, who surrounded him, was oblig'd to raise the Siege of *Utica*, and retire to a commodious Post. He retreated to a Promontory under which his Fleet was anchored, fortify'd his Camp there, and waited the Return of the Spring, to renew the War with Vigour.

Syphax
joins the
Carthaginians.

Year of §. 8. In the mean time, *Rome* did not neglect an Army, from which she had such
 ROME great Expectations. Cloaths, Corn, and Provisions of all Sorts, were sent to them
 549. in abundance; and the People were confirm'd in their Esteem of *Scipio*, notwith-
 standing the peevish Jealousy of old *Fabius*, who alone inveighed against him, and
 550. who moved in the Senate to have him recalled. When the *Comitia* had elected Cn. 249th Con-
Servilius Cæpio, and C. *Servilius Geminus*, *Consuls* for the new Year, and came to sulship.
 appoint the *Pro-Consuls*, *Scipio* was honoured with a particular Mark of Distinction.
 While the rest were nominated only for one Year, it was resolved, that he should
 continue *Pro-Consul* in *Africa*, till the War was ended.

§. 9. He was now in his Winter-Quarters, but did not continue idle there. *Syphax* was return'd to his mediating Scheme, and was encamp'd with his Army apart from the *Carthaginians*, tho' near them. *Scipio* therefore knowing the *Numidian* Levity, endeavour'd to gain him: But finding that he still insisted on the *Romans* leaving *Africa*, and *Hannibal's* returning from *Italy*, as the Preliminaries of a Treaty, he formed a new Design. Under Pretence of negociating a Peace, he sent Deputies both to *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. These Deputies were attended by *Centurions*, and other Officers who understood the Art of War, and who, in the Habits of Servants, were to act the Part of Spies, and observe the Disposition of the two Camps. The *Romans* seem'd so fond of an Accommodation, that the Enemy continually started new Pretensions, and raised their Terms; and the Discussion of these Demands gave the Spies all the time they could desire, to make their Remarks. And upon their Report, (when the Deputies return'd, seemingly dissatisfy'd with the ill Success of their Negotiation,) *Scipio* assum'd a haughty Air, and sent *Syphax* word, That the War should be immediately renew'd, if he did not, without Delay, come entirely over to him. The Refusal of the *Numidian* put an End to the Truce, and *Scipio* was at Liberty to execute his Project. And to this End, he first sent a Detachment to take Possession of the old Post where he had fix'd himself the last Autumn, when he besieged *Utica*. The *Romans* imagined that his Intention was to renew that Enterprize to which they were no ways inclined; and the two *African* Commanders, who thought the same thing, resolved to come to a general Action with him, in order to prevent it. But *Scipio* had quite another View. He assembled his Troops, and told them, That his Design was to attack the two Camps of the Enemy in the Night, and surprize them. They all approved this Motion, tho' there were more Men in each Camp, than the whole of *Scipio's* Forces. And then he divided his Troops, and gave the Command of one Part to *Masiniſſa*, and of another to *Lælius*, with Orders to invest the Camp of *Syphax* on different Sides. After these publick Orders, he took them apart, and directed them privately to set Fire to the *Numidian* Barracks, which would be easily effected, they being made of Wood, Mats, Hurdles, and such combustible Stuff; and he acquainted them, that he himself would silently watch the Motions of *Asdrubal's* Army, but suspend the Attack on his Entrenchments, till he found they had reach'd the Center of the *Numidian* Camp.

§. 10. The whole Scheme was happily executed. The Camp *Scipio surprizes and*
 of *Syphax* first, and then that of *Asdrubal*, was surprized and burnt; and forty thou- prizes and
 sand of the Enemy destroy'd, either by Fire or Sword. §. 11. The *Carthagi- burns the*
 nian General, after this nocturnal Defeat, fled to a City named *Anda*; but being pur- Camps of
 sued by *Scipio*, and finding the Inhabitants wavering in their Resolutions, he would Syphax and
 not venture to stand a Siege. He retired to a safer Place, and there assembled some *Asdrubal*,
 Mercenaries, and a few *Numidians*. §. 12. The Consternation of the People at who lose
Carthage was inexpressibly great, when they saw him arrive there with those poor 40000
 Remains of his routed Army. The *Suffetes*, (who were in the *Carthaginian* Repub- Men.
 lick, what the *Consuls* were at *Rome*,) assembled the Senators. These were divided
 in Opinion. Some were for sending for *Hannibal* without Delay; others for pro-
 posing a Truce with the Enemy: But the *Barcan* Faction were for continuing the
 War, and would hearken to no Expedient which tended to the recalling of *Hanni-
 bal* from *Italy*; and they prevailed. However, *Hanno*, the Son of *Hamilcar*, was Hanno ap-
 nominated General, in the room of *Asdrubal*. The latter was condemn'd to die, for pointed Ge-
 his ill Conduct; but he avoided the Execution of the Sentence: And the Troops neral of the
 being for him, he assembled to the Number of eight thousand Foot, and three Carthagi-
 thousand Horse, kept up the Appearance of an Army, and endeavour'd to serve his nian Forces.
 Country, without any Commission from the Republick. §. 13. As for *Syphax*, *Asdrubal*
 he was at a Loss what Measures to take, when Ambassadors came from *Carthage* to continues to
 press him to a steady Adherence to her Cause. The Tears and Intreaties of his act as a Ge-
 Wife *Sophonisba*, at length fixed him in that Interest; and he was further encouraged neral, with-
 to hazard all, by a Report that a great Body of *Celiberians* from *Spain*, hired into out Com-
 the Service of the *African* Republick, appeared near *Abba*, whither he had retired mission.
 after his Defeat. And *Asdrubal* being informed of the King's Resolutions, drew
 near to *Abba*, with his little Army, and there joined him. §. 14. *Scipio* was busy
 in the Siege of *Utica*, when he received this News; and that the Enemy having
 got

got together thirty thousand Men, were encamp'd in a Place call'd *The Great Plain*, Year of about five Days March from him. He immediately turn'd the Siege into a Blockade, *ROME* 550.
Scipio de- and hastened to attack them. After some slight Skirmishes, the two Armies came
feats the u- to a general Battel, in which the *Romans* gained a compleat Victory. However,
nited Forces the brave Resistance which the *Celtiberians* made, gave the *Carthaginians* and *Nu-*
of Syphax *midians* the better Opportunity to escape. *Asdrubal* saved most of his Troops, but
and Aldru- did not retire with them to *Carthage*. He continued to act the Part of an inde-
bal; pendent General. And *Syphax* returned, with the best Part of his Cavalry, into his
own Country. §. 15. After this Success, the *Pro-Consul* called a Council of
War, where it was agreed, that *Lælius* and *Masinissa* should pursue the fugitive *Sy-*
And takes *phax*, and not give him time to recruit his Forces; and that *Scipio* should apply
Tunis. himself to take the Towns in the Neighbourhood of *Carthage*. *Tunis*, from whence
Carthage could be seen, was one of the Places which he hastened to attack; and he
easily seized it, the Garrison having deserted it in a Fright, upon his Approach.
§. 16. And now the Alarm was universal in *Carthage*; and the Inhabitants, expect-
ing to be besieged, prepared for a long Defence. The Senate, tho' not inclined to
Peace, were for recalling *Hannibal* and *Mago*, as soon as possible. They sent Mes-
sengers into *Liguria* and *Bruttium*, for that Purpose; and in the mean time, form'd
a bold Design upon the *Roman* Fleet, which lay in Shelter under the Promontory
formerly mentioned. An hundred Gallies were expeditiously equipped, and sent
under the Command of *Hamilcar*, the Father of *Hanno*, to burn it. *Scipio* per-
ceived, from *Tunis*, the Course which the *Carthaginians* steer'd, and he made all
Haste to preserve his Fleet, which consisted but of twenty Ships of War. He
reached the Port by Land, before the Enemy arrived there by Sea. The * Method
he took to withstand so unequal a Force, was to draw up his Gallies as near to the
Land as he could, and to make a triple Defence before them of his Transports,
He pre- Barks, and small Vessels moored together. Over these he laid Bridges, on which
erves his he posted a thousand Men, with short Javelins; and thus prepared, he repulsed the
Fleet from Enemy the first Day. But the next, *Hamilcar* found Means to break the Chain of
being burnt. Transport-Ships in the first Line, and took six of them. However, he had not
Courage to pursue his Advantage. Content with the small Prize he had got, he
return'd in Triumph to *Carthage*. And indeed, his Expedition produced this good
Effect for his Republick, that it obliged the *Pro-Consul* to continue where he was,
to guard his Fleet, till he could receive a Reinforcement of Ships. §. 17. In
the mean time, *Masinissa* and *Lælius*, with a third Part of the *Roman* Legions, were
gone in Pursuit of *Syphax*. In fifteen Days they arrived in the Heart of *Numidia*;
and *Masinissa* having first taken Possession of his own Kingdom, then carried the
War into the Dominions of his Rival. *Syphax*, with a numerous Army, advanced
confidently to meet him; and, in a general Action, which ensued, discovering where
his Competitor was posted, he used all his Efforts to penetrate to him. But he
was vigorously repulsed, forced to fly, and pursued to the Banks of a River, where
Masinissa himself took him Prisoner, together with his Son *Vermina*. §. 18. Af-
ter this, the victorious *Numidian*, with the Approbation of *Lælius*, who was to fol-
low with slow Marches, hastened to appear before *Cyrtha*, the Capital of *Syphax's*
Dominions; and he took the Captive King with him. This proved an effectual
Means to make the City readily surrender. Those of the Nobles who had most
Affection to their old Master, retired into the Country; others lamented his Mis-
fortunes, but would not share them with him; and the greatest Part cringed to the
Conqueror. *Sophonisba* herself is said to have lost no time in endeavouring to awa-
ken his former Passion for her; and to have sent an Express, to assure him, that she
had been forced, contrary to her Inclinations, to enter into Engagements with an-
other. Be that as it will, *Masinissa* entered the Palace with full Intention to punish
her for her former Contempt of him; but he was soon disarmed. The first Object
he saw was *Sophonisba*. The beautiful Queen, set off with all the Charms of Dress,
waited for him in the Portico, and as soon as he appeared fell at his Feet, embraced
his Knees, accosted him in the most moving Manner, and for the only Request she
would ever make him, conjured him to remember, that she was the Daughter of
Asdrubal, and the Wife of a King; and not to deliver her up into the Power of the
Romans, but rather kill her with his own Hands. *Masinissa* felt his former Flame
revive, he forgot that she had betray'd him, he look'd tenderly on her, and he reach'd
out his Hand to her. This last, according to the Manners of the Ancients, was a
Token that the Request was granted. And the *Numidian* therefore no sooner re-
flected upon what he had done, but he was much perplex'd to know how he should
perform a Promise, which, as merely a Subaltern in the *Roman* Army, he had no
Right to make; for she was properly *Scipio's* Captive. The Method he took to get
rid of the Difficulty, and at the same time follow the Dictates of his Love, was to
make her his Wife, without Delay. By this means, he thought to bar all other
Pretensions to her. §. 19. The publick Rejoicings on this Occasion were not
over,

* Vide p.
525.

He pre-
serves his
Fleet from
being burnt.

Masinissa
takes Sy-
phax Pri-
soner in
Battel.

* Vide p.
528.

He marries
Sophonis-
ba.

Year of over, when *Lælius* arrived. He was much shock'd at so precipitate and unlawful a *ROME* Marriage, and doubted at first whether he should not snatch the Queen from the 550. Nuptial Bed, and send her away with the rest of the Captives to *Scipio*: But he thought this would be too severe a Blow to a faithful Friend, and therefore he resolv'd to leave the Matter to the Judgment of the *Pro-Consul*, and in the mean time, let the Prince enjoy his Amours. However, to divert him a little from them, he employ'd him in the Reduction of several Towns, which still adhered to *Syphax*, while this unfortunate King, mad with Rage, at the Success of his Rival, was sent under a Guard to *Scipio's* Camp. The *Pro-Consul* and all his Army were much affected at so moving a Sight, as that of *Syphax* in Chains, a Prince whose Alliance had so lately been courted by two powerful Republicks, and who, in a manner, had held the Balance between them. The General remember'd the hospitable Entertainment this Prince had formerly given him at his Court; and he softened the Rigours of his Captivity, by treating him with great Politeness and personal Respect. And the Winter giving him some Respite from his Fatigues, he took Pleasure in discoursing often with the *Numidian* King. One Day, the Conversation turning upon the Causes of his Misfortunes, *What evil Genius*, said *Scipio*, *could induce you to prefer Carthage to Rome?* *A Woman*, instantly replied *Syphax*; *a fatal Megæra. I know not by what Enchantment Sophonisba captivated my Reason, and made herself Mistress of my Heart. I took from her Hands the nuptial Torch which has set my Palace and Throne on Fire. But what is it I say? It was rather she herself, who, like a Fury, seized a Flambeau, and laid waste my Dominions. But I have this small Comfort left, that she will infect the Mind of her new Husband. Masinissa, enslaved by the Daughter of Asdrubal, will become entirely Carthaginian. I judge of the Ascendant she will gain over my Rival, by the Power she acquired over me. Her Lips distill a Poison, against which there is no Antidote. Tho' these Words were dictated by Rage and Jealousy, yet there was so much Appearance of Truth in them, that Scipio form'd a Design of separating Masinissa from Sophonisba.* §. 20. He abhorr'd such precipitate Sallics of Passion, not govern'd by Reason; and he had great Cause to suspect that a Woman, whose Charms had such Power over her Husband, might by her Artifices stagger and corrupt his Fidelity. It was not long therefore after *Masinissa* arriv'd with the Queen at his Camp, that he took him aside, and expostulated with him in a most engaging manner, on his late Conduct. He represented * *Vide p.* to him the Beauty of that Virtue, by which Men conquer the Love of Pleasure. 530. He complimented him on his heroick Actions in the War: But then, he put him in mind that the Spoils and Captives taken from the Enemy, belong'd to the Romans. And he concluded thus. *I am very sensible that your Heart trembles at the Thought of the Sacrifice I require of you. But return, Masinissa, return to Reason! Don't tarnish the Lustre of many Virtues, by one Vice. Hitherto, indeed, your Weakness deserves Pity. But it may become unpardonable. Dread therefore, lest a longer Perseverance in it should be followed by a long Repentance.* *Masinissa* was both terrify'd and softened by *Scipio's* Words. He blush'd, and wept. His Heart was rent in pieces by opposite Passions; but at length, his Virtue and his Interest prevail'd over his Love. He promised the General to shake off the Chains of a Woman, who was fatal to his Glory and his Peace. However, to keep his Promise, of not giving her up to the Romans, he so far got the Mastery of himself, as to carry her, in Person, the Decree pronounced against her by *Scipio*. *Receive now*, said he to her, *the last Testimony I can give you of my Affection and Fidelity. It is absolutely out of my Power to deliver you from the Slavery with which you are threatened. Remember only whose Daughter, and whose Queen Sophonisba is; and then surely you cannot be afraid to descend to the Shades. Masinissa will soon follow you thither.* Tears flow'd down the Prince's Cheeks, whilst he pronounced these Words; and as soon as he had spoken them, he rush'd out of the Tent; where all things were prepared to give *Sophonisba* the most speedy and most easy Death. A Slave, whose Business it was to prepare Poison, presented her the fatal Cup. She took it, with an Air of great Composure, and said to her weeping Nurse, *Don't dishonour my Death with your Tears.* Then turning to the Slave, *Let my Husband*, said she, *know, that I die content, since The Death I die by his Orders. I think myself happy to have been subject to him only, to my last of Sopho- Breath. My Glory is, that my Heart has been enslaved to no other but him; and as nisba. for my Body, I readily abandon it to the Fury of the Romans.* This said, she drank the Poison, and almost instantly expired. Her Husband perform'd Obsequies for her suitable to her Rank. §. 21. *Scipio*, to console the *Numidian* Prince, caress'd and diverted him. And when he had summon'd all his Troops, to distribute the Rewards of Valour to those who had deserved them, *Masinissa* was first named. The *Pro-Consul* extoll'd his Victories, stiled him *King*, for the first time, in a Juridical Way, and presented him with a Crown and Cup of Gold, a *Curule* Chair, a General's Batoon, an embroider'd Robe, and a Tunic adorn'd with Palm Branches. *These*, said he, *are the Ornaments we usually give to those who triumph at Rome.*

Rome. Such Marks of Distinction were never bestow'd on any foreign Prince before: Year of
Nor indeed did any Prince ever better deserve them. These Honours and Praises coun- ROME
terballanc'd, in *Masiniſſa's* Heart, the Remembrance of *Sophonisba*; and he now conceiv'd Hopes of becoming ſole Maſter of all *Numidia*, when *Rome* ſhould have determined the Fate of *Syphax*. 550.

And now, the Winter keeping both the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* Armies from Action, *Scipio* thought it a proper time to ſend *Lælius*, with *Syphax*, and the reſt of the *Numidian* Captives, to *Rome*; and as ſoon as they were gone, he return'd to his old Poſt, near *Tunis*.

§. 22. Here he had the good Fortune to diſcover and eſcape a Plot, which ſome *Spaniards* in his Army, bribed by *Aſdrubal*, had laid to ſet Fire to his Camp in the Night. *Aſdrubal* had inform'd *Hanno* of his Deſign to attack the *Roman* Camp, as ſoon as he ſaw it in Flames; and the latter had promiſed to ſend ſome Troops to aſſiſt him in the Enterprize. But the whole Project proving abortive, *Hanno* gave an ill Turn to the Intention of *Aſdrubal*, of whom he was jealous; and reported, that his Deſign in drawing near the *Romans*, was to ſurrender his Army to them; but that *Scipio* had reſuſed the Offer. And tho' this was a pure Invention, it help'd to render the *Carthaginian* Republick irreconcilable to *Aſdrubal*.

The Carthaginians make a fraudulent Propoſal of Peace to *Scipio*.

§. 23. The Alarm which the near Neighbourhood of *Scipio* cauſed at *Carthage*, join'd with the Loſs ſhe had ſuffer'd by the Captivity of *Syphax*, made the Senate now think of changing their Meaſures, and of endeavouring to gain Time by a fraudulent Treaty of Peace, till *Hannibal* and *Mago* ſhould arrive from *Italy*. They ſent thirty of their principal Members to the *Pro-Conſul*. Theſe Deputies caſt themſelves at his Feet, threw the whole Blame of the War upon the Ambition of *Hannibal*, implored the Clemency of their Conqueror, and offer'd to accept any Terms of Peace he ſhould impoſe. *Scipio* haughtily answer'd, That his Intention in coming into *Africa* was not to make a Peace with *Carthage*, but to reduce her to entire Subjection, which was now in a manner compleated. However, added he, take Courage. To convince the World that *Rome* can begin and end a War with Moderation, I will ſhew you Favour. You ſay you are ready to ſubmit. If ſo, theſe are the Terms I require. 1. You ſhall reſtore all the Priſoners taken from me, all Deſerters from my Army, and all fugitive Slaves. 2. You ſhall withdraw your Troops from *Italy*, and *Ciſalpine Gaul*. 3. You ſhall make an abſolute Ceſſion of *Spain* to us. 4. You ſhall yield up to us all the Iſlands between *Italy* and *Africa*. 5. You ſhall give us all your Ships, except twenty, to be uſed only in Trade. 6. You ſhall furniſh my Army with five hundred thouſand Modii of Wheat, and three hundred thouſand of Barley. And, 7. You ſhall give my Troops two Years Pay. I give you only three Days to conſider of theſe Conditions; and if in that time you agree to them, you ſhall have a Truce, till the Return of the Ambaſſadors whom you ſhall ſend to *Rome*, to conclude a Peace there. As the Buſineſs of the *Carthaginians* was only to gain Time, they made no great Difficulty of conſenting to *Scipio's* Demands. And the better to impoſe upon him, they ſent a ſmall Number of *Roman* Captives and Deſerters, to *Rome*, with their Ambaſſadors. But at the ſame time, they prepared for renewing the War with Vigour, ſtrengthened their Alliances on all Sides, and made new ones. *Philip* of *Macedon* was once more prevail'd upon to engage in their Intereſt; and he promiſed to ſend Succours to *Carthage*, under the Command of a General named *Sopater*.

Philip of *Macedon* engages to ſuccour *Carthage*.

§. 24. While the *Pro-Conſul*, deceived by Appearances, was ſuſpending Hoſtilities in *Africa*, *Lælius* arriv'd at *Rome*, with *Syphax*, his Son *Vermina*, and the *Numidian* Nobility taken in War. That faithful Friend of *Scipio* gave The Conſcript Fathers a pompous, but true Account of his Friend's Exploits; and they were all highly pleaſed with it, except old *Fabius*. But when the News came to be imparted to the People, their Joy was inexpressibly great. Their Affection for *Scipio* heightened their Devotion to the Gods; ſo that when the *Prætor* publiſh'd a Decree for a general Supplication, they crowded to the Temples, to return Thanks for the *Pro-Conſul's* Succeſs. As to *Syphax*, the Senate order'd that he ſhould be conducted, with his Train, to *Alba*, in the Country of the *Marſi*, and there kept to grace the Triumph of the *Roman* General, at his Return. On the other hand, they confirm'd the Title which *Scipio* had given to *Masiniſſa*; and ſent him new Preſents, in the Name of the Republick. This was the firſt time that *Rome* had Crowns at her Diſpoſal.

§. 25. Whiſt *Lælius* ſtaid at *Rome*, he had time to inform himſelf of the preſent Poſture of Affairs in the Provinces of *Italy*. *Hannibal* was now wholly confined to a Part of *Bruttium*; and was reduced ſo low, that it ſeem'd moſt for the Intereſt of his Glory, that he ſhould return home. Nor had *Mago* ventured to give Battel to *Servilius Geminus*, who commanded an Army in *Heſtruria*.

§. 26. This Conſul could therefore reap little Glory from the Campaign. However, he had the Comfort of recovering his Father and Uncle from the Captivity in which they had been

Year of been for sixteen Years among the *Boii*. He enter'd *Rome* in State, with one of *ROME* them on his right Hand, and the other on his left. But he was forced to make an
550. Apology for having stood Candidate for the *Consulship*, while his Father was in Slavery. His Plea was, That he knew not whether his Father were alive or dead.

And it was allow'd to be good. §. 27. But tho' *Mago* had not attack'd *Servilius Geminus*, he had fallen down upon *Insubria*, and there come to a Battel with two *Roman* Armies, under the Conduct of the *Pro-Consul* *Corn. Cethegus*, and the *Prætor* *Quintilius Varus*. The Victory was long * disputed, till *Mago* himself being wounded, the *Romans* obtained it. The *Carthaginian* retired into *Liguria*, and had the Mortification there to find the *Ligures* desert him, and even the *Ingaunians* wavering in their Resolution. §. 28. So that the strict Orders he receiv'd to return to *Carthage*, came very seasonably. He equipp'd his Fleet, embark'd all his

Troops, both *Ligurian* and *Spanish*, and, having appointed an Officer, named *Hamilcar*, to stay in *Liguria*, and support the dwindling Interest of *Carthage* there as well as he cou'd, set sail. But he had scarce doubled the Island of *Sardinia*, before he died at Sea, of his Wound; and a Storm arising, which dispers'd the Fleet, many of the Ships were taken by the *Romans*. §. 29. *Hannibal* receiv'd the same

* Vide p. 536.

Mago embarks for *Africa*, but dies of a Wound at Sea.

Orders, as his Brother, but not in the same submissive Manner. He accused the *Carthaginian* Senate of being jealous of his Glory, and of having neglected to send him Succours, out of Ill-will. However, he prepared for his Voyage, and thought to take a Body of *Bruttian* Troops with him; but these refusing to go, and flying for Refuge to the Temple of *Juno Lavinia*, he caused them to be massacred there. No Man ever went into Banishment from his own Country, with greater Reluctance than *Hannibal* left *Italy*. When he was out at Sea, he often look'd back on the Country he had hoped to conquer, and utter'd bitter Execrations against Gods, and Men, and himself. §. 30. The Joy at *Rome*, on the News of his Departure, was great, but not universal. Some of the *Fathers* fear'd the Difficulties which

Hannibal leaves *Italy* with Regret.

Scipio would have to struggle with; and old *Fabius* endeavour'd to encrease their Terror, by exclaiming, That the *Roman Republick* was never in a more deplorable State. But the Commons were not alarm'd by his timorous Lamentations. They confided in the Abilities of the *Pro-Consul*, and thought it the greatest of all Advantages, to see *Italy* rid of her most cruel and most inveterate Enemy. And the oldest Senators coming at length into the same Sentiment, publick Thanks were appointed to be offer'd to the Gods for five Days. §. 31. In the mean

time, *Lælius*, whom the Republick had just chosen *Quæstor* to *Scipio's* Army, in the room of *Cato*, and who was upon his Way to embark again for *Africa*, receiv'd an Order to return to *Rome*. The Ambassadors from *Carthage*, conducted by *Fulvius Gillo*, a *Roman* Lieutenant General, were arrived; and the *Conscript Fathers* thought it proper to consult *Lælius*, on so important a Negotiation. §. 32. The Deputies

had their Audience of the Senate in the Temple of *Bellona*, without the Walls of *Rome*. Their Speech was much the same with what had been made to *Scipio*; they threw all the Blame of the War upon *Hannibal*; and in Conclusion desired, That the Articles agreed on between *Rome* and *Carthage*, in the Time of *C. Lutatius*, (which was the Year 511.) might continue in full Force, and be the Foundation of a lasting Peace. Upon this, some of the elder Senators, who observ'd that these *African* Envoys were young Men, examin'd them concerning the Expedients made use of to put an End to the first *Punic* War: And the latter not being able to give any tolerable Account of the Times of *Lutatius*, The *Fathers* began to suspect that *Carthage* was not sincere in the present Affair. The Deputies being order'd to withdraw, the Senators gave their Opinions. Some were for coming to no Determination without one of the *Consuls*, who were both absent. Others were for consulting *Scipio*, previously to any Conclusion. And others again, fully persuaded that *Carthage* was dissembling, were for commanding the Deputies immediately out of *Italy*, as so many Spies, and for directing *Scipio* to prosecute the War with Vigour. *Lælius* and *Fulvius* were also of this Opinion; and some Writers say that it prevail'd. But others, with more Probability, affirm, that the Peace was accepted on the Foot upon which *Scipio* had proposed it in *Africa*.

§. 33. Whilst the Senate was deliberating on these Matters, *Hannibal* was making the best of his Way to *Carthage*; and the *Consul* *Servilius Cæpio* resolv'd to follow him. He left his Province, and went into *Sicily*, for that Purpose; but his Design did not please The *Conscript Fathers*. They thought he intended to rob *Scipio* of the Honour of concluding the Peace. A Dictator was therefore created, merely that there might be a Magistrate in the Republick, who should have an undisputed Authority to recall him. The *Consul* obey'd his Summons, and return'd to *Rome*.

§. 34. And now, tho' the Truce in *Africa* was still subsisting, and the Ambassadors not yet return'd, an Accident discover'd the fraudulent Designs of the *Carthaginians*. *Scipio* had thought it necessary to have a strong Sea-Armament, in order to terrify the Enemy, and to remove the Necessity of protecting his Fleet, as formerly,

ring the
Truce;

And ill
treat the
Roman
Deputies,
whodemand
Satisfacti-
on.

Hannibal
lands in A-
frica.
* Vide p.
546.

250th Con-
sulship.

Scipio's
Conduct,
with regard
to Hanni-
bal's Spies.

merly, with his Land-Forces; and he had therefore sent for a Reinforcement of Ships, both from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. The Squadron from the latter Island arrived safe; but that from *Sicily* was dispersed by a Tempest, and many of the Vessels being driven near the Port of *Carthage*, the *Carthaginians* seiz'd and plunder'd them. §. 35. The *Pro-Consul*, highly incensed at this Proceeding, sent *M. Bæbius*, with two more Deputies, to *Carthage*, to complain of the Injustice, and require Satisfaction. But these Envoys hardly escap'd the Fury of the People; and even the Senate, being bent on War, agreed to send them back without an Answer. (Such Dependence they had on *Hannibal's* Return.) Nay more, they order'd that the two Gallies which were to convoy the *Quinqueremis* where the Envoys were on board, should leave it at a proper time; and that the *Carthaginian* Admiral should have some Ships in a Readiness to attack and sink it. The *Quinqueremis* was accordingly deserted, and attack'd, and was forced, after some Resistance, to run a-ground on the Shore, where most of the *Romans* were kill'd; but the Ambassadors themselves, by a kind of Miracle, escaped.

§. 36. *Hannibal*, that so much wish'd-for General, came at length within Sight of *Africa*, which he had left at nine Years of Age, and had not seen for thirty three Years past. He immediately order'd a Sailor to the Mast-Top, to discover the Country; and the Sailor being ask'd what he saw, answer'd, *The Ruins of a Tomb, upon an Eminence*. *Hannibal*, affrighted at this Prefage, gave Orders to sail on; and at length landed at *Little Leptis*, a City between *Susa* and *Adrumetum*.

About the same time, *Lælius* and *Fulvius* arrived in *Africa*, from *Rome*, and brought *Scipio* the News of the Death of Old *Fabius*, (*whose * Character is given*.)

§. 37. And now the Eyes of all the Nations in *Europe* and *Africa* were fix'd, with Concern, on the two Heroes of the Age, *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, who were soon to enter the Lists. At *Rome*, the Expectations of the People were not free from Doubts and Distrusts. The ill-boding Predictions of *Fabius*, a little before his Death, had made some Impressions on them; and the rather, because they had fatally experienc'd those Abilities of *Hannibal* for War, which *Fabius* had taken Pains to magnify. Nor was *Carthage* without her Disquietudes. Her Alliance with *Syphax*, on whom she had much depended, was render'd in a manner useless, by his Captivity; and the ever-successful *Scipio* was a dreadful Enemy.

Tib. Claudius Nero, and *M. Servilius Pulex*, were chosen *Consuls* at *Rome*, for the new Year. These drew Lots for their *Provinces*; and it fell to the latter to conduct the Army in *Hetruria*, and to the former, to command the Fleet in *Africa*. But by the Decree of both Senate and People, he was to leave the Direction of all Affairs at Land wholly to the *Pro-Consul*. (The Sea Armament which *Rome* now had was so formidable, that she entirely deprived *Carthage* of the Empire of the Seas.)

§. 38. In the mean time, *Hannibal* being informed, soon after his landing, that the Truce was broken, and Hostilities renew'd, took his Measures to gain over as many of the petty Princes of *Numidia* as he could; and, among others, he was join'd by *Vermina*, the second Son of the dethroned *Syphax*. On the other hand, *Scipio* pursued the War with all the Fury which the Perfidiousness of the *Carthaginians* deserved. He took Towns, not by Capitulation, but Assault, put the Garrisons to the Sword, and made all the Inhabitants pass under the Yoke. However, in the Midst of his Resentment for the Provocations he had receiv'd, he did not forget the Duties of Humanity, and the Laws of Nations. *Bæbius*, who had been so ill treated, when sent on an Embassy to *Carthage*, had arrested the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors, on their Arrival from *Italy*, in the Port where the *Roman* Fleet lay; and he thought that *Scipio* would retaliate upon them the Injuries he had suffer'd. But the *Pro-Consul* did not consider so much what *Carthage* deserv'd, as what became the Virtue of a *Roman*. He order'd therefore that the Ambassadors should be well treated, and sent back to their Capital.

§. 39. Nevertheless, he continued to terrify *Carthage*, by ravaging her Territories, and taking her Cities; so that she sent Orders to her General, to advance towards the Enemy, and stop his Progress. *Hannibal* march'd an hundred and seventy five Miles from his Post at *Adrumetum*, and encamp'd near *Zama*, a Town in *Africa Propria*. From hence he sent out Spies, to discover the Situation, Strength, and Appearance of the *Romans*. These Spies were apprehended. But tho' it was then customary in all Nations, to put such Men to Death, *Scipio's* Greatness of Soul rais'd him above common Rules. He order'd his *Tribunes* to lead one of them into all the Quarters of the Camp, and shew him every thing which he came to learn; and then dismissing both him and his Companions with Money to defray their Expences, bid them go to their General, and give him the Account he expected from them. This Magnanimity, and Air of Confidence, surprized all *Africa*; and *Hannibal* himself is said to have been so struck with Admiration at the Proceeding of the *Roman*, that he immediately resolv'd to ask an Interview with him, in order to a Peace.

§. 40. *Masiniſſa* (now arrived at the *Roman* Camp, from *Numidia*, with six thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse)

Year of
ROME
550.

551.

Year of Horſe) was the Perſon to whom he addreſs'd himſelf, to intercede with the *Pro-Rome Conſul*. And the Prince, who was an *African* born, and had many Friends in *Carthage*, diſcharg'd his Commiſſion with Zeal. *Scipio* hearkened to his Intreaties, and only demanded a Reſtitution of the Ships, Men, and Effects, of his diſperſed Fleet, which had been ſeized, and a thouſand Talents, as the Conditions of a Truce. *Hannibal* readily conſented, and the Senate of *Carthage* were likewise willing to grant the Demand. But the People oppoſed it. They were jealous of *Hannibal* and the Nobility, who they thought deſired a Peace, only that they might govern more deſpotically. And being informed that *Aſdrubal*, whom they had formerly ſuſpected of the ſame Deſign, was return'd to the City, they went in a tumultuous Manner to ſeek for him. He had fled to his Father's Tomb, and had there ended his Days by Poiſon. But the Rage of the Mutineers was not ſatisfy'd by the Sight of his dead Body. They dragged it out of the Tomb, cut off the Head, fixed it on a Lance, and carried it thro' all the Streets of *Carthage*. §. 41. And now, the Commons having got the Aſcendant, Orders were ſent to the General, to continue the War, and come to a deciſive Battel, without Delay. *Hannibal* obey'd; but it was with great Reluctance. And when *Scipio* had gained ſome further conſiderable Advantages, and was advanced as far as *Nadagara*, on the Confines of *Numidia*, the *Carthaginian* was again ſollicitous to come to a Conference with him. Having obtain'd the *Pro-Conſul's* Conſent to an Interview, he drew near, and encamped with his Army, at about the Diſtance of four Miles from the *Romans*. There was, between the two Camps, a large Plain, entirely open, and where no Ambuſh could be laid. This therefore was the Place choſen for the Meeting. The two Generals came thither, eſcorted by a like Number of Guards, and then ſeparating from their Attendants, each with his Interpreter, they held a private Conference. *Hannibal* ſpoke firſt; and when he had artfully flatter'd the *Roman*, and deſcanted a while on the Viciffitudes of Fortune, and the Uncertainty of continual Succeſs in War, of which he himſelf was a ſignal Proof, he propoſed the Ceſſion of *Spain*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and all the Iſlands between *Italy* and *Africa*, as the Terms of a Peace. *Scipio*, who perceiv'd the Subtilty of the *Carthaginian*, answer'd, with all the Haughtineſs of a *Roman*. You offer us nothing, ſaid he, but what we are already in Poſſeſſion of. Had you made this Propoſal before you left *Italy*, it might perhaps have been thought a tolerable one. But ſhall we accept it now? I allow what you ſay, of the Inconſtancy of Fortune; but the Gods will avenge us of your Treachery. If you will ratify the Conditions of Peace ſent to *Rome*, I will conſider of it. If not, let us fly to Arms, and haſten the Battel. §. 42. At theſe Words, the two Generals parted, and each return'd to his Camp, to prepare for renewing Hoſtilities. Early the next Morning, *Scipio* march'd out his Troops into the Plain. There was an Eminence near it, which he thought proper to ſeize; and accordingly, made himſelf Maſter of it. The *Carthaginian* likewise ſent a Detachment thither, for the ſame Purpoſe; but it came too late. The *Africans* were repulſed by the *Romans*; and this brought on a general Action, contrary (as ſome ſay) to the Inclination of *Hannibal*. [The * Battel is deſcribed at large.] Above twenty thouſand Men were ſlain, on the Side of the *Carthaginians*, and as many Priſoners taken, among whom were a great Number of *Macedonians*, and *Soſipater* their Commander. The *Romans* did not loſe more than two thouſand Men. A memorable Victory! which rais'd *Scipio* above *Hannibal*, and was, to the *Roman* People, an Earneſt of the Conqueſt of the World. §. 43. *Hannibal*, after his Deſeat, fled to *Adrumetum*; but he was ſoon called from thence to *Carthage*, to aſſiſt the tottering Republick with his Counſels. He declared, That ſhe had no Reſource, but in a Peace. And this, from the Mouth of the warlike *Hannibal*, was deciſive. All things were prepared for making new Supplications to the Conqueror; whiſt he, on the other hand, was conſidering how to make the beſt Advantage of his Victory. And having received a conſiderable Reinforcement to his Fleet, he went on board it, in order to appear before *Carthage*, giving Inſtructions to *Cn. Octavius* to march the Legions by Land towards the ſame City. His Intention was not to beſiege it, but only to ſtrike Terror, and make the *Carthaginians* more eager for a Peace. And the Method he took had the deſired Effect. At the preſſing Inſtances of *Hannibal*, a Galley adorn'd with Olive-branches was ſent out to him, with twelve Deputies, who ſpared neither Submiſſions, Proſtrations, nor Promiſes. *Scipio* answer'd with the haughty Air of a Conqueror, I am returning to *Tunis*, and there I will conſider whether I ſhall receive your Homage, and accept your Propoſals. Accordingly, he ſail'd back to *Utica*, whence his Fleet had ſet out; but on his Way from thence, by Land, to *Tunis*, he receiv'd Advice that *Vermiſina*, the ſecond Son of *Syphax*, was come with a powerful Army from *Numidia*, to aſſiſt *Hannibal*, whoſe Deſeat he had not yet learnt. The *Pro-Conſul* ſent away a ſtrong Detachment to give him Battel. *Vermiſina* was entirely defeated, and loſt fifteen thouſand Men. §. 44. And this new Victory doubled the Terror of the *Carthaginians*. Thirty of their Nobles were diſpatched away in Haſte to *Tunis*,

Tunis, to sue to the Victor's Clemency. *Scipio* seem'd at first to neglect their Sub- Year of
missions; but at the bottom was as fond of concluding a Peace as they: For he *ROME*
knew that the *Consul Nero* was equipping a Fleet, with all Expedition, to come in- 551.
to *Africa*, and rob him of the Glory of finishing the War there. The Conditions on
which the Conqueror insisted (as they have been collected from different Authors) were

The Articles as follow. 1. *We permit the Carthaginians to live according to their own Laws and Cust-*
of the Peace *toms; grant them all the Cities and Provinces they had in Africa, before the War; and*
between *the Romans shall immediately abstain from plundering them.* 2. *Carthage shall deliver*
Rome and *up to the Romans, all their Deserters, fugitive Slaves, and Prisoners of War, and all*
Carthage, *the Italians whom Hannibal forced to follow him.* 3. *She shall surrender to Scipio,*
which put *all her Ships of War, except ten Triremes, and all her Elephants which are instructed*
an End to *for War; and she shall not hereafter tame any more of these Animals.* 4. *The Repub-*
the second *lick of Carthage shall enter into no War, either in Africa, or out of Africa, without*
Punic War. *the Consent of the Roman People.* 5. *She shall restore to Masinissa all that she has*
usurped from him, or his Ancestors, and shall make an Alliance with him. 6. *She shall*
supply the Roman Legions with Corn; and pay their Auxiliaries, till the Return of the
Ambassadors whom she shall send to Rome, to have the Peace ratified there. 7. *She*
shall promise, in Writing, to pay the Romans, in the Space of fifty Years, ten thousand
Talents of Silver, at equal Payments. 8. *She shall put into Scipio's Hands, an hun-*
dred such Hostages as he shall chuse; the youngest of whom shall not be under fourteen,
nor the oldest above thirty Years of Age. 9. *Neither the Peace, nor even the Truce,*
shall take place, till the Carthaginians have restored to the Romans, the Ships and Ef-
fects taken from them during the former Truce. 10. *The Roman Armies shall leave*
Africa, within fifty Days after the Conclusion of the Treaty.

These were hard Conditions; and upon the Return and Report of the Ambassa-
dors, *Gisco*, a Man of Distinction in the Republick, endeavour'd to dissuade the
People from complying with them. *Hannibal*, fearing the Influence which his
Harangue might have on the Hearers, took a bold Step, mounted the *Tribune*, and
drove the Orator from it. And then, perceiving that the People were enraged at
this unusual Proceeding, he address'd himself to them thus, *I was but nine Years old*
when I went from this Place, and have now spent six and thirty Years in Arms. In
Camps I have learnt nothing but the Art of making War, and have been accusom'd to
treat Men roughly. It is your Business to teach me the Laws, Customs, and Civilities,
which ought to be observed in your Assemblies. This Apology pacify'd their Anger;
and then he made a long Discourse on the Necessity of concluding the Treaty, tho'
the Conditions of it were heavy. The Assembly acquiesced in the Opinion of a Ge-
neral who, warlike as he was, declared so zealously for a Peace. Thus *Hannibal*
saved his Country, by his Counsels, from almost certain Ruin. Some Authors say,
that he, immediately after this important Service, quitted *Carthage*, lest *Scipio* should
demand him to grace his Triumph, and retired to King *Antiochus*, in *Syria*. But
others, better informed, tell us that he continued some time in his own Country,
was accused before the People, for having neglected to take *Rome*; was acquitted;
and afterwards honoured with the chief Magistracy in his Republick; and that his
Hatred to the *Romans* did not break out again till the *Syrian Wars*. §. 45. And

now, in pursuance of *Hannibal's* Advice, Deputies were sent to *Scipio's* Camp. They
began, by making Satisfaction for the Ships and Effects taken from the *Romans*, du-
ring the last Truce; and the whole Sum amounted to twenty five thousand Pounds
Weight of Silver. But before *Scipio* would grant a new Truce, he added another
Article to those before mentioned, *That the Carthaginians should send no Ambassa-*
dor any where but to Rome; that they should give the Pro-Consul an Account of all
Embassies that came to them from Abroad; and that they should not let any Ambassador
depart from Carthage, till they had given the Romans Advice of the Business upon
which he came. This was comply'd with; and then the Suspension of Arms took
Place. *Scipio*, in order to obtain the more easily a Ratification of the Treaty at
Rome, sent thither with the *Carthaginian* Deputies, his Brother *Lucius*, and three
more Officers of his Army. In the mean time, the *Consul Nero*, with the Consent
of the Senate, (who had been alarmed by a Report that *Carthage* refused to accept
the Conditions of Peace,) was preparing to come into *Africa*, to assist at the Siege
of *Carthage*. But he was stopt in *Sardinia*, by a Tempest, and his *Consulship* ex-
pired whilst he was yet on board his Fleet. So that he return'd to *Italy*, and there
found his Successor already chosen.

251st Con-
sulship.

§. 46. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Aelius*
Pætus, were elected *Consuls* for the new Year. But they would not draw Lots for
their *Provinces*, till the Senate had determin'd either for Peace or War with the *Car-*
thaginians. *Lentulus* was desirous of the Honour of compleating *Scipio's* Work,
and was therefore for putting a Stop to the Treaty, till he should arrive in *Africa*.
But two *Tribunes of the Commons*, who saw thro' his Design, remonstrated to the
People against it. The Affair was warmly debated, both in the Senate, and in the
Comitia; and at length, the latter left it to the Decision of *The Conscript Fathers*, af-
ter

552.

Year of ter they had been sworn again. The Senate decreed, *That the Consul, to whose Lot ROME it fell, should sail with the Fleet to Sicily, and, in case of War, from thence to Africa; but that Scipio should have the sole Conduct of the Land-Forces. And in case of Peace,*

552. *that the Roman People should determine whether the Consul, or Scipio, should conclude it, and who should lead back the Victorious Army.* §. 47. In consequence

of this Decree, the Consuls drew Lots; and the Fleet fell to *Lentulus*. And now Audience was given to some Ambassadors from King *Philip of Macedon*, who perceiving that the War with *Carthage* was near a Conclusion, dreaded the Vengeance of *Rome*. They came with Complaints against *Aurelius*, the Roman Commander in *Greece*, who, they pretended, had made Incursions on the Lands of *Macedon*, contrary to the Treaty of Peace. And they further demanded the Restitution of *Sosipater*, and the other *Macedonians* taken Prisoners by *Scipio* in *Africa*. *Aurelius* had sent one of his Officers, named *Furius*, to plead his Cause before the Senate. This Agent accused King *Philip* of being the Aggressor. And he further urg'd, That as to *Sosipater*, and his Companions in Captivity, they were an evident Proof of *Philip's* Breach of Faith, and Attachment to *Hannibal*. Upon this, the Senate examined the Ambassadors more particularly; and being convinced, by their rambling

The Senate of Rome

reject the

Complaints

of the Ambassadors

from Ma-

cedon.

Answers, of the Truth of what *Furius* had said, they gave them a rough Answer, which seem'd to threaten *Macedon* with a War. §. 48. Then the *Carthaginian* Complaints

Deputies were introduced. *Asdrubal*, nick-named *the Ram*, was at the Head of

them. A venerable Senator, and one who had always oppos'd the *Barcan* Faction, and the Rupture of the Treaties with *Rome*. His Speech was modest; he laid all

the Blame of the late War on the Family of *Hamilcar*; and he endeavour'd to soften

the *Romans* to Clemency. Then each of his Colleagues spoke in his turn. What

they said turn'd chiefly on the deplorable Condition to which the City and Repub-

lick of *Carthage* were reduced. The Senators were moved at the Representations

they made of it, and seem'd universally disposed to Peace. Nevertheless, the

Matter was debated. One of the Fathers declared, That he thought *Scipio's* Opin-

ion should be their Rule, in the present Case, since he was certainly the best Judge

of what was most for the Interest of *Rome*. To this he added many weighty Rea-

sons in Behalf of a Peace; and among others, mention'd the Odium it would draw

from all the World, upon the *Romans*, should they, in case of Success in a War,

carry their Revenge to such Extremity as to sack and burn *Carthage*. But *C. Len-*

tulus, a Relation of the Consul, oppos'd this Sentiment. He maintained, That the

Insolence and Faithlessness of the *Carthaginians* were such, that to destroy them, was

to do an Act agreeable both to Gods and Men. And when he had ended his Speech,

he turn'd to the chief of the Embassy, and said, *What Gods will you call to witness*

the Sincerity of your Oaths? To which *Asdrubal* immediately reply'd, *The same who*

have so severely punish'd us for the Breach of them. And this Answer was applauded

by the Assembly. The Senate plainly saw, that *Lentulus* had declaimed with so much

Zeal against a Peace, only to give the Consul, his Relation, an Opportunity of finish-

ing the War, to the Prejudice of *Scipio*. The Question therefore being put, the

Majority voted for granting the *Carthaginians* their Request. But the Consul *Len-*

tulus disliking the Decree, appealed from it to the People. Upon this, the Tribes

were summon'd, and ask'd whether they would empower the Senate to determine

the Affair without Appeal; to which they all unanimously answer'd, *That they would*

suffer none but Scipio to conclude the Peace, or bring back the Troops to Rome. Peace with

§. 49. In pursuance of this Decree, the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors were dismiss'd,

and ten Deputies from *Rome* sent with them, to assist *Scipio* in settling the Treaty.

These were accompany'd by the *Feciales*, each with his Flint, to break the Head of

the Victim he was to offer, and some Vervein to crown his Head, during the Sa-

cifice. (These were Ceremonies instituted by *Numa*.) When the Deputies arrived

at the *Roman* Camp, near *Tunis*, *Scipio* hastened the Execution of the Articles of

Peace. The *Carthaginians* first deliver'd up all Deserters, and Prisoners of War, and

then their Elephants; of which the Conqueror sent some to *Rome*, and gave the rest

to *Masinissa*. After this, all their Gallies and Frigates, (except ten *Triremes*,) to the

Number of five hundred Sail, were given up to *Scipio*, who burnt them at Sea, with-

in sight of *Carthage*. The last thing which remained, was to pay the Conqueror

the first Payment of the Tribute which he had required for fifty Years. And now

the covetous Temper of these Trading Men signally appear'd. When it was pro-

posed to lay a Tax for the raising of this Sum, they all burst into Tears, except

Hannibal, who is reported to have laugh'd. This gave great Offence, and *Asdru-*

bal, surnamed *the Ram*, said to him, *What! does it become you to sneer, and insult*

us, for the Miseries which you have brought upon us? To which *Hannibal* made this

prudent Answer. *Could you look into my Heart, you would there see as much Sorrow*

as in your own. But after all, what can be more ridiculous, than Tears so unseasonably

shed? We shed none when our Ships were burnt, nor when we were forbidden to make

War, even in Africa; and then they would have been very seasonable. That was the Blow,

which

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which ought most to afflict us. So restless a People as ours, when once restrain'd from making War Abroad, will soon destroy one another at Home. And this indeed we ought to lament with Tears of Blood. But a little Self-Interest affects you more than the most heavy publick Calamities. I am afraid you will find that you had Reason to reserve your Tears for greater Misfortunes.

§.50. As soon as the Articles of the Treaty were executed, Scipio prepared for his Departure. But first, with the Consent of the ten Commissioners, he settled Masinissa in the peaceable Possession of his hereditary Dominions, and of all the Places conquer'd from Syphax. (And this Grant was afterwards confirm'd by the Senate.) The Pro-Consul sail'd first to Lilybæum, and thence to Italy, where the Senate and People concurr'd in decreeing him a Triumph.

* Vide p. 569, &c. Scipio triumphs, and gets the Surname of Africanus. [§.51. Scipio's Triumphal * Procession is describ'd at large.] Some say that the Republick offer'd him the perpetual Dictatorship, and to erect Statues to him in the Comitium, near the Rostra, near the Senate-house, and upon the Capitol; but that he declined all these Honours, and contented himself with the glorious Surname, given him, of AFRICANUS, and with continuing to serve his Country by his Counsels and his Sword.

It is hoped that the Reader, in Consideration of the uncommon Expedition with which this Voluminous Work is carried on, will excuse the following

ERRATA.

PAGE 9. Line 3. had not, read had. p. 10. l. 10. violent, r. insolent. p. 26. l. 29. In the Margin, put Fabius apud Oros. B. 4. c. 13. p. 39. l. 33. r. Cornelius Asina. p. 43. l. 26. was not, r. was. p. 48. l. 42. dead Bodies, r. Bodies. p. 53. l. 43. receive, r. revive. p. 60. l. 7. it was. r. it was only—dele scarce. p. 67. l. 13. marched on by itself to, r. passed it separately on. p. 69. Note 38. Tefia, r. Tefin. p. 73. l. 19. r. two thousand. p. 80. l. 43. Ability, r. Activity. p. 82. l. 4. there, r. had. p. 85. l. 8. Expeditions, r. Expiations. p. 86. l. 36. & alibi Ilergeta, r. Ilergetes, p. 97. l. 1. But then, r. But as to this latter. p. 104. l. 15. Minucius, r. Metilius. p. 106. l. 7. dele was not. p. 117. l. 19. dele to know. p. 132. l. ult. giving himself up to Despair, r. despairing of the Commonwealth. p. 134. l. 13. r. 1000. p. 143. l. 49. for 400, r. 300. p. 145. l. 43. said, r. saw. p. 148. l. 10. has, r. had. p. 149. l. 5. fled, r. flew. p. 159. l. 23. Bag. r. Bank. p. 164. l. 44. seventy seven, r. one hundred seventy seven. p. 206. l. 50. into fresh Grief, r. Sadness. p. 224. l. 23. ran to, r. ran thro'. p. 228. l. 45. Grand-Daughter, r. Daughter. p. 231. l. 11. at once, r. very soon. p. 233. l. 5. Refugees, r. Deserters. p. 236. l. 17. muttered for, r. shudder'd with. p. 262. l. 30. too readily to his Election, r. too unwarily to their Measures, p. 265. l. 29. infected, r. infested. Ibid. l. 34. Titus, r. Tiberius. p. 273. Note 12. Cities, r. City. p. 276. l. 48. r. the Citadel was. p. 281. l. 35. reconcile the Gods, r. render the Gods propitious. p. 289. l. 20. r. absolutely discourage. p. 297. l. 15. before, r. after. p. 305. l. 3. r. twelve hundred. l. 40. Return of Fulvius, who joined Appius. p. 309. l. 43. to burn, r. for burning. p. 310. l. 22. Consuls, r. Pro-Consuls. p. 318. l. 7. r. if the Ætolians and the Inhabitants. p. 338. l. 16. the Men, r. them. p. 339. l. 45. in the midst of the Battel, r. in the main Body. p. 343. l. 31. r. Lusitania. p. 347. l. 5. & alibi, Pond, r. Pool. p. 366. l. 50. Sinuessæ, r. Venusia. p. 370. l. 37. r. was brought. p. 377. l. 1. Sword, r. Sagam. Ibid. l. 8. over, r. towards. Ibid. l. 22. come into, r. come from. p. 386. l. 5. r. Livius. p. 404. l. 16. r. Barbarians. Ibid. l. 15. r. Orestis. p. 406. l. 32. Pro-Consul, r. President. r. 448. l. 34. r. intended Departure. p. 452. l. 39. Mago, r. Marcius. p. 457. l. 15. Tarragona, r. Empuria. p. 460. l. 34. Fabius, r. Fulvius. p. 473. l. 25. several, r. general. p. 474. l. 30. eight hundred, r. eight thousand. p. 485. l. 14. Ports, r. Parts. p. 499. l. 23. r. Quæstor. p. 500. l. 5. Departure, r. Party. p. 501. l. 17. both, r. not. p. 504. l. 22. r. had been deprived. p. 506. l. 37. new Kingdom, r. new Reign. p. 525. l. 14. & alibi, r. Staccadoes. p. 530. l. 11. r. me to you. p. 545. l. 45. ordered him, r. gave Orders. p. 548. l. 46. At least Hannibal knew not. r. But Hannibal knew. Ibid. l. 47. till, r. and. p. 552. l. 12. r. for War. Ibid. l. 47. r. promises, you shall. p. 556. l. 13. for, r. of. p. 558. l. 1. r. then Pro-Prator. p. 561. l. 27. r. Ambassadors. p. 564. l. 15. did, r. had. p. 567. l. ult. r. But the Consul Lentulus. p. 571. l. 26. r. fragrant. Chronol. Table, Col. 2. l. 30. r. Flaminius. p. 18. Col. 1. l. 8. P. Villius Tappulus, r. P. Quintilius Varus. In the Contents, p. 11. l. 20. r. seventeen hundred. p. 19. l. 44. r. whole Army. p. 28. l. 57. r. Deaths. Ibid. l. 65. r. one thousand. p. 36. l. 5. and Syracuse, r. to Syracuse.



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Royal Paper.

Mr. Charles Smith.

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T H E



Roman History.

BOOK XXV.

S. I



THE *Roman* History is one continued Series of Wars and Battels without Interruption. But tho' these Events are uniform as to their Matter, yet are they diversified with such a vast Variety of Circumstances, that we are never weary of reading the Accounts the Ancients have given us of them. In them, we view with Admiration the slow and regular Advances of a warlike Republick, which pursues every Design with Constancy, and never leaves it till she has accomplished it. In them, we with Pleasure see her continually gain Ground, by a Pursuit of prudent

Year of
R O M E
DXIV.

C. MAMILIUS
TURINUS, Q.
VALERIUS
FALTO, Con-
suls.

and well judg'd Enterprizes, which are often gilded over with Pretences of Equity. In short, we are surprized to see her ever moving forwards, till she arrives at the highest Pitch of Grandeur; after numberless Misfortunes, none of which can discourage her. That a People entirely free, and absolute Masters of their own Deliberations, should continually prefer the Dangers of War to the sweet Enjoyments of Peace and Tranquillity, is a Prodigy, which may very justly have astonished us in the preceding Volumes, and with equal Reason continue to do so, in the succeeding ones.

INDEED, Peace now reign'd at *Rome*, and the time seem'd to be come for shutting the Temple of *Janus*. But the Expectation of a War with the *Gauls* and *Ligures*, kept the new *Consuls*, *C. Mamilius Turinus*, and *Q. Valerius Falto*, in Ac-

VOL. III.

B

tion;

Year of tion; whereas this pacifick Ceremony was never performed, but in a time of the
R O M E most perfect Tranquility, which was not yet come. The *Carthaginians* indeed were
 DXIV. engaged at home in dangerous Wars with the Mercenaries of several Nations,
 C. MAMILIUS whom they had employed in their first War with *Rome*. Nevertheless, this did not
 TURINUS, Q. at all abate their Pride; they affected to revenge very severely the least Violations
 VALERIUS of the Peace, on the Part of the *Romans*. Some Traders belonging to the *Roman*
 FALTO, Con- Republick had carried Provisions and Arms to the Rebels; and this exasperated the
 fuls. *Carthaginians*, who seized the Merchants, made five hundred of them Prisoners,
 Polyb. B. 1. and threw a good Number of them into the Sea. Then the *Romans* began to
 c. 83. think of taking Arms again; but *Carthage* appeased them with an Embassy. Upon
 Zonaras, B. 8. her restoring the Prisoners which were left in her hands, the *Romans* were so well
 c. 17. pleased with this Instance of Respect, that they, in return, restored the *Carthagi-*
nians all their Countrymen whom they kept Prisoners in *Italy*. Nor was this all.
 Tho' the City of *Utica*, which had declared for the Rebels, would have surrendered
 itself to the *Romans*; and tho' the Mercenaries, who had seized *Sardinia*, invited
 them to come and take Possession of it; yet *Rome* continued faithful to her Trea-
 ties. She religiously kept the Peace with *Carthage*; forbade her Subjects trading
 with any except the *Carthaginians*, in *Africa*; and supplied them with whatever they
 wanted. Nevertheless, the Ambition of *Rome* lay dormant, but a very little while:
 we shall soon see it roused.

ABOUT this time *Ennius*¹ was born. He was one of the greatest Ornaments of
 the Republick, for his fine and exalted Genius. As he was both Poet and Histo-
 rian, he gave his Poems all the Truth of History, and his History all the Beauties of
 Poetry. He was the Inventor of *Hexameter* Verses among the *Latins*; and it there-
 fore is not to be wondered at, that he should not be able to carry his own Inven-
 tion to the highest Perfection of which it was capable. He was a Man of a refined
 Understanding; and in some Fragments of his that are yet remaining, we see a
 Vivacity in the Imagery, and sometimes a Purity of Language, worthy of later
 Ages. The *Greek* was his Mother Tongue, tho' he was born at *Rudes*, an ancient
 City of *Calabria*, near *Tarentum*. So that being educated in the *Grecian* Manner,
 he shewed the *Romans*, that their Language was capable of the same Turns, and
 the same Numbers, as the *Greek*. But the *Romans*, in his time, were too grave,
 to have any Taste for poetical Fictions; and he therefore only recorded the Events
 of which he was a Witness, in Verse. The Life of *Scipio Africanus* was his Mas-
 ter-piece: Which he wrote in² *Coraicks*. He, by this Work, gained great Esteem
 and Affection in the *Cornelian* Family, who shewed their Regard for him af-
 ter his Death. His Ashes were deposited in the same Tomb with those of *Scipio*
Africanus, and a Marble Statue of him erected there, near those which that Con-
 queror of *Hannibal* erected, to perpetuate his own Memory. But tho' thus honour-
 ed after his Death, his Fortune was small. He lived in a frugal Manner, without
 the City, on the Hill *Aventinus*, with no Servant, but one Woman-Slave. He
 may be said to have eclipsed the Poet³ *Nævius*, who flourished at the same time.
 After he had made some Campaigns in the first *Punic* War, he employed himself
 both in Poetry and History, according to the Taste of that time.

Year of S. II. AND whilst *Rome* enjoyed the Sweets of Peace, under the *Consuls* *Tib.*
R O M E *Sempronius Gracchus*, and *P. Valerius Falto*, *Carthage* also gained some Respite
 DXV. from War. *Hamilcar* had by his Valour and Conduct just finished the War with
 the Mercenaries. As it had been carried on with all the Rage of which Revolters
 and Malecontents were capable, so it ended with the cruel Death of all the Heads
 of the Revolt. All the time it lasted, *Carthage* affected to pay a Deference to
Rome; but all her Submissions were involuntary and forced. Both Republicks still
 harboured a mutual Malice to each other, but that of the *Carthaginians* was most

¹ This Date of *Ennius's* Birth agrees with *Cice-*
ro's Account of him; who says, that he was born
 a Year after *Livius Andronicus* began to reform the
Latin Stage. *Aulus Gellius* assures us that he wrote
 eighteen Books of *Roman* History in Verse.

² The Verses which were so called, consisted
 either of four Feet, or three Feet and a half; each
 Foot of one long and one short Syllable. These
 Feet were called *Chorei*, because often used in cer-

tain Dances; and in the *Chorus's* of the ancient dra-
 matick Performances.

³ *Nævius* was known at *Rome*, not only by his
 Comedies, but by his History of the first *Punic* War,
 which both *Aulus Gellius* and *Cicero* say he wrote
 in Verse.

⁴ *Cassiodorus* and *Marianus* have displaced *P. Va-*
lerius Falto, and have substituted one *Publius Corne-*
lius in his room.

active. It arose from a Jealousy of the hated Superiority of her Rival. *Hamilcar* in particular, who had gained such an Ascendant in his Country, that he was become as it were the Sovereign of it, could not forgive the *Romans* their Ambition, their Pride, and their Conquests in *Sicily*. All his Views terminated in humbling a Republick whose Interests were so opposite to those of his own. *Carthage* indeed, in the low Condition to which she was at present reduced, was not able to renew the War with *Rome*. This Politician therefore, who was a Man of great Reach of Thought, believed it necessary to lay his Schemes very deep, in order to crush the *Romans*, or at least bring them upon a Level with the *Carthaginians*: and for this Purpose he formed two Schemes, which were worthy of his great Genius. The first was to extend the Limits of his own Country so far, that she might be always able to find a sufficient Number of Forces in the conquered Regions, ready to oppose those Multitudes of Soldiers with which *Italy* furnished the *Romans*. The second was, so to form young *Hannibal* his Son, as that he should inherit his Harred, Valour, and Experience; and pursue his Designs.

Year of
R O M E
DXV.
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, P. VA-
LERIUS FAL-
TO, Consuls.

As soon as *Hamilcar* was disengaged from the intestine War which had like to have reduced *Carthage* to the last Extremity, he employed himself wholly in the Pursuit of his two Projects. In order to increase the *Carthaginian* Empire, he resolved to go over into *Spain*, to recover the Dominion which *Carthage* had formerly had there, and which she had almost lost, since the Wars with *Sicily*. But before he passed *The Streights*, then distinguished by *Hercules's Pillars*, he took an Opportunity to inspire his Son, who was then but nine Years of Age, with his own Sentiments. He thought that even in this early Youth, the Child's Understanding would be sufficiently opened, and his Mind docile enough, to receive his Instructions, and benefit by them.

THE General therefore took the Opportunity of a Sacrifice, which he was going to offer to *Jupiter*, before he embarked. When all things were prepared, and the Victim was just going to be slain, *Hamilcar* took his Son by the Hand, led him up to the Altar, and asked him if he would attend him in his *Spanish* Expedition. The Courage of the Boy was superior to his Age; and he not only consented to make his first Campaign under his Father, but adjured him by the Gods present, to form him to Victory, by his Example, and teach him the Art of conquering. *This, Son,* replied *Hamilcar*, *I will readily do, with all the Care of a Father who loves you, if you will swear upon the Altars to be an eternal Enemy to the Romans.* *Hannibal* joyfully complied with his Father's Motion; and the Apparatus of the Place and Ceremony, and the Sacredness of the Oath, made such deep Impressions on the Mind of the Child, as were never after effaced. He then first imbibed that Hatred for *Rome*, which ended only with his Life. This, on the Part of *Hamilcar*, was openly declaring what Motive drew him into *Spain*; he did not pretend to make Settlements in that Country, with any other View, than that of falling upon the *Romans*. But we must leave him making Conquests there, and forming his Son to Heroism, whilst we return to the Affairs of *Rome*.

§. III. THOSE of the *Italic Gauls*, who still retained the old Name of *Boii*, which they brought with them from beyond the *Alpes*, had been subdued by the *Romans*, before the first *Punic* War: And whilst *Rome* was embroiled with *Carthage*, they continued peaceable. But now, thro' some unaccountable Levity, or Discontent, they threw off the Yoke of the Republick, to which they had so long submitted, and joined the *Falisci* in *Hetruria*. On the other hand, the *Ligures*, whom the *Romans* had not yet begun to subdue, were in Motion, and seemed to threaten *Rome* with an approaching War. So that the *Consuls* for the Year divided themselves between these two Enemies. *Valerius Falto* led a *Consular* Army against the former, and *Tib. Sempronius* entered the Territories of the latter. As for *Valerius* he was not altogether successful in his War with the *Gauls*; neither was it any uncommon thing for these People to gain the first Battels they fought with the *Romans*. It was difficult to stand the Shock of their first Fury. But in time they cooled; whereas the Constancy of the *Romans* was increased by their Losses. And thus *Valerius* experienced the Impetuosity of the *Gauls* in Battel; he was

Oros. B. 4. c. 11.
Liv. in Epit.
20.

Zonaras, B. 8.

5 These were The Streights, which are now called *The Streights of Gibraltar*. We have spoken of them already.

6 We have spoken of the Origin of the *Boii*, their Passage into *Italy*, and their Settlement there, *B. 13. p. 9. of Vol. 2. Note 45.*

vanquished

Year of vanquished by them, and lost three thousand five hundred Men in the first
 R O M E Action.

DXV.

TIB. SEMPRO-
 NIUS GRAC-
 CHUS, P. VA-
 LERIUS FAL-
 TO, Consuls.
Fast. Capit.
Val. Max. B. 5.
c. 6. §. 3.
Ovid Metam.
B. 15.

ROME was alarmed at this Defeat of the *Consular* Army; raised new Troops in great haste, and sent them with all Expedition to *Valerius*. It is not improbable, that *M. Genucius Cippus*, then one of the *Prætors* at *Rome*, had the Care of conducting these Reinforcements to the *Consul*; and it is pretended, that he was scarce got out of the City when two Horns grew out of his Forehead. The Prodigy surprized him, and after he had appeased the Gods by a Sacrifice, he consulted a Diviner of *Hetruria*, to know what Misfortunes it foreboded to him. The *Hetrurian* told him, that this Increase of Strength foreboded his having the Royal Authority; and immediately saluted him King. It is well known, with what an Aversion to Monarchy the *Romans* were brought up; and this made *Cippus* dread his Fate, and do all that in him lay, to prevent the Accomplishment of the Prediction. He, from that Moment, resolved never to enter *Rome* more; intreated the Senate to assemble without the Walls of it; and there pressed *The Conscript Fathers* to pass a Decree of perpetual Banishment against him. The Senate admired his steady Affection for his Country, and granted his Request. They passed the Decree of Banishment he desired; but in Reward for his Virtue, did two Things in his Favour. 1st. The Republick granted him as much Ground as he could inclose in a Circle in one Day, with a Plough drawn by two Oxen, and guided by himself. 2^{dly}. A *Bas-relief* was made in Brass, representing *Cippus's* Head with the two Horns, and placed over that Gate of the City, at which he went out; and from this Monument the Gate was called 7 *The Brazen Gate*. But the Story both wants Probability, and sufficient Authorities to support it. The prophane Authors themselves look on this Prodigy as fabulous. Nevertheless, this brass Monument, which continued over the Gate, shews at least, that *Rome* had some Reason for placing it there. And if I might be permitted to form Conjectures, on so odd an Event, I should imagine, that the Design of this Monument was to represent the *Prætor Cippus* as a second *Actæon*, who had been disappointed of his Desires. He hoped to have born a Part in the Battel, and shared the Victory; but upon his Arrival, he found the Battel over. Hence, perhaps, the allegorical Horns which were put upon his Head.

Plin. B. 11.
c. 37.

Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 18.

INDEED the *Consul Valerius* no sooner understood that a Reinforcement was set out from *Rome*, under the Command of a *Prætor*, but he looked on the Uneasiness of the Republick, as a personal Affront to him. He thought himself strong enough to cope with the Enemy alone, notwithstanding the Blow he had received; and he therefore made haste to conquer, or perish in the Attempt, before the Succours arrived. This false Sense of Honour rouses new Courage. He fell on the Enemy with such Fury, that he killed fourteen thousand Men, and took two thousand Prisoners of War. A considerable Victory, which would have gained *Valerius* the Honours of a Triumph, if he had not been somewhat disobedient, and very rash, in his Conduct. Heaven had favoured him indeed; but he had by his Rashness exposed the *Roman* Army, to the Danger of a second Defeat; and he seemed to pay a greater Deference to his own Opinions, than to the Desires of the *Roman* Senate and People. Whereas the Republick always expected a blind and implicit Obedience from her Generals.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 83, 88.

§. IV. As for *Sempronius*, to whose Lot it had fallen to go into *Liguria*, he was successful, without any Allay of Misfortune. He gained a Battel; but it was not a decisive one; and immediately a new Pursuit drew him out of *Italy*. The *Romans* thought *Sardinia* a Conquest not to be neglected. They had formerly made themselves Masters of it; and during the Inaction of their *Consuls*, and the short Prosperity of the *Carthaginians*, it had returned under the Dominion of its former Masters. Since that time, the revolted Mercenaries had seized it, and then offered it to the *Romans*, without doubt, in order to engage them to take their Part. But *Rome* had made it a Point of Honour, not to invade the Territories of a Republick which was already too vigorously attacked, to be able to defend herself; and rejected the Offer of the Rebels. (However, this was only a very short

7 We know not the exact Situation of this *Brazen Gate*, which *Varro* and *Festus* call *Rauduscula*, and *Raudusculana Porta*, from the old Latin Word *Raudus*; which signified Copper. All that *Varro* says of

this Gate is, that it was next to the Gate *Navia*; and consequently might be the same with the Gate *Esquilina*.

Fit of Equity, which Ambition soon got the better of.) After this, the Rebels were defeated in *Africa*, their Leaders killed, and the Remains of them fled to *Sardinia* for Refuge. And the *Carthaginians* being now about to drive them out from thence, their last Resource was to send again to *Rome*, and to intreat the Republick, to take them under her Protection. They represented to the Senate, of what Importance it was to *Rome*, to be Mistress of an Island, which brought her old Enemies almost to her very Gates; and she now considered nothing but her Interests. She claimed her ancient Right of Conquest; and as *Sardinia* had not been surrendered up to the *Carthaginians*, by any Article of the Treaty, the Senate thought it would be no Breach of it, for the Republick to take this fine Island out of the Hands of those, who had possessed themselves of it by Violence; and to reassume her Dominion over it. But in this Instance, Strength took place of Justice among the *Romans*; and it is unbecoming an Historian to flatter them. Their Country was their Idol; and if their Love of it sometimes made them virtuous; it at other times made them sacrifice their Virtue to it. *Rome* therefore, on trifling Pretences, sent *Sempronius* with a Fleet, to take Possession of *Sardinia*.

Year of
R O M E
DXV.
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, P. VA-
LERIUS FAL-
TO, Consuls.

THE *Consul*, upon his Arrival, declared War with the *Carthaginians*, in case they pursued their Attempts upon the foreign Soldiers, who had taken shelter in the Lands of *Rome*. *You have not so much taken up Arms against Rebels*, said *Sempronius*, *as against the Roman Republick. Your Design is to rob us of our Right, under pretence of persecuting some wretched Men.* This express Declaration, made by the *Consul* at the Head of an Army, filled *Carthage* with Terror; the *Carthaginians* dreading the Approach of the *Roman* Fleet, and the landing of their Forces, in *Africa*. Nothing was there ready to receive them: the *Carthaginians* had scarce had time to breathe, since the Defeat of the Mercenaries. It was therefore necessary to submit to all the *Consul* demanded; and he forced them to give up all Claims to *Sardinia* for ever. Nor was this all. He obliged them to pay him the Expence of his Armament; and the further Sum of twelve hundred *Talents* ⁸ of *Silver*. A cruel ⁹ Extortion, which made deep and lasting Impressions on the Minds of the *Carthaginians*! Two very exact Historians assure us; that nothing contributed more, to confirm *Hamilcar* in the Hatred he had conceived against the *Romans*; and to render *Hannibal* inexorable, in the Wars, we shall soon see him carry on, with great Cruelty, in *Italy*. After this useful Expedition, *Sempronius* returned to *Rome*; and in any other Republick, would have obtained the highest Honours. The Advantages he gained by the Terror of his Arms, were at least equivalent to his having won a Battel: but nevertheless, he did not triumph. It was the Policy of the *Romans*, to rate the Glory of Conquerors, only by the Blood which they had spilt ¹⁰.

Zonaras, B. 2.
Polybius, B. 1.

Cornelius Nepos's Life of
Hamilcar; and
Polybius, B. 3.

§. V. THE

⁸ These twelve hundred *Talents* * of *Silver* make about three million six hundred thousand *French Livres*, according to our former Observations.

⁹ Zonaras adds, that the *Consuls* accused the *Carthaginians* of having broken their Treaties, and interrupted their free Commerce by their Piracies on some Ships, which belonged to *Roman* Merchants: so that the Sum of twelve hundred *Talents* was demanded by Way of Satisfaction, for the Losses the Traders had suffered, by the *Carthaginian* Pirates.

¹⁰ *Festus* places the Beginning of the War of the *Romans*, with the People of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, under this Year 515; and in proof of it, quotes the Authority of *Siminius Capito*. According to the latter, the *Consul* *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, Colleague to *Publius Valerius Falto*, subdued these two Islands, and the greatest Part of their Inhabitants were reduced to Slavery. The great Numbers of *Sardinians* and *Corficans*, who were sold to the best Bidder, gave rise to the old *Latin* Proverb, *Sardi Venales*, *alius alio nequior*; that is, *Sardinians* to sell, every one worse than his Fellow. And it is indeed very true, that it was one *Tiberius Gracchus*, who brought these two Islands into Subjection to the *Romans*; but it is false, that he was the Colleague of *Publius Valerius Falto*. Besides, that the ancient Writers all agree in placing the Conquest of *Corfica* and *Sardi-*

nia later than this Year; the Authority of *Siminius Capito* is likewise counter-balanced by an express Passage of the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*. According to him, this *Tiberius Gracchus*, who subdued the *Corficans* and *Sardinians*, was the same who vanquished the *Gauls*, when he was *Prætor*. After which, he brought *Spain* into Subjection to the *Romans*, in his first *Consulship*. He was *Consul* a second time, when he made himself Master of *Sardinia*: and, as this Historian adds, he brought so great a Number of Slaves from this Island, as gave rise to the Proverb, *Sardi Venales*. . . . *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus Prætor Galliam domuit; Consul Hispaniam; altero Consulatu, Sardiniam. Tantumque Captivorum adduxit, ut longa venditione res in proverbium veniret, SARDI VENALES.* *Cicero* says the same thing, in his 24th *Epistle*, B. 7. Now this *Tiberius Gracchus* was the Grandson of the *Consul*, of this Year 515. His Colleague in his first *Consulship*, which was in the Year 576, was *Caius Claudius Pulcher*; and in his second *Consulship*, which was in the Year 590, his Colleague was *Marcus Junentius Thalna*. As to the Sense of this old Proverb, we shall here add, what *Festus* says, with regard to it. In the Celebration of the Games, which were solemnized at *Rome*, in Honour to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, a publick Crier, says he, presented to

* 232500 l.
Arbutnot.

Year of
R O M E
DXVI.
L. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS,
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS,
Consuls.
D. Hal. B. 1.

S. V. THE War with the *Gauls* and ¹¹ *Ligures* was carried on by the new Con-
suls *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. We have already shewn the time,
when most of the *Gauls* passed the *Alpes*; and the Places where they settled in *Italy*.
But as for the *Ligures*, who also were originally *Gauls*, it is difficult to determine
when they removed. Only it is past doubt, That they were some of the most an-
cient Inhabitants of *Italy*; and That they crossed the *Alpes*, several Ages before
the other *Gauls*. Their Dominion was large, and reached from the *Var*, a River
in *Gaul*, to the *Macra*, another River, which bounded *Hetruria*. All this vast
Country was then over-run with Briars, and the *Ligures* gave themselves little
trouble in clearing the Ground of them. The Woods which covered their Lands,
made their Cantons inaccessible; and their Manners favoured a little of the Bar-
renness and Roughness of their ¹² Soil. Living in Forests, they subsisted wholly
by Hunting and Rapine; and they were a little in Disrepute, in Point of Pro-
bity and Fidelity. The *Consuls* marched together against the *Gauls* and *Li-
gures*; and as long as they continued united, and the two *Consular* Armies en-
camped together, the *Romans* were invincible. But the Love of Glory and Booty
separated them; and their Separation weakned them. This *Fulvius* found to his
Cost. Being entered into the Country of the *Gauls* on this Side the *Po*, it was
with great Difficulty, that he prevented his Camp's being invaded by the Enemy.
He was forced to continue in his Entrenchments, and there passed a melancholy
and shameful Campaign, under continual Apprehensions of a Surprise. Indeed,
the Army of the *Gauls* was become exceeding strong; and their Superiority in-
creased their Confidence. They had assembled their Countrymen from all Parts;
and because they were not strong enough of themselves to withstand these formi-

*Ptolomy and
Mela.*

Zonaras, B. 8.

the Spectators an old Man, dressed in a *Prætecta*, with the *Bulla Aurea* about his Neck, after the man-
ner of the old Kings of *Hetruria*; and then he pro-
claimed with a loud Voice, *Sardinians to sell, every
one worse than his Fellow*. See what he alluded to
by this Proclamation, *B. 1. p. 49. of Vol. 1. Note
164; and see B. 13. p. 26. of Vol. 2. Note 72.* for
the Origin of the *Capitoline Games*.

11 Profane Authors carry up the Origin of the
Ligures, as they do that of the other Nations in
Greece and *Italy*, to the fabulous Heroes of Anti-
quity, in order thereby to give the Nation the greater
Lustre. But we shall, without losing time about
those chimerical Traditions, only mention the most
rational Accounts the ancient Geographers have
given us of their Origin, and the Boundaries of
their Country. *Dion. Halicarn.* confesses, that it is
uncertain whether they were originally *Gauls* or
Italians. *Strabo, Geog. B. 2* speaking of the sever-
al Nations who settled along the *Alpes*, says, that
they all came from *Gallia Celtica*, except the *Li-
gures*. But the greatest Number of Writers are of
a contrary Opinion to these. Most of the *Greeks*,
as *Strabo* himself confessed, gave the Name of *Li-
gures*, to the People called *Salyes*; who inhabited a
Part of that Canton of *Transalpine Gaul*, which is
now the Sea-Coast of *Provence*. *Ptolomy* places
them in the Territory where the Cities of *Aix*, *Arles*,
and *Taragon* now stand. According to *Strabo*, all
the Country between the *Mediterranean*, and the
Durance, was inhabited by the *Salyes*. Besides, the
Lavi, the *Taurini*, the *Allobroges*, and the *Libici*,
all originally *Gauls*, were Parts of the same national
Body as the *Ligures*. And lastly, *Pliny* and *Livy*
comprehend, under the general Name of *Ligures*,
the *Lavi*, who lived beyond the *Po*, in the Neigh-
bourhood of *Pavia*: and *Polybius* and *Livy* both
assure us, that the *Lavi* came from *Gallia Celtica*,
as we have observed in the second Volume. *Clu-
ver* in his *Ital. Antiqua*, finds some Traces of this
Origin in the Word *Bodencus*; which, according to
Pliny and *Polybius*, was the Name the *Ligures* gave
the *Po*, to express the Depth of it. This Geogra-
pher observes, that the Word *BODEN* is now used
by the *Germans*, to signify the Bottom of a Vessel,
or of a River. Now it is manifest, that the Nations

who possessed the vast Regions of the *Germans*, were
originally so many Branches of the ancient *Celts*,
as the same Author proves at large, in his *Germa-
nia Antiqua*. He also observes, after *Servius*, that
the City of *Pisa* was anciently called *TEUTA*, and
its Inhabitants *Teutæ*: Terms borrowed, says *Clu-
ver*, from the Word *THEUTH*, which was the Ap-
pellation the ancient *Celts* gave the Supreme Being.
As to the Boundaries of *Old Liguria*, they were
different, at different times. *Scylax* gives the Name
of *Liguria*, to the Country which reached from the
Rhone to the *Arno*, that is, to the Confines of *Hetruria*.
Augustus confined it within a narrower
Compass. It was, in his time, bounded to the East,
by the River *Macra*; to the West, by the *Var*, and
The Maritime Alpes; to the South, by the *Ligurian*
Sea; and to the North, by the Country of the *In-
subres*. But at the time we are here speaking of,
this Province comprehended that whole Tract of
Ground, which lay between the *Arne*, the *Apennines*,
the Country of the *Ananes*, the *Po*, the *Maritime*
Alpes, and the *Ligurian* Sea. The chief Cantons
of *Liguria* were possessed by those who were called
Ligures Montani, or *The Ligures of the Mountains*;
The Ligures Apuani; and *The Ligures of the Sea-
Coasts*; which are now called, *The Coast of Genoa*.
The latter were called *Ligures Capellati*, because
they wore their Hair long. The *Ligures Apuani*
were so called from one of their chief Cities, which
the ancient Geographers call *Apua*. It stood at the
Foot of the *Apennines*, near the River *Macra*. The
Territory of these latter was bounded by that of
the *Hetrurians*, towards the Mouth of the *Arne*.
At present, *Liguria* properly so called, that is, which
reaches from the *Var* to the *Macra*, contains *The*
Marquisate of Saluzzo, a Part of *Piedmont* and
Montferrat, all the Coast of *Genoa*, the Lordship of
Mourgues, Part of the County of *Nice*, and that
Part of the *Duchy of Milan*, which is on this Side
the *Po*.

12 *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Strabo*, describe the an-
cient *Ligures*, as a savage and barbarous People, sit-
uated in an ungrateful and barren Soil. They were
used to live upon very little, and inured themselves
from their Youth, to an hard and laborious kind of
Life, to furnish themselves with Necessaries.

dable *Romans*, they had solicited the *Gauls* beyond the *Alpes*, to pass them, come to the Assistance of their Brethren, and settle themselves upon the Ruins of *Rome*.

Year of
R O M E
DXVI.

BUT *Cornelius* had more Success in that Part of *Liguria*, into which he had penetrated. (For whatever *Eutropius* may say to the contrary, it is not probable that he advanced beyond the *Po*; this Glory was reserved for later Ages.) The *Ligures*, who were nearest to *Hetruria*, ventured to take the Field, and face the *Consular Army*; but they had too little Knowledge and Experience in the Art of War, to be able to withstand disciplined *Legions*. So that the Slaughter which was made of them, was surprizingly great. It is said, that in this little Part of their great State, twenty four thousand of these *Ligures* were left dead on the Field of Battel; and five thousand of them taken Prisoners. And it at least appears, by the *Consul's* having a Triumph at *Rome* soon after, that his Victory had been a bloody one.

L. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS,
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS,
Consuls.

Tab. Triumph.

DURING these Wars, which made all *Italy*, which was not yet brought into Subjection to the *Romans*, tremble; Preparations were made at *Rome*, for celebrating *The Secular* ¹³ *Games*, which was to be done the next Year. King *Hiero*, that faithful Friend to the Republick, came thither from *Sicily*, on purpose to see them. The *Romans* were much pleased to see a foreign King within their City, for the first time; and the useful Foresight of this good Prince augmented their Pleasure. He had considered, that the Concourse of People to *Rome* on this Occasion, would be exceeding great; and that all the neighbouring Nations would crowd thither, to be Spectators of *Games* ¹⁴, which generally speaking, the oldest had never seen, and the youngest would never see again; and that therefore Plenty might

¹³ The *Fasti Capitolini* place the third Celebration of *The Secular Games*, under this Year 517: and this authentick Monument is a decisive Proof against *Censorinus*. He, upon the Authority of *Valerius of Antium*, and of *Livy*, antedates this Celebration of these Games thirteen Years, that is, fixes it to the Year 504, under the Consulship of *Publius Claudius Pulcher*, and *Lucius Junius Pullus*. Without doubt, the Author of the *Fasti Capitolini* did not adhere either to the two ancient Historians quoted by *Censorinus*, or to the Annals of *Cassius Hemina*, and *Lucius Piso*. He had found more certain Memoirs in the Archives of the *Quindecemviri*, who were appointed to take care of the *Sybilline Books*. We have already observed, in the foregoing Volumes, with what Restrictions, and under what Penalties, the Republick committed these mysterious Books to their Care. And it was a Part of their Office, to appoint the Celebration of the *Secular Games*, every hundred, or hundred and ten Years, according to the Direction, and in regard to the Authority, of these pretended Oracles. It was also their Business to preserve the Memory of them, and of the Times when celebrated, by Registers. The *Fasti Capitolini* give us the Names of those, who presided at this third Celebration of them. One of these Presidents was named *Manlius Aemilius*, of a *Patrician Family*; the other, *Marcus Livius Salinator*, of *Plebeian Extraction*. And we shall be more and more convinced of the little Credit *Censorinus* deserves, if we ever so little consider, the Inconsistency and Nonsense of his Text, as it now stands. He there mentions four *Consuls*, in the same Year; and confounding the two *Consulships* of the Years 504, and 517, he makes both but one. So gross a Blunder can only be ascribed to the Negligence or Ignorance of Copyists. So that, in the later Editions, the Criticks, who perceived the Mistake, have restored the *Consular Years* to their natural Order, by the help of some Additions, which had escaped.

¹⁴ These *Secular Games* were not always celebrated exactly every hundred Years; as will appear in the Sequel of this History. We shall find, that they were celebrated sooner or later, as the Emperors, and the Priests, who guarded the *Sybilline*

Books thought fit; and this will lead us into a long chronological Dissertation, when we come to the Empire of *Augustus Caesar*. And lest therefore we should anticipate things, and disturb the Order of the Facts, mentioned in our History, we shall at present only give the Reader a short View of the Preparations made for these *Games*, and the Pomp and Magnificence, with which they were solemnized.

Some Months before the time appointed for the Celebration of them, Heralds went, by Order of the Magistrates, into all the Countries in *Italy*, which depended on the *Roman Republick*; and invited the People to come and entertain themselves with a Sight, which they never had seen, nor ever would see again. When Harvest was come, a few Days before the Festival, the *Consul*, attended by the *Pontifex Maximus*, and the Ministers who had the Care of the *Sybilline Books*, placed himself on a *Tribune of Harangues*, before the *Capitol*. There he harangued the People, and required them to prepare for this August Ceremony, by purifying their Minds and Bodies. This Custom is mentioned on a Medal of *Domitian*; which was struck on occasion of the *Secular Games* he caused to be celebrated. On it, we see the Emperor, in the Posture of a Person haranguing the People. His Auditors appear on their Knees, in Conformity to the extravagant and foolish Idea they had of this Prince, who forced the *Romans* to acknowledge him for a God, and pay him divine Worship.

After this first Act, Perfumes were distributed among the People for their Purification. The *Consul*, or the *Pontifex*, gave the *Sybilline Priests* some Drugs, made of Sulphur and Bitumen; and they distributed them to all Persons of free Condition. With the Perfume, they also gave them little Fir-Sticks called *Tædæ*. These Sticks were lighted at the Ends, and the Perfume of Sulphur and Bitumen thrown upon the Flame. This caused a Smoke, which was thought to be of wonderful Virtue in Purifications. Children who were attained to the Use of their Reason, were suffered to partake of this Ceremony. This is the subject Matter of *Domitian's* second Medal; as appears by the two Vases appointed to hold the Perfumes, and the Inscription of the Medal it self.

SUP.

Year of might reign in *Rome*, in this Year of Pleasure, he collected two hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat in his Dominions, and made a Present of them to the *R O M E* Republick. Whence it is easy to judge, what a Reception he met with at *Rome*, and how agreeable his Presence was to the *Romans*.

DXVI.

L. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS,
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS,
Consuls.

SUF. P. D. that is, SUFFIMENTA POPULO DATA, or *Perfumes distributed among the People*. Then all went to the Temples of *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Diana*, on the Hill *Aventinus*; and every one carried thither his First-Fruits of the Year: But this Offering was made only of Wheat, Barley, and Beans. The Bushel that is emptied at *Domitian's* Feet, confirms the Truth of this Practice, as well as the Words of the Inscription. *A Populo Fruges accepta*. See the third Medal.

These were the Preparations for the Festival; which was opened with a sort of Procession, which is represented on the fourth Medal. The Priests of each College assisted at it in a Body. All the Orders of Men in the Republick joined in it; and the People appeared in this solemn March, dressed in white, crowned with Flowers, and carrying Palm-Branches in their Hands. The Streets of *Rome* rung with the Hymns which were sung in Honour to the Pagan Divinities. The Images of the Gods were then every where exposed, for the People to reverence them, on stately Beds, which were called *Lectisternia Deorum*.

The three following Nights were spent in Prayers, and offering Sacrifices in the Temples: and these nocturnal Devotions were called *Pervigilia*. During the Night-Watches, the Infernal Gods were particularly worshipped.

The Blood of the Victims covered the Altars. A black Bull was sacrificed to *Pluto*, and a black Cow to *Proserpine*. In the first Night of the Festival, the *Consuls*, attended by the *Sybilline* Priests, went to the Place called *Tarentum*, near the *Tyber*, where the *Secular Games* had their Rise; and there erected three Altars, and sacrificed three Lambs. After the Altars had been sprinkled with the Blood of the Victims, the latter were thrown whole into the Fire, and no Part of them saved. All this, and the two following Nights, all the Streets of *Rome* were illuminated with Fires, and numberless Lights. The next Day, in the Day-time, a white Bull was sacrificed to *Jupiter*, and a white Heifer to *Juno*, Musick playing all the while. This the Coiner intended to represent in the fifth Medal.

After the Sacrifices were over, the People went to the *Capitol*, to the Place appointed for Theatrical Entertainments, which were presented in Honour to *Apollo* and *Diana*. For we must not forget, what we have before observed, that the publick *Games* were a considerable Part of the Religion of the *Romans*. After these Diversions, succeeded the *Shews* in the *Circus*, and the Combats of the Gladiators.

The second Night, the Citizens addressed their Prayers and Supplications to the *Parce*. In order to appease these formidable Divinities, who were, as was pretended, the Arbitresses of Life and Death, a Sheep and a black Goat were sacrificed to them. The Sacrificer has these two Animals by him, in the sixth Medal.

On the second Day of the Feast, the Women of free Condition came successively to the *Capitol*, and to different Temples; and there they invoked the principal Divinities, sung Hymns to their Honour, and prayed for the Prosperity of the Empire, and for their Protection on the *Roman* People. But above all, they implored the Assistance of the *Parce*, of *Juno*, and of the *Lucina*, for the happy Delivery of Women with Child. The rest of the Day was spent in Shews and Sights, like those the Day before.

The third Night was employed in sacrificing an Hog to *Tellus*, or *The Earth*; which is well known to have been one of the chief Goddesses among the

§. VI. BUT

Greeks and *Romans*, who worshipped her, under different Names. The Ceremony of this Sacrifice is proved by the seventh Medal. On it we see the *Tyber*, under the Figure of a Man lying down, half naked, with a *Cornu-copia* in his Hand; the usual Symbol given to Rivers, to shew that they in effect produce the Plenty and Riches of the Country which they water. The *Tyber* is represented on this Medal, because this Sacrifice was made on the Banks of that River, in a Part of the *Campus Martius*, called *Tarentum*. This Place was become famous, by the fabulous Tradition, which prevailed at *Rome*, concerning the pretended Miracle, that was wrought near it, when the Children of *Valesius* were all on a sudden cured of a languishing Disease. See in the first and second Volumes, our Accounts of this Fact, which gave rise to the *Secular Games*, as we have observed in our Relation of it.

The third and last Day of the *Secular Games*, was spent like the other two, in Rejoicings, and Shews of all sorts. It ended with a Concert of vocal and instrumental Musick. Seven and twenty young Boys of good Families, and as many Girls, were divided into six *Chorus's*, and sung Hymns in the Temple of *Apollo*, which were made on purpose to implore the Protection of the Pagan Deities, in favour of the *Roman* People, and of all Orders of Men in the Republick. It was a prevailing Opinion, that the Prayers of the State, offered up by these innocent, and therefore lovely Children, would infallibly be heard by the Gods. It was necessary that the Fathers and Mothers of these Children should be living; and great care was taken of this Particular. The Sight of an Orphan might have raised melancholy Thoughts, which ill suited with the Solemnity of a Festival set apart for publick Rejoicings. The *Romans*, who were regardful of these Trifles even to Superstition, would infallibly have drawn ill-boding Prognosticks from it.

On these solemn Days, the mysterious Dance of the *Salii* attracted the Eyes of the Spectators. This appears by the eighth Medal, on which we see the Figure of one of them, as we have represented them Vol. 1. p. 64. In the midst of his Buckler is the Head of a *Minerva*, a warlike Goddess, whose Praises these Priests used to celebrate in Songs.

The *Consuls*, or Emperor, closed the whole Solemnity with distributing the Offerings of the Citizens, among the Officers whose Business it had been to preserve Order and Peace during the whole Ceremony: and these distributed a Part of those Offerings among the People, who received them with great Veneration, as a sure Pledge of the Protection of the Gods, and the Happiness of their Families. And lastly, the Form of the Celebration of these *Games*, and the Date of it, were recorded on Marble, and in the Registers of the Priests, whose chief Office it was to consult the *Sybilline* Books.

Add to this, that the Historian *Zozimus*, concerned to give Weight to the Pagan Worship, in order to render this Solemnity the more venerable, supposes, That the Celebration of *The Secular Games*, had been appointed by an Oracle of the *Sybil*; the Sense of which Oracle was this.

Remember, Roman, to offer sacrifice to the Immortal Gods, after every Century, the Term of the longest Life. [Some think, that the *Quindecimviri* in *Augustus's* time, put an hundred and ten Years instead of an hundred.] The Field which is washed with the Waters of the *Tyber*, shall be the Place of this Sacrifice. When the Day closes, and the Night draws on, prepare to offer Goats and Sheep to the *Parce*. Then offer proper Sacrifices to the *Lucina*, who



Medals relating to the Secular Games.

§. VI. BUT the Year of the *Secular Games* was not a Year of Tranquillity. The Year of *Consuls, Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus*, and *Licinius* ¹⁵ *Varus*, took the Field. In- R O M E
deed it was not the *Romans*, but the Chiefs of the *Gauls*, who had not taken the first Steps DXVII.
towards a War. They, proud of the prodigious Numbers of their Countrymen P. CORNELIUS
which they had gathered together, and of the great Army which was coming to LENTULUS, C.
them, from beyond the *Alpes*, had demanded the Restitution of *Ariminum*. Ever LICINIUS VA-
since the first Conquest of this Part of *Italic Gaul*, *Ariminum* had become a *Roman* RUS, Consuls.
Colony, and by that means the Republick had kept their inconstant People in Awe.
But after all, *Ariminum* had belonged to the *Gauls*; and they were concerned to
see themselves deprived of it. The *Consuls* had not their Army complete, when
the Proposal of giving it up was made by the *Gauls*; and therefore it was their Po-
licy, to spin out the Negotiation to a great length; to refer the Affair to the Con-
sideration of the Senate; and to clap up a Truce with the *Gauls*, during the Inter-
rim. The latter consented to a Cessation of Arms till they were joined by those
Gauls, who had already passed the *Alpes*, and were crossing ¹⁶ *Insubria*, in order to
appear before *Ariminum*; and then the Multitude of these New-Comers did them
Mischiefs. Besides, they had not been called in, by the Consent of the whole Body
of the *Gallic* Nation. Their Commanders only, had of their own Heads sent to
Transalpine Gaul, to sollicite these Succours. In a word, this Army was so nume-
rous, that those very Persons whom it came to assist, took Umbrage at it. Those
Gauls, who were the old Inhabitants of *Italy*, were jealous of the New-Comers.
The two *Generals*, or rather the two *Kings*, *Atys* and *Galatus*, who commanded
this new Swarm of *Gauls*, first felt the Effects of their Jealousy; they were both
killed. And after this, the *Italian Gauls* turned their Arms against their Countrymen,
whom they feared more than the *Romans*, put them to Flight, and dispersed them.
The *Consuls* were over-joyed at the News of the Enemy's having defeated them-
selves; there was now no Need of two *Consular* Armies to reduce them. *Lentulus*
alone was sufficient to bring the *Boii* to Reason, on the one hand; and the *Ligures*
on this Side the *Po*, on the other. He deprived the former of a Part of their Ter-
ritory; and upon their resigning it, granted them a Peace. He made Incursions
into the Territories of the latter, beat down all Opposition, and took some For-
tresses from them by Force, and others by Capitulation.

§. VII. IN the mean time, *Varus* made Preparations for going to the Island of *Corfica*. The *Corficans*, being stirred up underhand by the *Carthaginians*, who were <sup>Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 18.</sup>
always uneasy at the Loss of *Sardinia* and this Island, had shaken off the *Roman*
Yoke, and recovered their Liberty. *Varus* indeed was very desirous of finding a
Roman Fleet equipped to his Hands, and ready to sail at his Command, and trans-
port his whole Army. But his Sea-Armament was long preparing. So that the
Consul was forced to send a Squadron before him, under the Command of that
Claudius Glycias, who was of mean Extraction, and had been nominated *Dictator*
in Derision. He had, since that time, been put into several military Employments,

who have the Care of Women in Child-bed. Then offer an Hog and black Sow to the fruitful Earth. The next Day, kill white Oxen on Jupiter's Altars. The Sacrifices which are offered up by Day-light please the celestial Gods. For this Reason thou shalt offer an young Heifer, of a fine Coat, to Juno. Thou shalt also make the like Sacrifices to Phœbus, or Apollo, who is also called The Sun. Some Latin Boys, accompanied with some young Girls, shall sing Hymns in the sacred Temples; but in such manner, that the Boys shall sing on one side, and the Girls on the other; and let the Fathers and Mothers of these Children be living. Married Women shall pay their Duty, on their Knees, before the Altar of Juno. They shall intreat this Goddess to hear their Prayers, and those of the Publick. Let every one, according to his Ability, offer First-fruits to the Gods, to render them propitious to him. Let these First-fruits be carefully kept; and let them be distributed among those who shall have assisted at the Sacrifices. Let the Statues of the Gods be exposed Day and Night, to the Adoration of the People, on stately Beds. Let this Solemnity be celebrated with Seriousness, and with Joy. O Roman! never forget the Rules I give. So shall the

Land of the Italians and Latins be always subject to thee.

¹⁵ Some Authors give the *Consul Licinius* the Surname of *Varro*. They did not consider, that this Surname belonged to the *Terentii*, and not the *Licinii*. According to *Marianus*, several remarkable Prodigies happened during this *Consulate*, and alarmed *Italy*. He reports, upon the Authority of an ancient MS. of *Entropius*, That the Water of a River in *Picenum*, was turned into Blood; That the Sun appeared in *Hetruria* to be all on Fire; and That three very bright Moons were seen at *Rimini*. We have already declared our Opinion of the Credit that ought to be given to these *Phænomena*.

¹⁶ We have spoken of the Origin of the *Insubres*, Vol. 2. They inhabited that Part of *Italy* which was bounded by the Country of the *Lævi*, to the South; by that of the *Libici*, to the West; by that of the *Orobii*, to the North; and by that of the *Cænoma-ni*, to the East. It is at present the greatest Part of the Duchy of *Milan*, lying between the River *Ses-sia*, to the Side of *Piedmont*; the *Po*, which separates it from *Liguria*; the River *Adda*, which divides it from *The State of Venice*; and the *Alpes*, which are the Boundaries of the *Grisons*.

Year of
R O M E
DXVII.

P. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS, C.
LICINIUS VA-
RUS, Consuls.
*Diod. in Ex-
cerpt.
Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 18.*

and tho' always in an inferior Rank, yet he had distinguished himself among the Troops. And when he saw himself at the Head of Part of a *Consular* Army, this swelled him with Ambition. He foolishly imagined, that it would be for his Honour, to subdue the Island of *Corfica*, and gain it for the *Romans*, without Bloodshed; and therefore ventured to treat with the *Corficans* of his own Head, and made a shameful Peace with them, without the Consent either of the *Consul*, or the Republick. This was an Action not to be borne; it was exceeding his own Power, and insulting that of his Superiors. But little People easily forget themselves, when arrived to any Pitch of Grandeur. As for the *Consul*, he, upon his Arrival, disannulled the Treaty of the violent *Claudius*, made War on the *Corficans*, and did not leave the Island, till he had subdued it by Force of Arms. In the mean time, he reserved this rash Peace-maker for the Punishment due to his Temerity.

INDEED the Senate thought it necessary to punish with Severity the Infringements of an inferior Officer, on the Prerogative of his General. It was very proper to make an Example of a Man, who was both despised and hated by the People. But the Senators were very willing to believe, that the greatest Injury he did by this short Abuse of his Authority, fell on the *Corficans*. *He drew them*, said they, *into a bloody War, by a fallacious Peace*. And he was therefore, by a Decree, delivered up to their Resentment. In which the Republick had likewise the further View, of wiping out the Stain which might have been thrown on the *Consul*, for having made War on a People who depended on the faithful Execution of a Treaty.

*Val. Max. B.
6. c. 3. §. 3.*

CLAUDIUS was therefore conducted to the *Corficans*, as a Victim given up to their Resentments; but they had Honour enough to refuse to sacrifice him; and they sent him back to *Rome*, where he did not escape the Punishment he had partly deserved. He was put to Death in Prison, and the People vented their Rage on his Body. They carried it to some famous Steps, on the Hill *Aventinus*, called *Scale* ¹⁷ *Gemoniæ*, on which the Corpses of the greatest Malefactors used to be exposed; and with an Iron Crook they dragged it from the Top of the Steps, to the *Tyber*, and threw it into the River. An uncommon Act of Severity, (blamed by some, and commended by others,) which the Republick thought necessary, to repair her Honour, and check the Insolence of Subalterns. In the same Year, one of the *Censors* died in his Office, and the Survivor resigned; so that the *Census* and *Lustrum* were postponed. Which is another Proof, how erroneous a Method it is, to reckon the Years of *Rome* by the *Lustra*.

Year of
R O M E
DXVIII.

C. ATTILIUS
BULBUS, T.
MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
Consuls.

*Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 18.
Eutrop. B. 3.*

§. VIII. BUT the Punishment of *Claudius* did not appease the *Corficans*. This proud Nation was indeed forced to submit to the *Roman* Yoke; but they did not forget, that they had been amused with a Treaty of Peace, only to give their Enemies the better Opportunity to subdue them by War. The Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica* were so near each other, that it was easy for the Inhabitants of the one to communicate their Discontents to those of the other; the *Carthaginians* fomented them under-hand; and the People of *Sardinia*, tho' really dissatisfied with *Carthage*, were yet more so with the new Dominion of the *Romans*. They were both hard Masters; but the *Sardinians* liked best to continue in Subjection to their first Conquerors. And it may well be imagined, that the *Carthaginians* were not sparing in Promises, to engage them to revolt; in which they at last succeeded. The *Roman* Republick had too much Penetration, not to see from whence the Blow came; and was less concerned at the Loss of the two Islands, than at the Renewal of a War with a powerful Republick, which began to recover her Strength. But the Senate were of Opinion, that if it was really necessary to come to an open Rupture with *Carthage*, War could not be declared with her too soon. It was now easy to take

¹⁷ The *Gemoniæ* were a Place appointed either for the torturing of Criminals, or for receiving their dead Bodies, after their Execution. It was much the same thing as is now called a Gallows. Some say the Name of *Gemoniæ* was taken from one *Gemonius*, who was first executed there; or from him who had built them. Or perhaps it was so called from the Word *Gemo*, because it rung with the Complaints and Groans of those who were put to Death. It was on the Hill *Aventinus*, which was not brought within the Inclosure of *Rome*. There were Steps which led up to it; whence they were

called *Scale Gemoniæ*. Others pretend this Place was so called because it was like a Well, which had several Steps down to it. It is said, that the dead Bodies of those who died by the Executioner's Hands, were dragged thither with an Iron Hook; and a little time after were thrown into the *Tyber*. The Ancients often speak of this infamous Place; especially *Pliny the Naturalist*, who, treating on this Subject, *B. 8. c. 4.* mentions an admirable Instance of Fidelity in a Dog, which would never leave the Body of his Master, who was hanged at the *Gemoniæ*.

Advantage of that Weakness in which the late Wars had left her, and from which she was not yet wholly recovered: and *Rome* therefore resolved to begin. Preparations were made for an open Declaration of War, in due Form; at which *Carthage* was alarmed: and she sent Ambassador after Ambassador to the *Romans*; who answered them only with Reproaches and bitter Words. At length, she sent ten of the principal Members of the State from *Africa*, to negotiate a Peace with *Rome*: and among these Deputies was a young Lord named *Hanno*, who, being scarce arrived at Man's Estate, had all the Fire and Vivacity of Persons of that Age. The old Men, who were joined in the Deputation with him, in vain humbled themselves before the *Roman* Senate, with all the Submissiveness and natural Cunning of *Carthaginians*. They in vain intreated, that they might be permitted to enjoy Peace; in vain promised an inviolable Attachment to *Rome*. Nothing moved the *Conscript Fathers*. Upon which, *Hanno* alone was tired with so many Intreaties and Refusals; and, enraged at the haughty Answers of the proud Republick, cried out, with an Air of equal Pride, *If you are resolved to break the Treaty, reinstate us in the Condition we were in, before it was concluded. Restore us the Cities we possessed in Sicily. These were the Price we paid for the Peace, which, it was agreed, should be perpetual. Otherwise you have made us pay very dear for this short Interval of a Truce, which it is in your Power to break, or continue, at Discretion. Equity ought to prevail over Avarice. Would not that Trader be thought unjust, who after he had gone from his Bargain, should keep both the Money and Merchandize too?* Thus spake *Hanno*, and filled the *Romans* with Confusion. The Senators were strictly just, or greatly affected to appear so; and they were softened, and dismissed the *Carthaginians*, with the greatest Assurances of a Peace.

Year of
R O M E
DXVIII.

C. ATTILIUS
BULBUS, T.
MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
Consuls
Orosius, B. 4.
ch. 11.

Diod. in Ex
cerpt.

THEN the *Consuls* for the Year, *C. Attilius*¹⁸ *Bulbus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, drew Lots for their Provinces; and *Bulbus*, who was honoured with the *Fasces* a second time, continued in *Italy*, whilst *Torquatus* set out for *Sardinia*. The Campaigns of the *Consuls* were not indeed formal Expeditions; they found all Difficulties in a manner removed, in the Countries whither they went to make War. Since *Carthage* had obtained a Peace, *Sardinia* could make no long Resistance. The latter received her Impressions, and her Forces, from the former. So that a few slight Engagements put *Torquatus* in Possession of the Island. He settled Peace in it, after he had made it tributary, without reducing it to the Form of a *Roman Province*. In short, he returned to *Rome*, which he entered in Triumph, on *The sixth of the Ides of March*. As to his Collegue, it is not certain, that he was obliged to take Arms, either against the *Gauls*, or the *Ligures*.

Tab. Triumph.
Eutrop. B. 3.

§. IX. PEACE now reigned every where. The fearful and submissive Nations granted *Rome*, if I may so speak, that general Tranquillity, which she had not enjoyed before since the Time of *Tullus Hostilius*, her third King: And now, the Temple of *Janus* was shut for the first time, since the Reign of *Numa Pompilius*. Of what other Nation can it be said, that it continued incessantly in Arms for near four hundred and fifty Years, without allowing itself any Interval of Rest to breathe, as *Rome* had now done? And notwithstanding all this Bloodshed, yet was she not exhausted, but as greedily desirous of shedding more, as ever. The Republick indeed aggrandized herself by this continued Scene of Wars, without so much as one Year's Interruption. But was it possible for the Happiness of the People not to suffer by it? How many Citizens did it cost them, to fill up these *Legions*, which were indeed often victorious, but always at the Expence of their Lives! 'Tis true, it is not always unreasonable to run the Hazards of War, in order to procure a Peace; but it is unnatural to hate Tranquillity, and to glory in never taking any Rest. Yet this was the Misfortune of the *Romans*. And after all, to what purpose is it for a State to aggrandize itself, if its Power is only to be extended by eternal Disquiets? Indeed, the *Roman* Virtue was purified by continual Exercise and Agitation; and Commotions abroad produced Security at home. But these were the only Advantages *Rome* drew from her continual Quarrels.

Florus, B. 3.
Vell. B. 2.
Orosius, B. 4.
c. 12.

THE Temple of *Janus* was shut only a few Months, before it was opened again, in order to be shut no more, till the Empire of *Augustus*, when the whole World became *Roman*. In the Space of seven hundred Years, or thereabout, *Rome* enjoy-

¹⁸ Orosius gives the Consul *Attilius* the Surname *pius*, or his Copyists, have committed as great a Mistake in surmounting him *Bulbus*.

Year of ed but one Summer's Tranquillity. Those *Legionaries* who were used to live in
 R O M E Tents, were soon weary of continuing at home, and they took the Field again.
 DXIX. *L. Postumius Albinus*, and *Sp. Carvilius*, were then raised to the *Consulship*. The
 L. POSTUMIUS least Pretences were sufficient to induce the Republick to take Arms. Some Com-
 ALBINUS, SP. motions in the Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, and among the *Ligures*, awakened
 CARVILIUS, the martial Inclinations of the *Romans*, which had not slept long: and they raised
 Consuls. three Armies. The *Consul Carvilius* marched against the *Corficans*. The *Prætor*
Orosius, B. 4. *P. Cornelius* went to make War with the *Sardinians*; and the *Consul Postumius* set
 c. 12, &c. out for *Liguria*. It is probable, that these three Nations, all Enemies to *Rome*,
 acted in Concert, and had engaged themselves by private Treaties, mutually to as-
 sist each other. The Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica* are so near each other, that at
 a little Distance they seem to be but one; and *Liguria* was separated from both,
 only by a small Arm of the Sea. As to *Postumius*, the Historians only tell us, that
 he had all the Success among the *Ligures*, he desired. In all Probability, he kept
 this savage People within Bounds, and found them Employment enough at home,
 to prevent their transporting their Troops elsewhere. But the *Prætor Cornelius* suc-
 ceeded much worse. The Air of *Sardinia* was bad, and its Waters partly salt, and
 partly stagnated; so that a Plague soon infected his Army, and he himself was car-
 ried off by the Contagion. This Accident raised the Courage of the *Sardinians*.
 They promised themselves that they should have an easy Conquest of an Army
 without a Commander, and weakened by Sicknefs. And indeed, it had been in
 Danger of being lost, if the *Consul Carvilius* had not had the Courage to transport
 his *Legions* thither. He left the Island of *Corfica*, after he had hastily quieted its
 Inhabitants; and upon his Arrival found the *Sardinians* ready to make Head against
 him. They ventured to face him in the open Field, and give him Battel; but the
Consul had all that Advantage over them, which disciplined Troops always have
 over a confused Multitude of Soldiers, who fight without any Order; and whose
 Love of their Estates and Liberties makes them run, like Men desperate, into the
 midst of Danger. So that *Sardinia* seemed to be absolutely brought into Subjec-
 tion to the *Romans*, by this single Victory. But it was a common Fault in the *Roman*
 Policy, to let their *Consuls* immediately leave their Conquests, after they had gain-
 ed one Battel, in order to go and triumph at *Rome*. This gave the Vanquished
 time to recover themselves, and raise fresh Troops, till a new *Consul* and new Ar-
 my arrived; and by this means, many Nations, which were thought subdued took
 Heart again. *Rome* could not but be sensible of so manifest an Inconvenience;
 nevertheless, she chose rather to suffer some slight Disadvantages, which attend the
 best of Laws, than break thro' the Regulation she had made, of not entrusting
 any one Man with the Command of an Army too long. *Carvilius* therefore re-
 turned to *Rome*, after he had, in Appearance, quieted every thing; and entered the
 City in Triumph, on the first Day of *April*.

Liv. in Epit.
20.

Tab. Triumph.

Fast. Capit.

Gell. B. 4. c. 3.
B. 17. c. 21.

§.X. In this *Consulship*, there was an irregular ¹⁹ *Lustrum*, in Point of time. It had
 been postponed, and the new *Censors*, *Attilius Bulbus*, and *Postumius Albinus*, now
 celebrated it, with some remarkable Regulations. They had doubtless perceived,
 by the *Census*, that the Number of the Citizens was considerably lessened; and it
 was natural to impute this Diminution to secret Incontinencies, which rendered
 Marriages the less fruitful. For Fear of having many Children, Men married only
 with a View to their Interest; and unlawful Passions tempted them to desert their
 own Wives, to carry on Intrigues with other Women. It therefore well became
 the *Censors* to guard against these Disorders, with as much Care as possible, by
 Law; and in order to remedy them, they thought it necessary to oblige all the
Citizens of *Rome* to swear that they would not marry with any other View, but that
 of increasing the Subjects of the Republick. However, this Oath affrighted timorous
 Persons, and raised Scruples, which caused many Ruptures between Men and their
 Wives. One *Carvilius Ruga* ²⁰ in particular, a Man of Consequence, thought
 himself obliged by his Oath to divorce his Wife. He loved her affectionately; her
 Beauty

¹⁹ The *Fasti Capitolini* reckon this to be the fortieth *Lustrum* celebrated at *Rome*, since the Time of *Servius Tullius*.

²⁰ It is an undisputed Fact, says *D. Hal. B. 2.* that in the space of five hundred and twenty Years

from the Foundation of *Rome*, there was no Divorce, among the *Romans*. It was not till the 137th Olympiad, in the *Consulship* of *Marcus Pomponius*, and *Cains Papirius*, that one *Spurius Carvilius* gave the first Instance of that kind. And *Valerius*

Beauty and her Virtue, made all her Husband's Inclinations center in herself. Nevertheless, *Carvilius*, at the Persuasion of his Friends, did not think himself at Liberty, to live with a barren Wife, who could not perpetuate his Family, or furnish his Country with Citizens: and the Oath he had solemnly sworn, in Obedience to the Edict of the *Censors*, forced him to set a new Example in *Rome*, contrary to his own Inclinations. Tho' by the Laws of Marriage settled by the first Kings, ²¹ Divorces were not forbidden the *Romans*; yet the Constancy and Probity of the Men had been such, and the Virtue of the *Roman Women* so unblemished, that there never was any, before this time. It was a thing never heard of in *Rome*, for five hundred and nineteen Years together. The Edict of the *Censors* first authorized this of *Carvilius*, who parted from his Wife whom he loved, with Regret, and married another. And at first indeed, this new Way of proceeding shocked the *Romans*, and brought a general Odium on *Carvilius*. They then thought, that the Pretences of Religion were not of sufficient Weight to break the Ties of the Marriage-Contract. But afterwards, Divorces became but too frequent; and multiplied, as fast as a Corruption of Manners prevailed. And it from this time became necessary to secure Womens Portions; for which the Law-givers had yet made no Provision. No Marriage had yet been dissolved. But now, Marriage-Contracts were introduced, by Way of Guard against those Divorces, which were to be feared, and began to come in use.

AND this Scandal was followed by a much greater. A *Vestal* named *Tutia*, violated her sacred Vows of Chastity; and her Incest was the more shameful, as it was the Effect of an infamous Intrigue with a vile Slave, who debauched the sacrilegious Priestess. But *Tutia* chose rather to lay violent Hands on herself, than be buried alive. And it is remarkable, that Incontinence now began to grow more common among the *Romans*, in the same Year, that the Poet ²² *Nævius* introduced on the *Latin Stage*, the first regular Comedy, made after the *Græcian* manner. So true is it, that Plays, and a Licentiousness of Manners are coeval; and that after they have once introduced Looseness and Debauchery, they preserve, and increase them!

§. XI. IN the mean time, the *Sardinians* and *Ligures* had been only quieted, by Force; and therefore did not long continue so. They rose up in Arms; and in order to reduce them, it was necessary, that the two *Consuls* should appear at the Head of two different Armies, and chuse their respective Provinces by Lot. *Sardinia* fell to *M. Pomponius* ²³ *Matho*; and *Liguria*, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*, surnamed *Verrucosus*. The latter was now raised to the highest Dignity for the first time; and could *Rome* have penetrated into Futurity, she would have discovered, by his first Essays, that he was to be a Conqueror of *Hannibal*, and would prove a Com-

Year of
R O M E
DXIX.
L. POSTUMIUS
ALBINUS, SP.
CARVILIUS,
Consuls
Sulpicius de
Dotibus.

D. Hal. B. 2.

Sulpicius de
Dotibus.

Livy in Epit.
20.

Year of
R O M E
DXX.
M. POMPONI-
US MATHO,
Q. FABIUS
MAXIMUS,
Consuls.

Valerius Maximus agrees with *D. Hal.* in placing this Fact under the Year of *Rome* 520. But this does not well agree with the *Greek Historian's* own Chronology. We have already observed, that he places the Foundation of *Rome*, in the first Year of the seventh *Olympiad*; whereas it was founded about the fourth Year of the 6th *Olympiad*, according to the *Fæsti Capitolini*. So that, it is universally agreed, that there is one Year's Difference between the two Epochas. Whence it is evident, That the *Greek Historian* ought to reckon one Year less than the *Capitoline Tables* throughout the whole Course of the *Consular Years*; and That what is in the latter the 519th Year, ought to be but the 518th, in the former. He therefore, by placing the Fact here mentioned in the Year 520, has contradicted himself. Besides, he takes it for granted, that *Marcus Pomponius Matho*, and *Gaius Papirius Mæso*, were *Consuls* for the Year 520; whereas they were not so, till the Year 522, according to the Calculation of the *Fæsti Capitolini*; or the Year 521, according to his own Way of computing. And *Aulus Gellius's* Mistake is more apparent than his. He places this first Divorce, *B. 4. c. 3.* under the Year 523, in the *Consulship* of *Publius Valerius*, and *Marcus Atilius*; who were not honoured with the *Consular Dignity*, till the Year 526. Nor is this all. The same Author forgets, what he had before said in his fourth

Book; and affirms, *B. 17. c. 21.* that *Spurius Carvilius* divorced his Wife about the Year of *Rome* 519. Nevertheless, we must confess, that this Disagreement in *Aulus Gellius* makes us doubt, whether we ought to place this Act of *Spurius Carvilius*, in the Year 519, or the Year 523. We know that there were two *Censors* at *Rome*, in both these Years; but we cannot discover, which of these Magistrates was the Author of the Law concerning Marriages, which occasioned this Divorce.

²¹ See our historical Interpretation of the Law of Divorces, in the 12th Table of the *Roman Laws*, Vol. 1. p. 470.

²² *Nævius*, from professing Arms, which he exercised in the first *Punic War*, became a Comic Poet. He himself tells us, (according to *Marcus Varro*, and *Aulus Gellius*) in his *Historical Poem* on that War, That he had served in the *Roman Army* against the *Carthaginians*.

²³ *Marianus* gives *Pomponius* the *Praenomen* of *Marcus*, instead of that of *Maximus*, which is given him in the *Fæsti Capitolini*; and *Cassiodorus* is fallen into the same Mistake, which has given rise to another. Upon a Supposition that *Marcus Pomponius*, the Brother of *Manius*, had been *Consul*, in the Year 520, some Authors have thought, that his first *Consulship*, which was in the Year 522, was his second.

Cornelius Nepos, in his *Life of Atticus*, reckons the

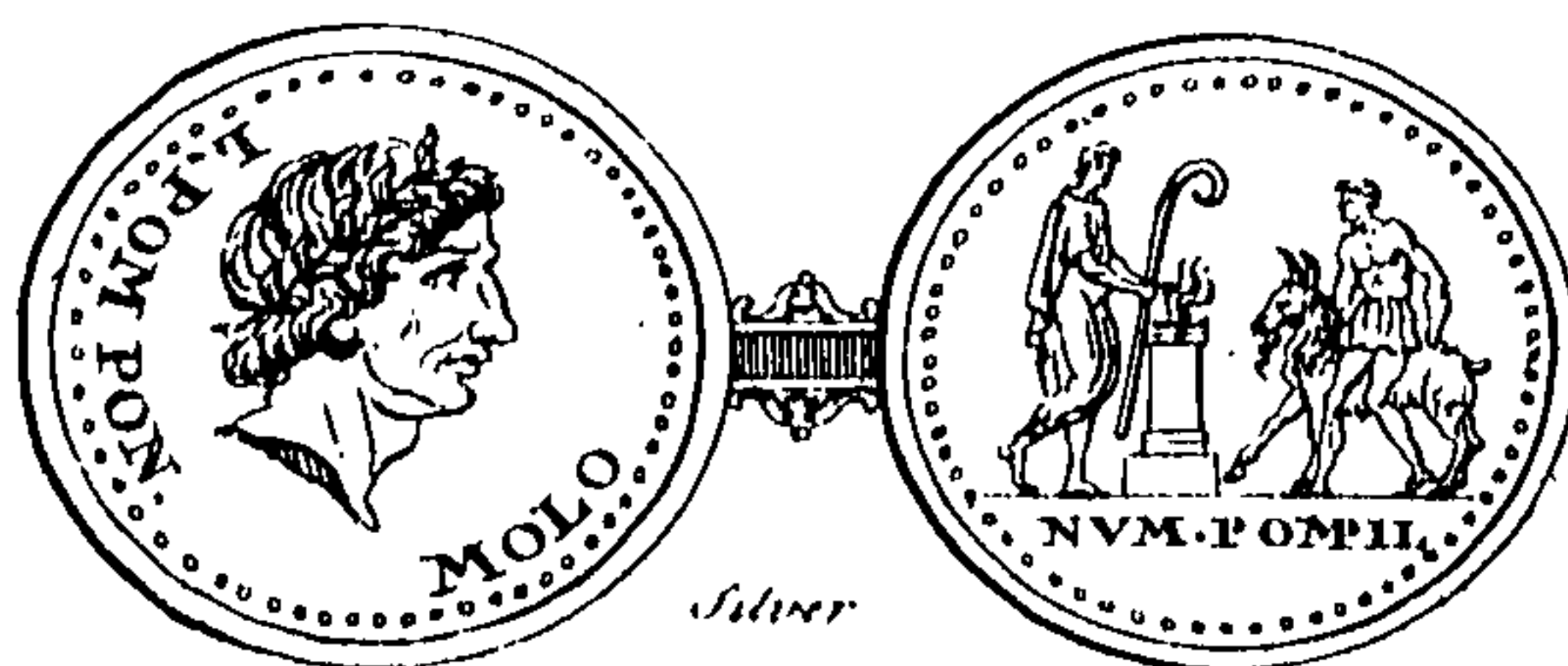
Year of **R O M E** a Commander of great Experience, who by his wise Delays, would one Day restore the Affairs of the Republick. He was of a Family, which was said to have been originally derived from *Hercules*; and he had two Surnames, *Maximus*, and *Verrucosus*. The former he received from his Great-Grandfather *Fabius Rullus*, whose superior Merit gained him that Appellation of *The Greatest*; which continued to distinguish his Branch of his Family; and which the Great-Grandson would have gained by his Virtue and Services to his Country; if he had not inherited it from his Ancestors. The latter Surname of *Verrucosus*, was a Nickname given him, from his having a Wart, or rather a little Wen, on his Lip, which distinguished him from his Brothers. In his Infancy, he was called *The little Sheep*, or *Ovicula*, from his natural Sweetness of Temper, and Docility. He then discovered no childish Vivacity, or Precipitation, in his Carriage. His Behaviour was grave, and his Countenance composed. This Disposition therefore made his Family fear, that his Slowness would degenerate into Indolence, and that his Moderation proceeded from a Slowness of Parts. But it soon appeared, that what had been deemed Timidity, was Prudence. His first Exploits in War, shewed that he had as much Valour as Wisdom; and the Progress he made in Eloquence, evinced the Excellency of his Understanding. Indeed, he did not affect to blind, and carry away his Auditors by fluent Discourses. His Expressions were well weighed, and strong in Sense; and he pronounced them with Gravity, so as to shew the Justness and Propriety of what he said. With these Talents, which are so much wanted in a Republick, it was not doubted, but he would become both a great Statesman, and a great Soldier. And accordingly, it falling to his Lot in his first *Consulship*, to make War with the *Ligures*, in *Liguria*, he drove them out of the flat Country, and forced them to retire under the *Alpes*. By this, he delivered *Italy* from these troublesome Robbers, who infested it; and merited the Honours of a Triumph: but this was only the First-Fruits of his Glory, which we shall see increase, with the Dangers of his Republick.

Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 18.

Plut. Life of
Hamilcar.
Cornelius Nepos.

Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 18.

§. XII. His Colleague *Pomponius* sailed for *Sardinia*. The *Romans* plainly saw, that the frequent Revolts of that Island, which it was so difficult to subdue, were the Work of the *Carthaginians*. Their Ships were continually passing from one Island to another, and inspiring all People wherever they came, with an Hatred to the *Roman* Name; and the Confidence of these *Africans* was lately increased, by the continual Progress *Hamilcar* made in *Spain*. He was daily sending to *Carthage* new Spoils, taken from the *Spaniards*, and enriching his Country with Horses, Arms, Men, and Money. This Flow of Prosperity made the *Carthaginians* more haughty, and greatly diminished their Apprehensions of the *Romans*. In order to sound their Sentiments, the *Roman* Senate sent an Embassy to them; under pretence of demanding the Sums they had engaged to pay the *Roman* Republick, at several times: and to their Demands, the Deputies were ordered to add Threatnings of renewing the War, in case the *Carthaginian* Ships presumed to touch at



the *Pomponians* among the *Equestrian* Families. *Plutarch* pretends, that the *Pomponii* descended from *Numa Pompilius* in a right Line, by his eldest Son *Pompo*; and in order to transmit the Memory of this Descent to Posterity, one *Lucius Pomponius Molo*, struck the Figure and Name of *Numa Pompilius* on the Reverse of the Medal above. The *Augural Staff*, the Goat, and the Altar, are Symbols of the religious Ceremonies and Sacrifices, this King instituted, or restored. But it is probable, that

these Titles to Nobility were often borrowed. It then happened, as it does at present, that the Families who boasted of their ancient Descent, had sometimes no better Proof of it, than the Resemblance of Names. The *Pomponii* would doubtless have found it difficult to have produced their Titles; if, as *Cneius Gellius*, quoted by *Dion. Hal.* assures us, *Numa* left only one Child by his Wife *Tatia*, which was a Daughter named *Pompilia*, the Mother of *Ancus Marcius*.

any

any of the Ports of the Islands belonging to the *Roman* State. But these Menaces were heard with Indifference. Upon which, the Ambassadors, according to their Instructions, offered the *Carthaginians* a ²⁴ *Caduceus*, the Symbol of Peace, and a little Javelin, the Emblem of War; and said, *Take your Choice*. But the *Carthaginian Dictator* refused to chuse, and answered, *That he would accept either at the Hands of the Romans, which they should think fit to leave him*. However, this lofty Answer did not absolutely destroy the Treaties between *Rome* and *Carthage*; but it reciprocally raised cruel Distrusts between the two Republicks. It was no longer doubted, that these first Sparks would soon break out into a new Flame. The two Nations were not indeed in open War, but they mutually watched and examined each other's Motions, with great Care. And this was a new Reason, why the *Romans* should secure *Sardinia*, where *Pomponius* gained some Battels. At least we have Reason to believe he did; since a Triumph was granted him, for having overcome the *Sardinians*.

Year of
R O M E
DXX.
M. POMPO-
NIUS MATHO,
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Consuls.

Tab. Triumph.

§. XIII. AND now, the *Romans* reformed their Judicatories, and created new Judges, as well as applied themselves to Affairs of War. Two of the *Tribunes of the People*, both *Æbutii*, proposed a Law, and got it passed; whereby they retrenched many frivolous Customs, which were commanded to be observed by the Laws of the XII *Tables*, in Processes at Law, relating to civil Affairs. But the most material Part of the *Æbutian* ²⁵ Law, was its establishing a new Bench of Judges, to relieve the *Prætors*. A few Years before, the *Romans* had been obliged to create a second *Prætor*, to determine the Causes between Foreigners and *Romans*. And now it was found to be too much for two Men to dispatch all civil Affairs, which multiplied in proportion to the Increase of the Republick, and the Intercourses she had with foreign Nations. Besides, the *Prætors* themselves were often obliged to take the Field, and command Armies, for want of *Consuls*; and in their Absence, civil Affairs were at a stand, and Justice was not administered. The *Æbutii* therefore proposed it to the People, to erect a new Tribunal, not only to judge of Facts, which are less intricate, but also of the difficult Points of Law: and it was enacted, That three able and judicious Men should be chosen out of each *Tribe*, and make a new Tribunal, subordinate to the *Prætors*. These Judges were called ²⁶ *Centumviri*, not because they were only an hundred in Number, for they were an hundred and five; but only for brevity's sake. Two new
Tribes

Pomponius de
Origine Juris.

²⁴ See our Account of the Marks of Honour the Ancients annexed to the *Caduceus*, and the Virtue they ascribed to it; p. 200. of Vol. 2. Note 47.

²⁵ Tho' the Ancients have not told us the Year when this Law was promulged, it is probable it was not long after the Republick had increased the Number of the *Tribes*. As the two *Prætors* were not then able to determine all the Disputes that daily arose between such Crowds of Citizens and Foreigners as daily came to *Rome*, the People, at the Request of the two *Æbutii*, erected the Tribunal of the *Centumviri*. This was necessary to assist the *Prætors* in the Discharge of their Duty. Nevertheless, some *Civilians* have conjectured, that the only Design of the *Æbutian* Law, was to retrench that Multitude of Formalities prescribed by the Laws of the XII *Tables*, and to settle a new sort of Code, which shortened the Proceedings in Law-Suits. But most at the same time agree, that it gave rise to the Design of establishing new Judges at *Rome*, with the Title of *Centumviri*.

²⁶ Some Moderns make the *Centumviri* to have been created about the Year of *Rome* 513, because the Number of the *Tribes* was then increased to thirty five, by the Addition of the two last, of which we have spoken above. But since the Historians have not fixed it to that time, all our Opinions about it are no better than Guess-work. All that can reasonably be said of it, is, that this new Tribunal was erected soon after the People were divided into thirty five *Tribes*. But be that as it will, the *Centumviri* were particularly established to assist the *Prætors* in their Duty. Their Jurisdiction was limited, and it was settled, what Causes should be

brought before their Tribunal. Tho' their Employment gave them great Privileges, yet they were not reckoned among the Magistrates of *Rome*. These were elected by the People assembled in *Comitia* by *Tribes*, or *Comitia* by *Centuries*; whereas it belonged to the *Prætor* to nominate the *Centumviri*. He generally chose them by Lot, out of the *Decuria* of Senators and *Knights*, which he made his Coadjutors, to assist him in the Discharge of his Office as Judge, during his Year. A modern Author is therefore mistaken, who says, upon the Credit of a misunderstood Passage of *Festus*, that the *Centumviri* were chosen by the *Comitia* assembled by *Tribes*. They did not enjoy the Honour of the *Curule Chair*, nor had they a Right to wear the Robe bordered with Purple, as other Magistrates did. When they administered Justice, they sat on those Benches or Seats, which the *Latin* Authors call *Subsellia*. Their Determination was absolute; and no Appeal lay from them to the *Prætor*, from whom they derived their Authority. They were looked upon as his Substitutes, in the Causes which came under their Cognizance. Sometimes they sat in Judgment with the *Prætor*, who then had the chief Place, and was President of the Court. In his Absence, ten of the *Centumviri* presided, probably by Turns. It was their Business to collect the Votes, and pronounce Sentence. They had no fixed Place to sit in, till *Augustus* divided them into four different Chambers or Courts, after their Number was increased, by an Addition of seventy five. In the time of the Republick, the *Prætor* took care to assign them, sometimes one Place, and sometimes another. They generally sat in the publick Buildings, which the An-
cients

Year of *R O M E* DXX. Tribes had lately been added to the former thirty three; and the three Judges chosen out of each *Tribe*, must therefore necessarily amount in all to an hundred and five; and they were divided into four Courts, or Chambers. All Causes were brought before the *Prætors* in the first Instance; and these superior Magistrates had a Right, either to reserve the hearing of them to themselves, or to refer the Determination of them to the *Centumviri*. In order to the latter, a Petition was preferred, signed by both Parties; and the Causes which were generally brought before this Tribunal, were such as related to Prescriptions, Guardianships, Degrees of Consanguinity or Affinity, Damages done by Inundations, the building or repairing of Party-Walls, the making of Windows into neighbouring Yards or Gardens, Water-Courses, Wills, Inheritances, and numberless other Matters, which create Disputes between the Inhabitants of the same City. This *Æbutian* Law was very agreeable to the People; and the Tribunal it erected, subsisted ever after in *Rome*. In latter times indeed, these Judges were multiplied to the Number of an hundred and eighty, tho' the *Tribes* were not increased; and they still continued to be called *Centumviri*.

Year of *R O M E* DXXI. §. XIV. BUT after the Establishment of these Tribunals, the Government of the State was still left within the Province of the Senate and *Comitia*: And as an Affair which the *Tribune Flaminius* at this time prosecuted, was neither cognizable by the *Prætors*, nor *Centumviri*; it was therefore brought before the People, who determined it, in his Favour. The Republick had lately added to her Territories a large Country, taken from the *Gauls*; and these Lands were near enough to *Rome*, to raise the Desires of the Citizens. *Flaminius* therefore, whose Business it was, as *Tribune of the People*, to take care of the Interests of the Commons, made a Motion to the People, to pass a Law for distributing this fruitful Country among those Inhabitants of *Rome*, who had very little or no Land. It may have been observed, That as oft as ever any Scheme was formed for the Distribution of Lands among the indigent Citizens of the Republick, the Senate had opposed it; and That the rich Men who seized those Lands, were not easily brought to permit the inferior People to have their Share of them: Whence those Comotions, which often grew up into open Seditions. But in the present Instance, it must be confessed, that the Senators did not confine their Views solely to their own private Interest. They foresaw, that all the Nation of the *Gauls*, dispersed on both Sides the *Po*, would impatiently suffer those Lands to be distributed among others, which had by long Possession become hereditary in their Families. And actuated therefore by this Reason, together with the ancient Jealousies, which still subsisted between the Nobility and People, the *Patricians* united together against the *Plebeians*, in order to prevent the passing the Law, their *Tribune* proposed. To this end, they gained over the Father of *Flaminius* ²⁷, a venerable old Man, to their Party; and ordered the present *Consuls*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *M. ²⁸ Publius Malleolus*, to make Levies, and put a stop to the *Tribune's* Designs. But all was in vain. *Flaminius* was neither moved by the Intreaties of the Senate, nor by the Fear of a War. Even the Tears of his old Father could not soften him. On the Day appointed, he ascended *The Tribune of Harangues*, to speak to the People, and get them to pass the Bill he had drawn up: but he became a memorable Instance of the Obedience Children then payed their Parents. Whilst the

cients call *Basilica*: which were great Halls, that had two Rows of Columns. They were adorned with Statues, and surrounded with Portico's, in which the Suitors assembled. When the *Centumviri* were sitting, a Javelin was placed at the Door of the *Basilica*, to shew the Power of these Judges. We have already observed, that this Weapon was the Symbol of Justice, and sovereign Power. *Justin* tells us, *B. 42.* that in the first Ages, Kings used them instead of Scepters. *Reges Hastas pro Diademate habebant, quas Græci Sceptra dixerunt.* For this reason, they were put in the Hands of the Pagan Divinities, as appears by all the ancient Monuments, and most Medals. Hence the Expression of *HASTA CENTUMVIRALIS*, to signify the Jurisdiction of the *Centumviri*. They administered Justice on certain stated Days. The *Ferie* were always excepted, and those Days on which the *Prætor* finally determined certain Causes, which were cognizable only by him.

This Magistrate had his settled Days of Audience, to receive and grant Petitions. On other Days, he pronounced definitively concerning Matters of Fact, provided the Facts were notorious and incontestable. If they were litigated, he referred the Enquiry into them to the Judges whom the *Romans* called *Recuperatores*. They were, as it were, so many Delegates appointed by the *Prætor*, to enquire into disputed Matters of Fact.

²⁷ The Family of the *Flamini*, tho' originally *Plebeian*, as *Cicero* and *Livy* tell us, was a considerable Family in *Rome*, on account of the Employments with which they were honoured.

²⁸ The Surname of *Publius* is altered in some Authors. He is sometimes called *Publius*. All we know of the *Publician*, or *Publician* Family, is, that it was *Plebeian*; as many others were, which shared the Honours of the Magistracies with the *Patricians*.

Tribune

Tribune was haranguing the People with Warmth, and inciting them to pass his Law, in the Heat of the Affair, his Father appeared, ascended *The Tribune of Harangues*, took his Son by the Arm, and ordered him to follow him home. The *Tribune* neither pleaded his Dignity, or the actual Exercise of a publick Office, in Excuse for not going; but obeyed without Reply, and left the laborious Task he was upon, when it was just finished. And, which is more surprizing, there was not a Murmur heard in the Assembly, who dispersed without any Opposition, or Complaint. So universal, and so great, was the Deference then paid by Children to the Authority of their Fathers! Afterwards, indeed, the Affair took another Turn. The *Tribune Carvilius* revived it, and succeeded; which made the People more proud than ever. They took Possession of the Lands of the *Gauls*; but what the Senate had foreseen, came to pass. The Resentments of all the *Gauls* throughout *Italy*, were so strong and general, that they kindled a War, which endangered *Rome*. As for *Flaminius* the Father, when the People had had time to recollect themselves, they weighed all the Consequences of his rash Action; and he was brought before the *Comitia*, and accused of committing Treason against the People, in the Person of one of their *Tribunes*. On the contrary, *Flaminius* the Son became the Favourite of the Commons, who raised him, by degrees, to the *Consulship*. He was that *Flaminius* whom we shall soon see killed in the Wars with *Hannibal*.

Year of
R O M E
DXXI.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS, M.
PUBLICIUS
MALLEOLUS,
Consuls.
Cicero. de In-
ven. B. 2.

Polyb. B. 2.
Cicero, as
quoted by
Charisius.

In the mean time, the Troops the *Consul* had raised did not continue unactive. They were embarked for *Sardinia*, where the two Collegues arrived together, and made a terrible Devastation. Indeed they were not so fortunate as to keep the Spoils they had boldly seized; but landed in *Corfica*, where the Inhabitants of the Island plundered the Plunderers. Thus one Year produced the Seeds of War for another, between the *Sardinians*, *Corficans*, and *Romans*.

§. XV. But at length, these Islanders were totally subdued, under the succeeding *Consuls*, ²⁹ *M. Pomponius Matho*, and *C. Papirius Maso*. *Sardinia* fell by Lot to the former; and *Corfica* to the latter. The same Fleet carried both to their respective Islands, where each carried on the War in a very different manner. *Pomponius*, upon his Arrival in *Sardinia*, found all the Sea-coasts unpeopled. The *Sardinians* had fled for Refuge to the inaccessible Rocks, and woody Mountains, in the middle of the Island. In these Fortresses they entrenched themselves; and never marched out of them, but in the Night, in order to fall suddenly upon the *Romans*, who could not come near them with an Army. When they accidentally met with any Part of the Enemy, they threw their Darts, and immediately retired into their Dens. So that the *Sardinians* defended their Lives and Liberties, rather like wild Beasts than Men; and the *Consul* is said, for that Reason, to have changed the War he made with them into a Chase, and to have hunted them, in their Forests, like wild Boars, with a great Number of Hounds which he brought from *Italy*, for that Purpose. Indeed, if this be true, the new Pack must have soon learnt to know this new Game. But be that as it will, it is certain *Pomponius* forced the *Sardinians* to throw themselves upon his Clemency, and to surrender to him at Discretion.

Year of
R O M E
DXXII.
M. POMPONI-
US MATHO,
C. PAPIRIUS
MASO, Con-
suls.

THE *Corficans*, on the other hand, acted a Part which had like to have destroyed the *Consul Papirius's* Army. Being driven out of the Plain, they retired into dry mountainous Places; and the *Romans* were imprudent enough to follow them thither. So that they were oppressed with Hunger, Thirst, and Heat, at the same time; and the *Corficans* falling down upon them all on a sudden, from the Tops of their Mountains, they were in great Danger of being destroyed. But they very fortunately found a Rivulet which refreshed them. They encamped by it, and the Provisions which were brought them gave the *Legions* new Strength. And then the *Consul* had Compassion on these unhappy Islanders. He solicited them to return to their Duty, and submit to be governed by the *Roman* Laws; which being the only Course they now had to take, they acquiesced. Thus the two Islands, which had so long been rebellious, were at length settled in Peace; and reduced to the State of a *Roman Province*, upon the same Foot as *Sicily*. The Inhabitants

²⁹ The *Fasti Capitolini* and *Greek Tables*, have preserved the Surnames of both these *Consuls*; who are confounded in *Marianus* and *Cassiodorus*, with

other Persons of the same Name, for want of being distinguished by their proper Surnames.

Year of
R O M E
DXXII.
M. POMPONI-
US MATHO,
C. PAPIRIUS
MASO, Con-
suls.

preserved their Lands, but neither their Laws, nor Customs. They paid Tribute, and the Tenth of all their Harvests belonged to the victorious Republick. In short, a *Prætor* was sent to them every Year, to administer Justice, and keep them in order. It is probable, that *Pomponius* himself continued in the new *Province*, which consisted of both the Islands, all the next Year; and that he governed it in Quality of *Pro-Consul*, or *Prætor*, and had the Inspection of the Affairs of his Republick there. At least it is certain, that he neither returned to *Rome*, nor triumphed.

Fast. Capit.

§. XVI. But the *Consul Papirius*, who had conquered the *Corficans*, returned to the Capital, towards the End of the Year; and found great Alterations there. During his Absence, a *Dictator*, and a General of Horse, had been chosen, to preside at the Election of new *Consuls*, in the *Campus Martius*. *C. Duilius*, as *Dictator*, together with *C. Aurelius Cotta*, whom he had made General of Horse, had assembled the *Comitia by Centuries*; in which, *M. Æmilius Barbula*, and *M. Junius Pera*, had been chosen *Consuls*. Nor was this the only Change. The *Censors*, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, had been obliged to abdicate; their Creation having been found defective. So that *Papirius*, upon his Return, found himself out of Office, and consequently without Interest, for the few remaining Days of his *Consulship*; but nevertheless, he demanded a Triumph, which the Senators were not disposed to grant him. Perhaps they considered the Danger to which this General had exposed his Troops in the Island of *Corfica*; where they had all like to have perished with Hunger. But whatever the Motive was, he was refused a triumphant Entry into *Rome*. *Papirius* therefore, enraged at a Refusal which he thought unjust, chose another Scene, where he shewed himself in all the State and Pomp of a triumphant Victor. On the Hill of *Alba* there had long been a Temple, erected in Honour to *Jupiter* ³⁰ *Latialis*, who was one of the Gods that protected the Republick, and had almost as great Worship and Homage paid him, as *Jupiter Capitolinus*. To him *Papirius* had the Boldness to return Thanks, in the most solemn manner, in spite of the *Conscript Fathers*; and he marched to this Temple with the same Pomp, with which he would have gone to the *Capitol*. His Army followed him, and his Procession was as magnificent as if he had passed thro' the Streets of *Rome*.

Tab. Triumph.

He made no Alteration in the Chariot in which he rode, or the other Symbols of a Triumph; unless that he wore on his Head a Crown of Myrtle, instead of a Crown of Laurel. The Reason of which Change is said to have been this: That there was a Grove of Myrtles in the Place where he had forced the *Corficans* to surrender. Afterwards he affected to appear at the publick Games wearing this Crown of Myrtle, as others who had triumphed appeared at them crowned with Laurel. And the Innovator did not want Persons to follow his Example. In After-times, a great Number of Generals, to whom the Senate refused Triumphs, made *The Hill of Alba* the Scene of their Glory.

§. XVII. THE new *Consuls* ³¹ had not yet begun to exercise their Office, or at least were but just entered upon it, when an important Piece of News was spread in *Rome*, which was the Death of *Hamilcar*. It was well known, that this famous *Carthaginian* had imbibed an implacable Hatred against the *Romans*; and had transmitted it to his Son *Hannibal*; and it was as certain, that he had had Thoughts of going into *Italy*, as soon as ever he could finish his glorious Enterprizes in *Spain*. All People agreed, that an Army commanded by so great an Officer, would be formidable; but they were now under no Apprehensions from the Son, who was scarce eighteen Years of Age. *Asdrubal* indeed, who after he had ministered to *Hamilcar's* ³² Pleasures, is said to have become his Son-in-law, and afterwards his Successor in the Command of the *Carthaginian* Armies in *Spain*, inherited both his Talents and his Hatred to *Rome*. Yet after all, the Republick made a great Dif-

³⁰ See our Account of the Temple erected to *Jupiter Latialis*, on the Hill of *Alba*, and the Worship the *Romans* paid this God, Vol. I. p. 167.

³¹ The *Fasti Capitolini*, and *Greek Tables*, have preserved the Surnames of both these *Consuls*: Who are also confounded, in *Marianus* and *Cassiodorus* with those of the same Name, for want of being distinguished by their Surnames.

³² According to *Cornelius Nepos*, it was *Hamilcar* who brought *Asdrubal* into *Spain*. He was a young Man of an illustrious Family, and of great Beauty. The *Carthaginian* General loved him tenderly. His Officioussness about *Asdrubal* made him greatly suspected. So that the Magistrate, who had the Inspection of Men's Manners, forbade them seeing one another.

ference between the Disciple and the Master. So that she being less disturbed than before, on the Side of *Carthage*, was wholly bent on extending her Dominion quite to the *Alpes*, and on subduing that Multitude of *Gauls* and *Ligures* on both Sides the *Po*, who possessed the most fruitful Countries in *Italy*. The Conduct of the *Gauls*, who were always in Motion, gave the *Romans* an Occasion of declaring War with them; but without Precipitation, or any remarkable Appearances of Ambition. On the first Report that the *Boii* were making great Preparations, and entering into strong Alliances, in order to come and fall upon *Rome*, the *Consuls* were commanded to begin their March. The Senate had been informed, That these People were raising Money, by all possible Means; That they were selling Slaves, and treating underhand with their old Countrymen on the other Side the *Alpes*: And the first Precaution *Rome* had taken, was to forbid her Subjects trading with these dangerous Neighbours, and conveying Gold and Silver into their Country. But this being not thought sufficient, the *Consuls* had now secret Orders to march their Troops to the Territories of the *Gauls*.

In the mean time, a Report was spread, That the Republick had no Design but upon *Liguria*. And this deceived the *Boii*. They waited for the Arrival of the ³³ *Gesatae*, their Allies, raised an Army in haste, and designed to march directly to *Rome*, and surprize the City, whilst the *Consuls* should be busy in *Liguria*, at the Foot of the *Alpes*. The *Gauls* knew nothing of the March or Rout of the *Legions*, and believed them to be in *Liguria*; and therefore assembled together, and advanced towards *Rome*. But, to their great Surprize, they found the *Consular* Armies on the Road: and then, to return back immediately, was to betray themselves; and to give Battel, was still more dangerous. They therefore chose to dissemble. *We were coming*, said they to the *Consuls*, *to join our Troops to yours, in order to carry on the War jointly in Liguria*. And we, replied the *Consuls*, *were coming to your Country, as being our most convenient Road to the Ligures*. Indeed, neither the *Consuls* believed the *Boii*, nor the *Boii* the *Consuls*; but this was not a proper time to discover it: And it is probable that the *Roman* Army in *Liguria*, only kept the *Ligures* still confined to the *Alpes*, and secured themselves in the Possession of the flat Country, without making any farther Advances. However, as barren as this Year was of great Events, it at least produced the forty first *Lustrum* at *Rome*. The famous *Q. Fabius* was one of the *Censors*, and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* was his Collegue. They had lately succeeded two other *Censors*, who had been forced to abdicate, on account of some religious Scruples: But the Historians have not told us what was the Number of the Citizens, at this time.

§. XVIII. THE next Year, a new War sprung up in a Kingdom out of *Italy*. *Rome* was not satisfied with reducing only the neighbouring Nations. *Illyricum* ³⁴ was a large Country, which reached all along the East Side of the *Adriatic* Sea, from the ³⁵ *Carni* to *Macedonia*; and in Breadth it comprehended all those vast Regions which lay between that Sea, and the *Danube*. This spacious Country was subject to several Kings; and *Rome* did not then attempt to conquer all *Illyricum*: but that Part of it only, which bordered upon *Macedonia*, and *Epirus*, which may be termed *Illyricum properly so called*. This State was governed by a Woman, named *Teuta*; who did not reign there, as Queen, of her own Right: but being the Widow of the late King *Agron*, she governed the Kingdom, in Quality of Regent, and Guardian to her Son *Pineus*, who was under Age. This Kingdom was powerful, and equalled by none of the little Principalities of *Illyricum*, either in Sea or Land-Forces. *Agron* ³⁶ had made War with the *Ætolians*, and subdued

³³ *Strabo* is the only Author who has taken the *Gesatae* for a Nation of *Gallia Cispadana*. He pretends that they came into *Italy* with the *Senones*, joined with them in besieging *Rome*, and shared the Spoils of it with them. But it is certain from *Polybins*, that the *Gesatae* inhabited that Part of *Transalpine Gaul*, which lay between the *Rhone* and the *Alpes*. Yet we shall soon see that other Nations were comprehended under the general Name of *Gesatae*, besides those which dwelt on the Banks of the *Rhone*. They took their Name from a Sort of light Javelin which the *Latins* called *Gesum*.

³⁴ See *Vol. 2.*

³⁵ The *Carni*, originally *Gauls*, as we have observed, *Vol. 2. p. 8. Note 41.* settled in the Eastern Parts of *Friuli*. Afterwards they extended themselves towards *Carniola* and *Istria*.

³⁶ *Agron* was the Son of *Pleuratus*, King of that Part of *Illyricum* which bordered on *Macedon*. The numerous Land and Sea Forces which he kept in Pay, made him formidable to the Nations about him, especially the *Ætolians*. These were besieging the Capital of the *Mydionians*, when a Body of *Illyrican* Troops, with an hundred armed Barks, advanced, unknown to the Enemy, to relieve the besieged City. The Besiegers were entirely defeated, and forced to

Year of
R O M E
DXXII.
M. POMPONI-
US MATHO,
C. PAPIRIUS
MASEO, Con-
suls.

Polyb. B. 2.

Fest. Capit.

Year of
R O M E
DXXIII.
M. ÆMILIUS
BARBULA, M.
JUNIUS PERA,
Consuls.

Polyb. B. 2. c. 2, 3, 4, &c.

Year of subdued them; and this made his Widow, who was governed by bad Councils, exceeding confident. Instead of regulating the Affairs of her Ward in Peace, she commanded his Subjects to cruise along all the Coasts, commit Hostilities there, pirate upon all they met, and take all the Places they could. In short, she declared herself a common Enemy to all Nations. The first Hostilities the Regent committed, were in *Peloponnesus*³⁷; then her *Illyricans* treacherously surprized³⁸ *Phenice* in *Epirus*, and overcame the *Epirotæ* in a Battel. The latter were therefore forced to have Recourse to the³⁹ *Ætolians*, and⁴⁰ *Achæans*, to guard themselves against these hostile Invasions of *Teuta*; nevertheless, she did not cease to infest the Coast, till the *Dardani*⁴¹, a People of *Upper Moesia*, entered her Dominions, and laid them waste. Then the *Illyricans* abandoned *Epirus*; and the *Epirotæ* were cowardly enough to enter into an Alliance with their most cruel Enemies.

R O M E
DXXIII.
M. ÆMILIUS
BARBULA, M.
JUNIUS PERA,
Consuls.

Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 19.
Diod. in Ex-
cerptis.
Polyb. B. 2. c. 8.

FROM the time that *Teuta* became Mistress of *Phenice*, she fell upon all the *Roman* Ships which came into those Seas, without any Reserve. No *Italian* Merchant-Ships that sailed thither escaped. The *Illyrican* Pirates either plundered, or sunk them. Complaints of this had long been made to the Senate, in vain; but so great a Number of Merchants had come to demand Vengeance of the *Conscript Fathers* the last Year, that they had been obliged to send an Embassy to the Regent. But this was not the only Motive *Rome* had to send a Deputation to *Illyricum*. The Inhabitants of the Island of *Issa*⁴², in the *Adriatic* Sea, had put themselves under the Protection of the *Romans*; and their City was besieged by *Teuta's* Troops. So that there was a Necessity of obliging this ambitious Woman to give up her Pretensions to an Island which was under the Protection of *Rome*. The Ambassadors, *Lucius*, and *Caius*⁴³ *Coruncanius*, were accompanied with a numerous Train of Attendants, landed in some Port in *Illyricum*, and were admitted to Audience by the Queen, who received their Complaints with a very haughty Air. The time was not yet come, when the *Romans* were to make Kings tremble on their Thrones. When the Ambassadors demanded of the Regent, that she would prevent her Subjects cruising all over the Seas, and infesting them with their Piracies. She answered, *All I can promise is, that they shall not for the future attack the Romans in my Name, and by publick Authority. But as for any thing more, it is not customary with us to lay Restraints on our private Subjects; nor will we forbid them to reap those Advantages from the Sea which it offers them.* This the youngest of the Ambassadors thought an unjust Answer; and he replied, *Your Customs are then very different from ours. At Rome we make publick Examples of those private Subjects, who injure others, whether abroad, or at home. Teuta, we can by our Arms force you to reform the Abuses of your bad Government.* These Threatnings were indeed very unseasonable, and the Reply was ill-judged; but such was the Temper of the *Romans*. The Regent was offended at it; was a Woman, proud, exceedingly flushed with her late Victories; and did not delay revenging it. She sent after the Ambassadors, and had them massacred. Nay, if we believe one Greek Historian, she not only did this, but caused all the Attendants on the Ambassadors to be poisoned, and burnt the Masters of the Ships that brought them to *Illyricum*.

Oros. B. 4. c. 13.
Plin. B. 34.
c. 6.
Flor. B. 2.

to save themselves by Flight. Upon the News of this glorious Victory, *Agroon* could not suppress his Joy. He celebrated the Valour of his Officers and Soldiers, by a magnificent Feast, which he ordered to be prepared for them; and there drank to such Excess, that it threw him into a Pleurisy, of which he died, about the Year of *Rome* 523; according to *Polybius*, from whom we have taken this Account.

³⁷ *Peloponnesus* is now known by the Name of *Morea*. This great Peninsula is united to the Continent by an *Isthmus*, of five Miles broad, which joins to *Achaia*.

³⁸ *Phenice* stood in *Chaonia*, a Province of *Epirus*. Some Authors have taken it for the City that was afterwards called *Hadrianopolis*.

³⁹ *Ætolia* comprehended all that Country which was bounded on one Side by the River *Achelous*, and on the other by *The Gulph of Corinth*.

⁴⁰ The *Achei* inhabited that Part of *Peloponnesus*, which was from them called *Achaia*. Before they had conquered it, it was indifferently called ei-

ther *Ægialis*, because it was a maritime City; or *Ionis*, because it was under the Government of the *Ionians*.

⁴¹ The *Dardani* possessed the South Canton of *Servia*, and a Part of *Bulgaria*. The Province from which they took their Name, was in *Upper Moesia*. *Lower Moesia* comprehended *Scythia Pontica*, or *The Scythia of Thrace*, which extended itself to the Mouth of the *Danube*.

⁴² The Antients give the Island of *Issa* different Names. *Appian* calls it *Essios*, others *Lissa*. It lies in *The Adriatic Gulph*, and belongs to the Republick of *Venice*.

⁴³ These two Ambassadors, *Caius* and *Lucius Coruncanius*, are by some supposed to be the Sons of the famous *Tiberius Coruncanius*, who was the first *Plebeian* that was created *Pontifex Maximus*. At least, they were of the same Family as this illustrious *Roman*, who made himself famous for his Wisdom, and profound Knowledge in the Laws, as we are told by *Cicero*, and *Plutarch*.

As soon then as this barbarous Proceeding was known in *Rome*, all the People demanded Vengeance. This was so notorious an Infraction of the Law of Nations, that they all ran to Arms. In the mean time, the Senate first honoured the *Manes* of the Ambassadors, by erecting Statues of three Foot high to their Memories; which was an Honour always paid to Ambassadors, who had been put to death in the Places to which they had been sent: and then, *Rome* equipped a Fleet, and hastened all her Preparations for War.

BUT upon this, the Regent reflected on the Enormity of her Proceedings, and sent an Embassy to *Rome*, which the Senate was pleased to receive in a handsome manner, and treat with Humanity. She assured them, That she had borne no Part in the Barbarity of her Subjects; and That since she could not restore them their Ambassadors alive, she would deliver up those who had murdered them, to the Republick. And this *Rome* seemed to think a reasonable Satisfaction. Besides, the War which threatned her on the Part of the *Gauls*, took off the Edge of her Resentments; and she chose rather to extend her Dominions in her Neighbourhood, than to be at the Expence of carrying on an Expedition, in a distant Country, against a Woman, and her Ward. The imprudent *Tenta* herself, was the only Person that obstructed the Clemency of the *Romans*. Some new Success intoxicated her. She had sent her Fleets, as usual, to ravage *Greece*, and surprize Cities; and her Squadron appeared off 44 *Dyrrachium*, and desired leave to take in fresh Water. But this was only a Pretence: The Design of the *Illyrians* was to take the Place, and bring it into Subjection to their King. For this Purpose, they concealed Arms in the Vessels they carried into the City, to be filled with Water; and had very like to have succeeded in their Attempt. The *Dyrrachii* made the greatest Efforts, and behaved themselves with the utmost Bravery; otherwise they could not have prevented the mischievous Designs of their Enemies.

HOWEVER, this Attempt, tho' unsuccessful, heightened the Presumption of the *Illyrians*. They ventured to make a Descent on an Island called 45 *Corcyra the Black*, to distinguish it from another *Corcyra*, situated very near *Epirus*; and there they fought a bloody Battel with the *Ætolians*, who were come to the Assistance of the *Corcyrans*. After this, *Corcyra* surrendered, and received an *Illyrian* Garrison. From thence the *Illyrians* returned with their Fleet to *Dyrrachium*, and endeavoured to take that City by Force, which they could not gain by Stratagem. After which, *Tenta* thought herself invincible; and her Prosperity made her forget the Promise she had made the *Romans*. She publicly declared, That she would not deliver up those who had assassinated the *Roman* Ambassadors; and openly acted contrary to her Promises. The proud Regent sent her Fleet to seize the Island of *Issa*, which the *Romans* had taken under their Protection; and the Republick, enraged at the Levity of a Woman, on whom no manner of Dependence was to be had, no longer kept any Measures with her.

§. XIX. THE Consuls, *P. Postumius Albinus*, now promoted to this Office a second time, and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus* his Colleague, embarked for *Illyricum*, at different times. *Fulvius* had the Command of the Fleet, which consisted of two hundred Gallies; and *Postumius* commanded the Land-Forces, which were twenty thousand Foot, and a small Body of Horse. The former resolved to go and cast Anchor before *Corcyra*; not with any View of defending it; for it had surrendered to the *Illyrians*. But he held a secret Correspondence with the Governor the Regent had placed there; and he hoped that the *Illyrian* would deliver up *Corcyra* to him. This Governor's Name was *Demetrius*; and by his Surname, he appears to have been a Native of *Pharos* 46, an Island in the *Adriatic* Sea. All Offices had been done this brave Commander with the Regent; and he had the

44 The City of *Dyrrachium*, is now called *Durazzo*. It stands on the Coast of the *Adriatic* Sea, and on the Borders of *New Epirus*, or *Albania*. It was originally called *Epidamnus*. *Appian* indeed thinks these were the Names of two different Cities. *Epidamnus* was, according to him, farther from the Sea than *Dyrrachium*. But none of the Geographers are of his Opinion. Most of them place this City in *Macedon*. Others make it a City of *Illyricum*. And what is sure is, that it is so near these two Coun-

tries, that it may easily be thought to belong to either.

45 The Island of *Corcyra*, near *Dalmatia*, is the same Island that is now called the Island of *Curfola*, or *Curfola*. We have already spoken of another Island of this Name, which is now commonly called *Corfu*. The latter is in *The Ionian Sea*; whereas the former is in *The Adriatic Gulph*.

46 The Island of *Pharos*, as well as its Capital, is now called *Lefina* by the Natives. It belongs to the *Venetians*.

Year of
R O M E
DXXIII.
M. ÆMILIUS
BARBULA, M.
JUNIUS PERA,
Consuls.

*Diod. in Ex-
corp.*

*Polybius, B. 2.
c. 9.*

Zonaras, B. 8.

*Polybius, B. 2.
c. 11.*

Year of
R O M E
DXXIV.
P. POSTUMIUS
ALBINUS, CN.
FULVIUS CEN-
TUMALUS,
Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
DXXIV.
P. POSTUMIUS
ALBINUS, CN.
FULVIUS CEN-
TUMALUS,
Consuls.

greatest reason to dread her Anger. He therefore wrote to the *Consul*, to come and appear before *Corcyra*, with all speed, and promised him that he would surrender to him, and put him in Possession of his Island and City. And *Demetrius* kept his Word. The *Corcyrans* were very ready to change their Masters; and were glad to find themselves secured from the Insults of the *Illyricans*, by the Protection of the *Romans*. Nay, *Demetrius* did more than he had promised. He persuaded the *Romans* to penetrate into the Continent, and assured them that he would soon put them in Possession of *Teuta's* Kingdom. ⁴⁷ *Apollonia*, a great City, famous for its University, was one of the Keys of *Illyricum* on the Side of *Macedon*: and as it stood almost at the Entrance into the *Adriatic* Sea, it was separated from *Brundisium*, only by a small Arm of it. The *Consul Postumius* therefore easily passed it, and brought his Land-Forces before *Apollonia*, whilst *Fulvius* came from *Corcyra*, to invest it by Sea: and the City did not hold out long. *Apollonia* surrendered without Violence, and thereby opened the *Romans* a Way into the Heart of *Illyricum*. Then the *Consuls* separated. *Fulvius* came with his Fleet and besieged *Dyrrachium*, which was still invested by the *Illyricans*. *Postumius* secured himself of *Apollonia*; and pursued the Way he had opened for himself into the Country. The *Ardyæans*, the ⁴⁸ *Parthini*, and the *Atintanes*, voluntarily submitted to the *Consul*, and made Alliances with *Rome*: and in all the *Consul's* Expeditions, *Demetrius* was of great Service to him. He went to the different Cantons of his Countrymen, decried *Teuta's* Government, and compelled some of them by Fear, and prevailed on others by Persuasion, to shake off her Yoke.

*Polybius, B. 2.
c. 11.*

In the mean time, the *Roman* Fleet cruised along the Coast of the *Adriatic* Sea, and their Army marched along the Shore. They took several Cities in their Way, but ⁴⁹ *Nutria* made a notable Defence. It long withstood the Impetuosity of the Conquerors, and sustained a Siege with uncommon Valour. It cost the *Romans* a great deal of Blood to subdue this City. They lost many Soldiers, several *Legionary Tribunes*, and one *Quæstor*, before it. At last, the *Consuls* arrived before *Issa*, which was still besieged by *Teuta's* Orders; who notwithstanding her Losses, was with all the Obstinacy of a Woman, bent upon taking it. But the Regent experienced the same ill Success before *Issa*, as she had done before *Dyrrachium*: At the Approach of the *Roman* Army, the *Illyricans* dispersed. Of all their Forces, only the *Pharrians* continued in their Camp; and *Demetrius* obtained Favour for them, because they were his Countrymen. So that this new Body was a Reinforcement to the *Consular* Army. Then the *Issani*, after they were delivered from the *Illyricans*, submitted to the *Romans*; and this Conquest made the *Consuls* some amends for their Losses before *Nutria*. And another Advantage gained by the *Romans*, made them as full of Spirit and Alacrity as ever. Twenty *Illyrican* Ships fell in with the *Roman* Fleet, as they were returning from *Greece*, laden with great Spoil, and a good Quantity of Money; and these Pyrates were plundered in their Turn.

Year of
R O M E
DXXV.

SP. CARVILI-
US, Q. FABIVS
VERRUCOSUS,
Consuls.

§. XX. NEVERTHELESS, all these Misfortunes did not subdue the Obstinacy of the rash *Teuta*. There were two things, which still kept her in Hopes. She had experienced the Valour of her *Illyricans* at the Siege of *Nutria*; and she had a great Dependence on the Change of the Seasons, and of the *Consuls*. Winter approached, and the Sea would soon be impassable. *Rome* actually chose new Magistrates; and raised *Sp. Carvilius*, and *Q. Fabius Verrucosus*, to the *Consulate*, a second time. The Republic recalled *Postumius* from *Illyricum*; and he returned home with his Fleet. The Senate did not grant him the Honour of a Triumph, because he had been too prodigal of *Roman* Blood, at the Siege of *Nutria*: and his Colleague *Fulvius* took his Place, and commanded the Land-Forces in *Illyricum*, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*. Upon which News, *Teuta* had no Refuge left, but to return to one of her strong Holds, and hope for better Days, from

⁴⁷ See what we have said of *Apollonia*, Vol. 2. p. 513. Note 100. There were several Cities of this Name in *Macedon*, besides that here spoken of. We shall have occasion to mention them hereafter.

⁴⁸ The *Parthini* were so called from an ancient City called *Parthus*, which the ancient Geographers place in *Illyricum*, on the Frontiers of *Macedon*. The *Ardyæans* inhabited that little Canton of *Illyricum*,

which is over-against the Island of *Pharos*. The *Atintanes* inhabited Part of the Country of the *Molossi*, according to *Thucydides*. *Livy* and *Polybius* place them in the extreme Parts of *Macedon*, near *Illyricum*. *Appian* pretends that they were *Illyricans*.

⁴⁹ The Situation of the City of *Nutria* is utterly unknown.

some unexpected Change of Fortune. The Place she chose for her Retreat, was *Rhizon* ⁵⁰, a City built on a River of the same Name: but the Progress the *Pro-Consul Fulvius* made, or at least the Security his Presence gave the *Ardyæans*, and others of her Subjects, who had gone over to the *Romans*, made her at last more attentive to her Son's true Interest. Early in the Spring, she sent an Embassy to *Rome*. She coloured over, as well as she could, the Pyracies of her People; and pretending that they would not have committed such Ravages on the Coasts, had they not been authorized to do it, by the late King's Orders; she offered to submit to any Conditions, which the Senate should impose upon her. It was a Maxim with the *Romans*, always to pardon the Nations that submitted. Nevertheless, they would not come to any Terms with *Teuta* herself: But they granted the young King a Peace, upon hard Conditions. The first was, That he should annually pay the *Romans* a certain Sum of Money, by way of Tribute. The second, That he should surrender up to them a great Part of his Dominions. And the third, That he should never suffer above three of his Ships of War, at a time, to sail beyond ⁵¹ *Lyssus*. By this Treaty, the *Romans* remained Masters of the Islands of *Corcyra*, *Issa*, and *Pharos*, of the City of *Dyrrachium*, and of the Country of the *Atintanes*: and then *Teuta*, either out of Shame, or as compelled by a secret Article in the Treaty, abdicated the Regency. *Demetrius of Pharos* succeeded her. He was enriched with the Presents of the *Romans*, and the large Countries which they gave him in Fee; and he governed *Illyricum*, for a time at least, with the Consent of the Republick. Then was the *Pro-Consul Fulvius* arrived at the highest Pitch of Glory. He had ended the Affair of *Illyricum* with great Prudence, and without any Allay of Misconduct; whereby his Republick was now brought to the Entrance into *Greece*. Nothing remained, but to make the *Romans* known beyond the Countries which by their Victories the last Year, and the Peace they had just concluded, they had delivered from the Oppression of the *Illyricans*. *Fulvius* therefore sent an Embassy to *Ætolia*, and ⁵² *Achaia*; and it is difficult to say, whether Gratitude or Fear contributed most towards the favourable Reception the *Greeks* gave to the *Roman* Ambassadors. This politick People, which excelled all others in Penetration, could not, doubtless, be very well pleased, to see so formidable a Republick, so near their Borders. But it was necessary to dissemble. The Senate likewise sent Ambassadors to *Athens* and *Corinth*, to convince these People of the great Happiness *Rome* had procured all the maritime Cities, by reducing the *Illyricans*; and the *Athenians* were so affected with it, that they from this time admitted *Romans* to partake of *The Mysteries of* ⁵³ *Eleusis*, and made them Citizens of *Athens*. At *Corinth*, the People ever after permitted the *Romans* to

Year of
R O M E
DXXV.

SP. CARVILI-
US, Q. FABIVS
VERRUCOSVS,
Consuls.
App. in Illyria.

Polyb. B. 2.
c. 12.

⁵⁰ All we know of the City of *Rhizon*, is, that it stood on a little Gulph of *The Adriatick Sea*, which the Ancients called *Rhizonicus Sinus*. It is at present *The Gulph of Cattaro* in *Dalmatia*. *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* speak of this City under the Name of *Rhizinium*. It is now called *Rizano*, or *Rizino*, and *Catara*, according to *Volaterranus*.

⁵¹ *Lyssus* is now called *Alessio*, or *Alesio*. It stands on the Confines of *Illyricum* and *Macedon*, near the Mouth of the River *Drilo*, which *Sophian* calls *Lodrino*.

⁵² Under the general Name of *Achaia*, the Ancients comprehended all the Provinces of that great Continent, which was at first called *Hellas*, because *Hellennus* the Son of *Deucalion* settled in it, and governed it. It is that Country which the Geographers, strictly speaking, call *Greece*. It was afterwards possessed by *Achæus* the Son of *Æolus*, and Brother of *Io*. In After-times indeed, the Term of *Achaia* was confined to that Country in *Peloponnesus*, which the *Achai* possessed. But *Achaia*, taken in its largest Sense, comprehended *Attica*, the Canton of the *Megarenses* and *Locrenses*, *Phocis*, *Boeotia*, the Territory of *Thebes*, *Ætolia*, and *Doris*.

⁵³ This Name was given by way of Eminence to the Festival celebrated in Honour to *Ceres*, in *Eleusis*, a City of *Attica*, West of *Athens*, on *The Saronic Gulph*, between *Megara*, and the Port of *Piræum*. It was the most pompous Festival celebrated in *Greece*. The *Athenians*, who boasted of having been the Inventors of Agriculture, pretended to

have been taught the Art of cultivating the Earth by *Ceres*, in return for the Hospitality they shewed this Goddess, when she was searching for her Daughter *Proserpine*. And the Nations of *Attica*, in Gratitude for it, eternized the Memory of so great a Benefit, by instituting a solemn Festival in Honour to *Ceres*. The *Ægyptians* indeed contended, That the *Greeks* learnt the Forms of these Sacrifices from them; and That *Erechtheus*, a King of *Athens*, who was born in *Egypt*, carried these Ceremonies from the Place of his Nativity to this Kingdom. And this Account, which we have from *Diodorus Siculus*, agrees with the Testimonies of *Pausanias*, and *Herodotus*. They both say, that the *Greeks* borrowed most of their religious Ceremonies from the *Ægyptians*. Thus *Lactantius* and *Phavorinus* have observed, that the Mysteries of *Isis* greatly resembled those of *Ceres*; and *Theodoret* has observed the same thing. We shall hereafter give the Reader a Dissertation on *The Great, and Little, Mysteries of Ceres*. [The *Ceres* of the *Greeks*, was according to *Sir Isaac Newton*, a Woman of *Sicily*, who came into *Attica*, and taught *Triptolemus*, the Son of *Celæus* King of *Eleusis*, to sow Corn, about the thirtieth Year of King *David's* Reign, or the Year before *Christ* 1030. She died, and was deified for this Benefaction, about the Year before *Christ* 1007, by *Celæus* and *Enumolpus*, who instituted the *Eleusinia Sacra* to her, with *Ægyptian* Ceremonies, and erected a Sepulchre or Temple to her, in *Eleusis*. *Chronol. p. 15, 17, 18, 134-136.*]

Year of be present at *The* 54 *Isthmian Games*. As for *Rome*, she gave many of the con-
R O M E quered Cities their Liberty, especially *Apollonia*, and *Corcyra*; and this, in ap-
 DXXV. pearance at least, gained her the Affections of all the *Greeks*. So that *Fulvius*
 SP. CARVILI- had nothing now to do, but to return to *Rome*, and 55 triumph; which he did,
 US, Q. FABIVS on *The tenth of the Calends of July*.
 VERRUCOSUS,
 Consuls.

Fast. Capit.

§. XXI. BUT before this distant War was well ended, the *Gauls* began to be in
 Motion in *Italy*. The *Carthaginians*, on the other hand, under the Command of
Asdrubal, the Successor of *Hamilcar*, made an incredible Progress in *Spain*; and
Rome too well understood her own Interest, not to act as became her on such an
 Occasion. She plainly foresaw, that the Conquest of *Spain* would raise the Cou-
 rage, and increase the Strength of the *Africans*, her implacable Enemies; and re-
 solved to subdue the *Gauls* by Force of Arms, and to put a stop to *Asdrubal's*
 Conquests, by a Treaty. As to the *Gauls* indeed, there seemed to be no Necessity
 of being in haste to begin Hostilities with them; and the Republick had not yet re-
 covered the Fatigue of the *Illyrican War*. So that the present *Consuls*, *Carvilius*
 and *Fabius*, tho' both great Soldiers, continued in perfect Tranquillity all their
 Year. But *Rome* set Bounds to the Ambition of the *Carthaginians*. All *Spain*
 seemed likely to fall under the Power of these Conquerors. *Asdrubal* alone had
 gained his Republick more Subjects, by the gentle Arts of Persuasion, than *Hamilcar*
 had done by his Arms. Then he built 56 *New Carthage*, for a Magazine of Arms,
 and to receive Succours from *Africa*; and this prodigious Increase of Dominion to
Carthage, gave *Rome* so much Umbrage, that she thought it necessary to set Bounds
 to it. To this end, the *Roman Senate* sent a Deputation to *Carthage*, and to
Asdrubal, at the same time, in order to agree upon the Limits to be set to their
 new Empire: and two things were agreed on, 1. That the *Carthaginians* should not
 pass beyond the 57 *Iberus* or *Ebro*; and, 2. That they should let *Saguntum* 58 enjoy
 her Peace and Liberty, and suffer this middle City, which stood between the *Ebro*,
 and that Part of *Spain* which belonged to *Carthage*, to continue in perfect Safety.

*Appian. in
 Hisp.
 Polyb. B. 2.
 c. 13.*

54 *The Isthmian Games* took their Name from the *Isthmus of Corinth*, where the *Greeks* used to ce-
 lebrate them every three Years. They were institu-
 ted in Honour to *Palemon*, or *Melicertes*. But
Plutarch pretends they were celebrated in Honour
 to *Neptune*. Those *Games*, says he, in his *Life of*
Theseus, which had been dedicated to *Melicertes*,
 near *Corinth*, were celebrated in the Night. They
 had more the Air of a Mystery, and nocturnal Ce-
 remony, than of a solemn Festival. And indeed,
 most Authors are divided in Opinion, about the Ori-
 gin of this Shew, which was, as it were, the com-
 mon *Rendezvous* of all *Greece*. Only the People of
Elis were excluded from it. They durst not assist
 at it, for fear they should feel the Effects of the Im-
 precations that *Molione*, the Wife of *Actor*, had pro-
 nounced against those of that Nation, who should
 take part in these publick Rejoicings. *Pausanias* relates
 this Story at large. And notwithstanding what *Plutarch*
 says of it, in the Place just now quoted, *Sisyphus* King
 of *Corinth* had the Honour of the Institution. Most of
 the *Greek Writers* confess, that *Theseus* was only the
 Restorer of them. The most general Opinion is, that
 the Misfortunes of *Ino* gave rise to this Feast. This
 Woman, in a Fit of Phrenzy, or as others, to avoid
 the Rage of her Husband *Athamas*, threw herself
 into the Sea with her Son *Melicertes*. The Waves
 carried the Body of the Child to the Shore, and it
 was taken up and buried by *Sisyphus*. At the same
 time, a violent Plague laid the Territory of *Corinth*
 desolate. In this Extremity therefore, the *Corin-*
thians consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*; and were an-
 swered, that in order to get a stop put to the Dis-
 temper, they must celebrate *Funeral Games* in Ho-
 nour to *Melicertes*, who was afterwards worshipped,
 under the Name of *Palemon*, and placed among the
 Sea-Gods. The Prize assigned to the Conquerors
 in these *Games*, was a Crown of Pine or Myrtle.
 Afterwards, there were some Parsley-leaves put in-
 to this Crown, as at *The Nemwan Games*. In the
 mean time, *Solon* made a Law, which fixed the Re-
 ward of the Conqueror to an hundred *Drachme*.
Plutarch says, that by *Theseus's* Order, the *Corin-*

thians were obliged to give the first Place to the *A-*
thenians. Add to this, that a regard to Religion,
 and a Love for Shews, were not the only Motives
 for instituting these *Games*. There was Policy in it.
 The Design of the Institutors was to assemble to-
 gether in one Place, different Nations all indepen-
 dent of one another, and for the most part, more
 divided in Interests, than in Place; and to unite them
 all together, by the Ties of common Sacrifices.

55 *Cneius Fulvius Centumalus* the *Pro-Consul*, re-
 ceived the Honours of a Triumph, for having con-
 quered the *Illyricans*. According to the *Fasti Ca-*
pitolini, he had gained a Victory over them at Sea.
 But neither *Appian* nor *Polybius* mention it. The
 latter only says, that the *Romans* took twenty Barks
 from the *Illyricans*. But *Eutropius* confirms this
 Triumph, B. 3; and *Florus* seems to hint at it, when
 he speaks of the great Advantages *Fulvius* gained
 over that Nation.

56 *New Carthage* is still in being, in the Kingdom
 of *Murcia*, and is now called *Cartagena*. It was call-
 ed *New Carthage*, to distinguish it from *Old Car-*
thage in *Spain*, which was founded by one *Hamil-*
car, a *Carthaginian* General. The latter stood in
 the Kingdom of *Arragon*, on the Borders of *Valen-*
cia. Some think they find some Footsteps of this
 City in the Town of *Cantavcia*. Others place it
 nearer *Mequinenza*, at the Conflux of The *Segro*,
 and the *Iberus* or *Ebro*. *Strabo* calls *New Carthage*
Spartaria, (from the Word *Spartum*, which signifies
Broom) because there grew a great deal of *Broom*
 in the Country about it. *Asdrubal*, who succeeded
Hamilcar Barca, the Father of *Hannibal*, caused it
 to be built near a Gulph, which from the City is
 called *The Gulph of Cartagena*.

57 The *Iberus* is one of the most considerable Rivers
 in *Spain*; it rises in *Old Castille*, near the Village of *Pa-*
untib. It is enlarged by the *Segro*, and several other
 Rivers; and discharges itself into the *Mediterranean*.

58 The City of *Saguntum* stood in the Kingdom of
Valencia, near the Place where *Morviedro* now stands.
 This Situation agrees perfectly with the Description
 the Historians and Geographers have given us of it.

§. XXII. IN the mean time, the War with the *Gauls* was continually ready to break out, and yet continually suspended. *Rome* seemed to be afraid of entering the Lists with so warlike a Nation. Nevertheless, it very nearly concerned the Republick, to rid herself as soon as possible of these turbulent Enemies, who continually obstructed her other Conquests. As for *Carthage*, she took Advantage of the Delays of the *Romans* in reducing the *Gauls*. Insomuch, that it may be affirmed, That the long Procrastination of this War, was really the Cause of those Misfortunes which *Rome* afterwards suffered from *Hannibal's* Ravages in *Italy*. *Rome* might have employed the time she lost in these Preparations, in opposing the Designs of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*; or at least in hindering them from making strong Settlements, in a Country which was capable of supplying them with Men and Money. But notwithstanding these Considerations, the new *Consuls*, *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Attilius Regulus*, continued in a manner unactive. We don't so much as know whether they took the Field; if they did march out of *Rome*, it was only to watch the Motions of the *Ligures* and *Gauls*. They suffered them to fortify themselves, and enter into Plots, without attacking them. So true is it that the wisest Politicians are subject to Mistakes.

Year of
R O M E
DXXVI.
P. VALERIUS
FLACCUS, M.
ATTILIUS RE-
GULUS, Con-
suls

THE *Romans* wholly employed themselves in regulating the Provinces they had conquered: and they are now said to have chosen four *Prætors*, for the first time. Two to continue in the City, one to govern *Sicily*, and the other *Sardinia*. But be that as it will, (for it is not probable that they should have left these two Provinces so long without Governors,) it is said, That *Flaminius*, the Author of the Law for the Distribution of the Lands of the *Gauls*, was the first who went to command in *Sicily*; and That the Government of the Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, fell by Lot to *Valerius Flaccus*. The *Provincial Prætors* had as much Power in their *Provinces*, as the other *Prætors* had in *Rome*. The People had passed a Law, at the Request of *Vilius* and *Titius*, two of their *Tribunes*, whereby it was enacted That in the *Provinces*, as well as in the City, the *Prætors* should appoint Guardians for those Women, and Children, who were left without any; and this Law was called *59 Vilia-Titia*.

Pomponius de
origine Juris.

Solinus, c. 11.

Justinian. In-
stit. B. 1.
Ulpian. c. 11.
de tutelis.

§. XXIII. BUT these were Matters of little Importance. The main Point still was, to carry on the War successfully, against the *Gauls* on both Sides the *Po*. It may be affirmed, that they equalled the *Romans*, both in Extent of Country, and Number of Men: neither were they inferior to them in Courage, but only in military Discipline, and the Art of handling their Arms. So that the *Romans* were still backward in determining on an Enterprize, which might have fatal Consequences. There was a Prophecy spread about in *Rome*, That the *Gauls* and *Greeks* should one Day make themselves Masters of it; and this Oracle was said to have been found in the *Sybilline Books*. Besides, as the Dominions of the Republick were bounded on one Side by the *Gauls*, and on the other by *Greece*, this fatal time seemed to be approaching. Vain Scruples indeed! but it was necessary to remove them, in order to restore those *Romans* Peace of Mind, whom nothing but Superstition could intimidate. The present *Consuls* therefore, *M. Valerius Messala*, and *L. Apustius Fullo*, entered into Measures with the *Pontifices*, to quiet the Apprehensions of the People: And these Politicians thought it necessary to put such a Construction upon the Oracle as was unworthy of Men, much less of *Romans*. *Romans*, said they, You don't understand the hidden Sense of the Oracle, which is reported among you. Yes; both *Gauls* and *Greeks* shall possess the Land of *Rome*, and the Prophecy shall be fulfilled. And immediately appeared an Edict of the *Decemviri*, that is, of the College of ten Men, who had the Care of the *Sybilline Books*; commanding, that two *Greeks*, a Man and a Woman, and two *Gauls*, a Man and

Year of
R O M E
DXXVII.
M. VALERIUS
MASSALA, L.
APUSTIUS
FULLO, Con-
suls.

Liv. Epit.
B. 20.
Orosius, B. 4.
c. 13.

⁵⁹ We may place under this Year the Promulgation of the Law called *Vilia-Titia*, of which *Justinian* speaks, *Instit. B. 1. c. 20.* and *Ulpian, De Tutelis, c. 11.* It was made by the *Roman People*, at the Request of the *Tribunes*, *L. Vilius Tappulus*, and *Q. Titius Nepos*. It was a kind of Amendment of *The Attilian Law*. It provided for the Safety of Pupils in the *Roman Provinces*, which then began to be governed by *Prætors*, and *Pro-Consuls*. It left it to the Magistrates to chuse Guardians to take care

of the Estates of Minors; but under the same Proviso's as *The Attilian Law*. The *Civilians*, who give this Law the Name of *Julia-Titia*, are mistaken; or at least they have depended too much on the Exactness of the Copyists. They might have considered, that this Law was made at the Request of two *Tribunes of the People*. Now it is certain, that the *Julii*, who were originally *Patricians*, were not admitted into this *Plebeian Magistracy*.

Year of a Woman, should be buried alive⁶⁰ in the Ox-Market. After this was done, it was publicly reported, That the *Gauls* and *Greeks* had taken Possession of *Rome*: And thus the Magistrates and *Pontifices* combined together, to make Religion subservient to a cruel Piece of Policy; and to turn the Oracles to what Senses they pleased, without altering or destroying them.

R O M E
DXXVII.
M. VALERIUS
MESSALA, L.
APUSTIUS
FULLO, Con-
suls.

§. XXIV. WHEN the Difficulties Superstition threw in the Way were surmounted, *Rome* made it her whole Business to raise Divisions among these formidable *Gauls*, whom she had provoked afresh, by this barbarous Sacrifice: And she drew over to her Party two considerable Nations among them, The⁶¹ *Canomani*, who formerly came from *Maine*, and the⁶² *Veneti*, who came originally from the present *Basse Bretagne*, and then possessed the Country which now belongs to the *Venetians*, deserted their Countrymen, and went over to the Republick: And this was of great Service to the *Romans* in the War they intended. They also made some Attempts on the Fidelity of the⁶³ *Boii*, who formerly inhabited the present *Bourbonnois*, and a Part of *Auvergne*. And these indeed stood out against the Sollicitations of the *Romans*; but the Republick found them Employment enough at home. The *Canomani* and *Veneti* entered the Country of the *Boii*, by Order of the *Romans*; and the Diversion they made there, contributed not a little to the Conquest of *Cisalpine Gaul*. The *Gauls*, on the other hand, repaired their Loss, by this Defection of their Countrymen in *Italy*, with the new Levies they made beyond the *Alpes*. The *Gesatæ* were not a particular Nation of the *Transalpine Gauls*; but rather a sort of People incorporated with the whole Nation, whose Profession was Arms, and who fought for any Body, that would pay them. They were stiled *Gesatæ*, from a Sort of Weapon which they wore, called *Gesum*; and these People the *Italian Gauls* hired into their Service.

THE *Consuls*, *Valerius* and *Apustius*, spent the rest of their Year in raising so numerous an Army for their Successors, as might equal, at least, the Swarms of *Gauls* on both Sides the *Alpes*; and they succeeded in it. *Rome* never had so many Troops on Foot before. If an Historian may be credited, who was present in this War, the *Roman* Army amounted to eight hundred thousand Men. So that all the Nations in *Italy*, subject to the Republick, were exhausted, to go and fight under her Command. Two hundred forty eight thousand Foot, of this incredible Number of Soldiers, and twenty six thousand six hundred Horse, were all *Romans*, or *Campani*; the rest were the Troops of the Allies. On the other hand, the *Gauls* gathered together, from all the Nations of their Body, about fifty thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse. Their Kings would not drain their Frontiers of Men, and probably the *Gesatæ* were not yet passed the *Alpes*. Nevertheless, soon after this, these furious Enemies ventured to begin Hostilities. They forced themselves a Passage thro' *Hetruria*, and took their Rout towards *Rome*, thro' the Middle of a Country that was entirely *Roman*.

Year of THE Republick had then promoted *L. Æmilius*⁶⁴ *Papus*, and *C. Atilius Regulus*, to the *Consulship*. The latter embarked for *Sardinia*, where the Troubles were soon at an End; and the former had the Conduct of this important War with the *Gauls*. For seven Years last past, that is, ever since the Distribution of the Lands, made at the Request of *Flaminius* the *Tribune of the People*, the *Gauls* had been exasperated, and making Preparations to signalize their Revenge against *Rome*. The *Gesatæ* had now passed the *Alpes*, and joined the *Italian Gauls*; and *Hetruria* fell a Prey to these Barbarians. This Reinforcement consisted of at least two hundred thousand Men; they were commanded by two Kings of *Transalpine Gaul*,

R O M E
DXXVIII.
L. ÆMILIUS
PAPUS, C. AT-
ILIUS REGU-
LUS, Consuls.

⁶⁰ This Barbarity towards two *Gauls* and two *Greeks*, was repeated some Years after, as we shall observe in its Place. *Plutarch* adds, that in order to appease the *Manes* of these unhappy Victims, private Sacrifices were made to them, in his time, out of the Sight of the People.

⁶¹ We have spoken of the Origin of the *Canomani*, and their Transmigration into *Italy*, Vol. 2. p. 7. They seized that Country which contains a Part of the *Veronese*, a Part of the *Mantuan*, beyond the *Po*, almost all the *Brescian*, and some Part of the Territory of *Cremona*.

⁶² The *Veneti*, originally of *Basse Bretagne*, as

we have proved, Vol. 2. p. 7. inhabited the Western Part of the *Friuli*, the Marquisate of *Trevigiana*, the *Picentin*, the *Paduan*, the *Dogado*, the greatest Part of the *Ferrarese*, and the *Polesin de Rovigo*.

⁶³ The *Boii* who came into *Italy* with the other Nations of *Transalpine Gaul*, seized the Provinces which lay between the *Po*, to the North; the *Apenines*, to the South; the River *Idice*, to the East; and the *Tarro*, to the West.

⁶⁴ Some Historians have confounded the Consul *Lucius Æmilius Papus*, with *Lucius Æmilius Paulus*, for want of calling him by his true Surname.

named *Concolitanus*, and *Aneroestus*, who were as sanguine as avaritious. They promised themselves nothing less, than that they should plunder *Rome*, and carry off the Spoils of *Sicily*, *Illyricum*, and all the conquered Nations, from this single City.

As for the *Romans*, they had divided their Troops into three Bodies. One Part had sailed to *Sardinia*, under the Command of the Consul *Attilius*. Another Part was commanded by the Consul *Æmilius*, who being uncertain what Rout the *Gæsata* would take, had encamped near *Ariminum*, to hinder them from entering the *Roman* Lands, by the Coasts of the *Adriatic* Sea. And the third Part was ordered for *Hetruria*, under the Command of a *Prætor*, whose Name is not mentioned by the Historians. This last Body amounted to fifty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. The Allies of *Rome*, of whom this Army consisted, came readily into the Defence of the Republick. The Business in hand was not barely that of extending her Dominions, or increasing her Glory; but the Defence of their own Houses, Lands, Wives, and Children, against the Invasion of a barbarous People. So that they were as zealous in the Support of their common Interests, as the *Romans* themselves.

Year of
R O M E
DXXVIII.
L. ÆMILIUS
PAPUS, C. AT-
TILIUS REGU-
LUS, Consuls.
Polyb. B. 2.
c. 22.

In the mean while, the *Gæsata* had left the Shoar of the *Adriatic* Sea, to avoid *Æmilius's* Army; had crossed *Insubria*; and joined those Troops of their Nation in *Hetruria*, which were busy in plundering the Country. And then, this terrible Army of *Gauls*, immediately took the Road towards *Rome*, and were already within Reach of *Clusium*, which was but three Days Journey from it. They flattered themselves, that the first Victory would put an End to the whole Dispute; and they were in haste to fight the *Prætor*, who was come to oppose their March. He had followed after them from the Borders of *Hetruria*; and now, all on a sudden turned about, and marched towards ⁶⁵ *Fesulæ*. His Design was, no doubt, to draw the Enemy, who were very desirous of a Battel, after him; and to come so near to *Æmilius's* Army, that he might join him: And accordingly, the *Gauls* followed him. The Sun was near setting when they came up with him; and both Armies were forced to encamp near each other. The *Gauls* posted their Horse almost in sight of the Enemy; and sent their Infantry, in the Night, to the Neighbourhood of *Fesulæ*. This was an Artifice to draw the *Romans* to a Battel: And indeed, the *Prætor*, who thought he had only the Cavalry to engage, imprudently marched his Troops out of their Entrenchments. Then the Cavalry of the *Gauls* retired, according to their Orders, and fled towards *Fesulæ*, fighting. The *Romans* thought that the Infantry of the *Gauls* was dispersed, and they marched after the Cavalry, and fought them. Every thing gave way before them; but at last, the Infantry of the *Gauls* appeared, quite fresh; and they, in their turn, made a furious Attack upon the *Prætor's* Army. Six thousand *Romans* were left dead upon the Spot, in the first Onset; and the rest fled in Confusion to a neighbouring Hill for Refuge, where they entrenched themselves, with Design to pass the Night there.

BUT the Ardour with which the victorious *Gauls* surrounded and attacked this Post, is not to be expressed; till at length their Infantry being fatigued with fighting, retired to their Camp. So that only the Cavalry of the *Gauls* invested the Fugitives on the Hill, which served them for a Retreat: And there the *Romans* spent a melancholy Night. These unfortunate Men were not all *Legionaries*, chosen out of the *Roman Citizens*; the *Prætor's* Troops consisted only of Allies, and were partly *Sabines*, and partly *Hetrurians*. They waited on this Hill, where they were surrounded, for some fortuitous Event to deliver them out of the Hands of their Enemies: And accordingly, an unexpected Accident rescued them from Death or Slavery. The Consul *Æmilius* had been informed that the *Gauls* drew near to *Rome*; and had instantly left his Camp at *Ariminum*, and advanced towards the Enemy, to intercept them in their March. And he was now come near the Place where the Battel had been fought the Day before, and the Night had obliged him to encamp there. Then, upon the sight of the Fires which the invested *Romans*

⁶⁵ The Ancients speak of *Fesulæ*, as of one of the most ancient and most considerable Cities in *Hetruria*. It stood at the Foot of the *Apennines*, in the Valley of *Mugiella*, which the Natives now call *Val di Mugello*. This City, which was first a *Colony*, and then a *Municipium*, now retains nothing of its former Splendor. Nothing remains but the Ruins of it in the Town of *Fiesoli*, three Miles from *Florence*.

Year of
R O M E
DXXVIII.
L. ÆMILIUS
PAPUS, C. ATTILIVS
REGILLIVS, Consuls.

saw, in a Camp different from that of the *Gauls*, they judged, that their good Fortune had brought a *Roman* Army into that Neighbourhood: And being reduced to Extremity, and favoured by the Night, they ventured to break a Way thro' the Enemy, for some of them to go and examine more nearly, what they saw at a Distance. How inexpressible then must have been the Joy of these Emiliars, when they found *Æmilius* in Person there, with a formidable Army near enough to come to their Deliverance!

As soon as *Æmilius* had heard the Account of the Check the *Prætor* had received the Day before, he did not deliberate a Moment. He immediately ordered his *Legionary Tribunes* to march out their *Legions* by break of Day, and advance towards the Enemy; whilst he himself led on his Cavalry to the Foot of the Hill, which the Enemy's Squadrons invested. And in the mean time, the Alarm was great in the Camp of the *Gauls*. By the Fires they had seen in the Night, they had suspected that the *Consul's* Army was near: But what could they do? *Aneroestus*, one of the Leaders of the *Gæsatae*, gave them the following Advice, which was pursued. *We have, said he, taken a very considerable Booty already. How many Slaves have we made? and how many Head of Cattel have we seized? The Spoils of the Country we have plundered, are even invaluable. Shall we then venture all these Riches upon the Event of a Battel. Let us, by all means, return into one of the Provinces of the Gauls, and secure the Wealth which we have already gotten. We may then more safely encounter Dangers, which will be the less, when we shall have disincumbered ourselves of our rich Burdens, which it were very unreasonable to neglect.* This Discourse was applauded; and it was resolved not to fight, but retreat till they came to the Place appointed. The Day was very far advanced, when the *Consul* came into the Plain, in which he spent the Night; and the Enemy decamped before Sun-rising. In order to reach *Insubria*, they kept along the Shore of the *Hetrurian* Sea; whilst *Æmilius* took with him the Remains of the *Prætor's* Army, particularly the Squadrons which he had delivered from Danger, and followed close after the *Gauls*. His first Design was rather to harraß than fight them. It was Advantage enough for him, to have driven them before him, to have forced these presumptuous *Gauls* to lay aside their Design of besieging *Rome*, and to have obliged them to fly for Refuge to their own Territories. But an unforeseen Accident procured him more Glory than he expected. We have already observed, that the *Consul Attilius* sailed for *Sardinia* in the Beginning of the Year, and soon put an End to the Troubles there. After this he returned with as much Expedition; being, doubtless, recalled by the pressing Dangers of the Republick: And it was the good Fortune of *Rome* to have him land at *Pisa*. From thence, he continued his March towards *Rome*, along the Sea-shore, not expecting to find an Enemy's Army in his Way. He knew nothing of it, till his Scouts brought him some of those *Gauls* who marched before their Army, Prisoners: And they informed him, That the *Gauls* were retiring to *Insubria*, laden with Spoil; That his Colleague *Æmilius* was pursuing them; That he himself would soon meet them, because they were upon the same Road with him; and That the Army of the *Gauls* was victorious, and commanded by several Kings. *Attilius* leaped for Joy, when he understood that the most formidable Enemies of the *Roman* Name would soon be surrounded. One *Consular* Army in their Front, and another in their Rear, were enough to destroy all the Enemy's Forces, at one Blow: But the Difficulty was, how to make a proper Use of this fortunate Accident. The Place where *Attilius* resolved to halt, and attack the *Gauls*, was a little Port in *Hetruria*, called ⁶⁶ *Telamon*. There he drew up his Troops in Battalia, and made as wide a Front as the Ground would permit: And he posted himself at the Head of his Cavalry, on an Eminence, over which the Enemy must necessarily pass. He proposed to fall on them, and begin the Attack from thence; and promised himself, that he should gain the greatest Part of the Honour of so glorious a Day. In the mean time, the Army of the *Gauls* still advanced towards *Telamon*, not dreaming of finding *Attilius* in their Way, whom they thought yet in *Sardinia*: And the first Ob-

⁶⁶ Eight Miles from the Mouth of the *Ombrone*, is the ancient Port of *Telamon*, which yet retains its old Name, and is called *Telamone*. This was the Name both of the City, and the neighbouring Pro-

montory. *Diodorus* makes one of the *Argonauts*, named *Telamon*, to have been the Founder of this City.

ject that presented itself to them, was a great Body of *Roman* Horse posted upon an Eminence. Upon this, their Generals flattered themselves, that the *Consul* *Æmilius*, who followed them, had detached these Squadrons, to intercept them, and hinder their March; and the Cavalry of the *Gauls* came and attacked them. This was the Prelude to a Battel, which was very bloody, and cost the *Romans* dear.

Year of
R O M E
DXXVIII.
L. ÆMILIUS
PAPUS, C. AT-
TILIUS REGU-
LUS, Consuls.

As for *Æmilius*, he knew not that his Colleague was in Presence of the Enemy: He had only learnt, that he was arrived at *Pisa* ⁶⁷. But as soon as he saw fighting at a distance, he immediately guessed, that *Attilius* was attacking the Enemy in Front. Upon which, he detached away his Cavalry, who marching round, came to the Eminence which the *Gauls* disputed with the *Romans*; and then the Attack was renewed with more Fury than ever. The *Consul* *Attilius*, who was there fighting in Person, was killed; and his Head carried on the Top of a Lance to the Generals of the *Gauls*, who shewed it to all the Files of their Army. But the Danger which threatned the *Gauls*, was not lessened by the Death of *Attilius*. One of his Lieutenants took his Place, and the Battel was carried on as before. However, the *Gauls* cannot be denied the Glory, of having defended their Lives with more Prudence than Men generally do, when driven to the last Extremity. As for their Valour, *Rome* never disputed it; but often tacitly extolled it by her Fears: and their Bravery seemed to be even increased in this desperate Conjuncture. They did not fall, till after they had shewn even an Excess of Courage. The *Roman* Squadrons continued upon the Hill, on which they had posted themselves: but the *Gauls* gained one Advantage at least, by attacking them with their Cavalry. They, by this means, got time to draw up their Infantry in Battalia, and never was Army more judiciously disposed, according to the present Circumstances of things, than that of the *Gauls*, at this time. They were to oppose two *Consular* Armies together, one of which pressed upon them in the Rear, whilst the other attacked them in Front. That therefore they might not be flanked by the numerous Troops of the *Romans*, they ranged their Carts and Carriages in File, in their Wings, and made themselves a strong Barrier with them; and one Part of the Army of the *Gauls* faced the *Consul* *Æmilius*; the other, the Troops that *Attilius* had commanded. One half of them turned their Backs to the other half, so that they were very near equally divided. In the first Line over-against *Æmilius*, were placed the formidable *Gæsatae*, who were lately come to *Italy*, and behind them were the *Insubres*. At the Head of the other Body were the ⁶⁸ *Taurini*, that is, the Troops raised in the District which is now the Country of the *Grisons*; and behind them the several Nations of *Gauls* that dwelt on both Sides the *Po*: and this second Army, if I may so speak, fronted the *Legions* that *Attilius* had brought from *Sardinia*. This wise Disposition of their Troops, made them appear terrible to the *Romans* themselves; and it is hard to say, whether the Advantage they had in fighting in this Order, or that the *Romans* had, of inclosing their Enemies before and behind, was greater. The *Gauls* supported one another by their Disposition; so that they could not possibly fly, or retreat.

BEFORE the Action, the *Gæsatae* did a thing which their Courage dictated; but which proved fatal to themselves, and the whole Army of the *Gauls*. They observed, that the Plain, on which they were going to engage, was covered with Brambles and Bushes; and being afraid, that their Clothes would hang in the Thorns, and hinder them from giving strong Blows, they stripped themselves. They appeared in the first Ranks, almost half naked, and covered only with little narrow Bucklers, which could not defend them from the Darts of the Enemy. This Boldness at first surprized the *Romans*; who wondered to see so great a Number of Youth, well made, and of a larger Stature than ordinary, despising the Enemy, and Death. But as the *Gauls* in general wore Bracelets and Collars of Gold, by way of

⁶⁷ According to *Pliny* and *Strabo*, *Pisa* was founded by a Colony of *Greeks*, who came from another City of *Pisa*, in *Peloponnesus*, on the Banks of the River *Alpheus*. And according to *Dion. Hal.* *Pisa* in *Ættruria* must have been founded several Ages before the *Trojan* War. But be that as it will, it is certain this has always been ranked among the most considerable Cities in *Italy*. The

Convenience of its Port near the Mouth of the *Arno*, and the Fruitfulness of its Territory, are known to all the World.

⁶⁸ *Polybins* reckons the *Taurisci*, or *Taurini*, among the *Gallic* Nations which came into *Italy*. They settled in *The Marquisate of Saluzzo*, and its Neighbourhood; especially in that Part of *Piedmont*, which lies beyond the *Po*.

Year of
R O M E
DXXVIII.
L. ÆMILIUS
PAPUS, C. AT-
TILIUS REGU-
LUS, Consuls.

Ornament, which was their only Riches, and employed all their Care, and spent all their Money, in these Embellishments: it may well be imagined, that so fine a Booty, both excited the Avarice, and raised the Courage of the *Romans*. The Attack begun with frightful Shouts, which these Barbarians made; an infinite Number of Horns and Trumpets sounding at the same time. The *Gauls* used very great Numbers of these Instruments in their Armies; and the Air rung with them to a great distance. As to the *Romans*, they began their Attack with their Dart-Men, whom *Æmilius* ordered to advance against the *Gesatæ*. Indeed those in the second Line suffered little; they had not quitted their *Saga*; but the *Romans*, who fought at a due distance, with naked Men, made a terrible Slaughter of those in the first Line. Some fell in their Ranks; others were killed as they were endeavouring to break through the Shower of Darts, that was thrown at them: And lastly, others retreated, and put even the hindmost Ranks into Disorder. When the *Gesatæ* had quitted the Battel, the *Romans* approached, and came to a close Engagement.

It must be confessed, that the *Gauls* were in nothing inferior to the *Romans*, but in the Goodness of their Arms. The Swords of the latter seem to have been made of good Steel, and were proper to thrust with. Whereas those of the former were made of bad Iron, easily blunted, and were only fit for cutting. The Blades of them were thin and weak, and immediately bent; and the Soldiers lost time, in setting them straight again.

Diod. Sicul. B.
25. in Eccl. and
Polyb. B. 2.
c. 30.

THE Infantry of the *Gauls* were beginning to give way before both the *Consular* Armies, when the Cavalry, which continued in Possession of the Eminence, where they had been posted at first, came and rode full speed on the Enemy's Battalions; and then the Defeat of the *Gauls* was general. Forty thousand of them were killed on the spot; and above ten thousand taken Prisoners, with *Concolitanus*, one of their Kings. The rest escaped by Flight; and *Aneroestus*, who was the greatest Soldier, and most experienced Commander the *Gauls* had, did not fall in the Battel. But he could not govern his Passion, at the Loss of it. He cut his Throat in Despair; and many of his Officers followed his Example. Tho' after all, his ill Success was not so much owing to any Want of Conduct, as to mere Accident. He had pillaged *Hetruria*, gained a Victory over a *Roman Prætor* at the Head of fifty thousand Men, and was returning victorious, and laden with Spoils to a Country in Amity with them, when the good *Genius* of *Rome* brought a *Consul* to *Pisa*, who was not expected there. Nay, when *Aneroestus* was attacked on both Sides, he did not lose his Presence of Mind, but put himself into a Posture of Defence; and had it not been for the Caprice of the *Gesatæ*, who stripped themselves, he would perhaps have been victorious. But who can resist the Decrees of Providence? It was Heaven that gradually conducted *Rome* to the highest Pitch of Grandeur.

Florus, B. 1.

THEN *Æmilius* was sole *Consul*, and sole Commander of the two victorious Armies; and he thought it necessary to make the best use of his Victory, and to reward his Soldiers. He therefore marched along the Borders of *Liguria*, made a Descent in the Country of the *Boii*, gave up this fruitful Country to be plundered by his Soldiers, and when they were loaded with Spoils, led them back to *Rome*. As he passed thro' *Hetruria*, in his Return, he restored the Owners all the Booty the *Gauls* had taken from them, and which had been retaken from these Barbarians: And from thence he marched on to *Rome*, which he entered in Triumph, on *The Third of the Nones of March*. And as his Victory had been one of the most important *Rome* had ever gained, there were several Singularities in his Triumph. The triumphant Victor generally stripped the vanquished Soldiers of all their military Ornaments; but now the *Gauls* were suffered to appear in their Belts. This was done in Derision of the Vow they had made, not to quit their Belts till they were upon the *Capitol*: And there they were taken from them, amidst the Hisses of all the People. The Historian who mentions this Circumstance pretends that one of their Chiefs, named *Britomarus*, was among the Captives; but he, probably, confounded this Man with *Concolitanus*. So many Colours, Bracelets, and Collars of Gold, taken from the Enemy, were never before carried up to the *Capitol*; where they were hung up in the Temple. In short, the Rejoicings of the People at this glorious Victory, were as great as their Apprehensions had been at the Approach of the *Gauls*.

§. XXV. As for the latter, their Courage was indeed considerably abated, since the terrible Overthrow they had received before *Telamon*; but neither were they subdued, nor did they submit. The *Centuries* therefore cast their Eyes on two approved Generals, who had both been *Consuls* already; in hopes that they would finish this important War. These were *T. Manlius Torquatus*, a Name fatal to the *Gauls*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. Then the two *Consular* Armies being united, they flattered themselves, that they should easily drive away all the *Gauls* about the *Po*, or at least force them to hide themselves in the *Alpes*, as the *Ligures* did. But the Prosperity of *Rome* was not always equal; Heaven made her buy her Grandeur dear. The *Romans* indeed entered into the Country of the *Boii*, and forced those terrified People to submit to their Yoke. But whatever some Authors may say of it, these *Consuls* did not pass the *Po*, or penetrate into *Insubria*, or gain a great Victory, which equalled their Glory to that of their Predecessors. Besides that the most exact *Roman* Historian we have, says nothing of it; they did not enjoy the Honours of a Triumph. We don't find their Names in *The Triumphal Tables*; but on the contrary, their Year was remarkable only for Misfortunes. Rain and Storms retarded their Marches, and kept them in Inaction: and to increase these Misfortunes, there was a Plague among their Troops; which was doubtless what hindered the *Consuls* from returning to *Rome*, to preside at the Elections. They would have brought the Infection thither; and therefore, in their Absence, and to supply their Places, a *Dictator* was chosen, the most venerable Magistrate in *Rome*. The Reader must remember the famous *Cæcilius Metellus*, who after many Victories, and a magnificent Triumph, had entirely devoted himself to the Service of the Gods. When he was *Pontifex Maximus*, he lost his Sight in saving the tutelary Gods of his Country from the Flames: but notwithstanding his Blindness, he was not thought incapable of a *Dictatorship*, which required no Talents but those of Reason and Equity. This supreme Dignity was therefore conferred upon him, in his Decline of Life, to increase his Glory. He made *Fabius* his General of Horse; and both together assembled, the *Comitia*, in which *C. Flaminius Nepos*, and *P. 69 Furius Philus*, were chosen *Consuls*.

Year of
R O M E
DXXIX.
T. MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS,
Consuls.
Polybius, B. 2.
c. 31.
Orosius, B. 4.
c. 3.
Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 20.
Polybius, B. 2.
c. 31.

§. XXVI. THEN the united Armies of the two new Generals, put the Design of their Predecessors in Execution. They were the first *Roman* Generals that passed the *Po*; and they carried the War into *Insubria*. The Boldness of the *Gauls* there, was not yet extinguished, notwithstanding all their Losses; nor had their Country yet been entered by an Enemy. It was large, fruitful, and well-peopled. So that when the *Romans* came to pass the *Po*, they may truly be said to have dyed it red with their Blood. The *Gauls* came to the Place, where the *Po* divides itself into several Branches, and forms the Canal the Ancients called *Padusa* 70, in order to oppose the *Consuls* passing it. It is not probable, that the *Romans* could ford the *Po*; it was too deep, at the Place where they attempted to pass it: and they doubtless went over a Bridge of Boats, which they had brought with them. But be that as it will, the *Romans* stood in need of all their Bravery, to carry them through so difficult an Enterprize; and when they came to encamp, they were in as much Danger as before. Wherever the *Consuls* came, they met with *Gauls*; and nothing but their Constancy could support them against so many Attacks. However, after marching a great way about, they at last entered *Insubria*; and there the Appearance of the Inhabitants terrified them. By an Agreement made with the *Insubres*, the *Romans* left their Country, and repassed the River at *Clusium*, to take Refuge among those faithful Allies of *Rome*, the *Cænomani*. The *Consuls* rambled about these unknown Regions for some time, and then resolved to make another Attempt upon *Insubria*. It was at this time, that new Prodigies were seen, in the Heavens, in the Waters, and upon the Earth. In *Hetruria*, extraordinary Lights appeared in the Air. In the Territory of *Ariminum*, three Moons were seen shining at the same time. In *Picenum*, a River ran with red Water like Blood. A Shock of an Earthquake was

Year of
R O M E
DXXX.
C. FLAMINIUS
NEPOS, P. FU-
RIUS PHILUS,
Consuls
Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 20.
Polybius, B. 2.
c. 32.
Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 20.
Plut. Life of
Marcellus, and
Orosius, B. 4.
ch. 13.

69 *Cassiodorus* is mistaken in giving *Furius* the Surname of *Philo*, instead of that of *Philus*, which the *Fasti Capitolini* give him.

70 The *Po* rises in Mount *Vesulus*, now *Vesò* or *Viso*. It is formed by three Streams, which flow from this Mountain. After it has run through a vast

Extent of Country from West to East, it discharges itself into *The Adriatic Sea*, by seven different Streams. One of the largest was formerly called *Padusa*, which was that Branch of the River which the Natives now call *Il Po d'Argenta*. The Port it makes near its Mouth, is called *Porto Primaro*.

Year of felt a great way, and the famous *Coloffus* of *Rhodes* was overturned by it. The
 R O M E People of *Rome* perhaps might not feel it; but they were astonished with an-
 DXXX. other Accident, which was conformable to their old Superstitions. A Vultur
 C. FLAMINIUS pitched in the middle of the *Forum Romanum*, and continued there a great
 NEPOS, P. FU- while. So many *Phænomena* therefore obliged the *Romans* to have recourse to
 RIUS PHILUS, their *Augurs*; who answered, that there must have been some Defect in Point of
 Consuls. Religion, in the Election of the *Consuls*. Whether they were not dissatisfied, with
 their having lost so much *Roman* Blood, in their March, I cannot determine; but
 be that as it will, the Senate dispatched a Courier after them, with a Letter, com-
 manding them to return to *Rome*, and resign.

Polyb. B 2.
c. 32.

ON the other hand, the *Consuls* could not well brook an Order, which was so
 ill a Recompence for their Labours, when they were just ready to reap the Fruits
 of them. The *Insubres* were in sight, with an Army of fifty thousand Men, which
 would have destroyed them in their Retreat. All *Insubria* seemed to be under
 Arms; and these *Gauls* had taken out of the Temple of *Minerva*, those golden
 Standards which they called *Immobiles*, because *never removed*, but in great Ex-
 tremities. Besides, without gaining a Victory, it would have been very difficult
 for the *Romans* to have returned to *Rome*, through so many Nations, whose Fi-
 delity to them was dubious. The *Consuls* therefore resolved not to open the Let-
 ter, till after the Battel. The Project was indeed dangerous. The Enemy surpassed
 the *Romans* in Number. They fought for their Liberty, Estates, and domestick
 Gods. And one single Defeat would have exposed the *Roman* Army to have been cut
 in pieces, in a distant Country, from which they had no sure Retreat. Besides, the
Consuls had reason to fear the Judgment of the People, and the Harangues of their
Tribunes, who would call them to an account for their Disobedience. But it was
 in these Extremities, that the *Roman* Constancy shone out in its greatest Lustre.
 The *Consul Flaminius* seems to have taken the whole Command upon himself, that
 Day; at least, the Historians who give us an Account of the Battel, don't say any
 thing of his Collegue *Furius*. As the *Roman* Army was much inferior as to the
 Number of the *Legionaries*, to that of the *Insubres*, it had been at first enlarged
 with Multitudes of those *Gauls*, who stiled themselves the Allies of the *Roman*
 People. But after all, it was a dangerous thing, to trust these Auxiliaries, who
 were a wavering People, whose Fidelity was dubious, and who, if suddenly seized
 with a Fit of Tenderness for their Countrymen, might in an instant desert the
Romans. The Battel was going to be fought, on the Banks of the ⁷¹ *Adda*, a deep
 River; and *Flaminius* removed these *Gauls* to the opposite Bank of it, over some
 Bridges which were near at hand. Then he drew up the Bridges, and left these
 suspected Troops there in Inaction: so that indeed, they could not be of any use
 in the Battel; but neither could they do any Mischief. This was the only Piece of
 Management, by which the General got any Credit, in this glorious Day. As to
 other Affairs, he owed his Victory to the Good-Fortune of *Rome*, and the Fore-
 sight of his *Legionary Tribunes*. These were, by their Experience, acquainted with
 the *Gauls* particular Way of fighting. They knew, That the latter made but one
 violent Attack at first, after which their Fire abated; That if the *Romans* could but
 resist their first Impetuosity, it would be easy to put them to the Rout; and That
 the Weapons of the *Gauls* were nothing but a kind of Sabres, which were easily
 blunted. These *Tribunes* therefore took two Precautions, which determined the Fate
 of the Day, in their Favour. In the first place, they ordered their first Line to take
 the Arms of the *Triarii*, who always fought in the last Rank. These Arms were
 long Javelins, almost like our Half-Pikes, or rather Halberts. With these the *Ro-*
mans were to keep their Enemies at such a distance, by presenting the Points to-
 wards them, as to prevent their making any use of their Sabres. And in the second
 place, the *Tribunes* commanded their Soldiers to throw down these Javelins, as soon
 as the first Fire of the Enemy was over; to close in with the Enemy, so as to pre-
 vent their doing any great Execution with their Sabres; and then with their own

⁷¹ The River formerly called *Addua*, now the *Adda*, rises in that Mountain of the *Alpes Rheticae*, which the Inhabitants call *Monte Brailo*. It runs into *The Lake of Como*, formerly *Larius Lacus*; af-
 ter which, it passes through the Country of the *Oro-*
bii and *Cænomani*, and then falls into the *Po*.

Swords, which were pointed, to stab the *Gauls* in their Throats or Breasts. And the *Romans* owed their Safety to these Orders. As for *Flaminius*, he was justly reproached with neglecting to draw up his Troops in the ancient Order of Battel. What had hitherto made the *Romans* invincible, was the Spaces between the *Manipuli* and the Lines, thro' which the Soldiers of the first Line retreated, when so vigorously pressed. Behind the Line which they had quitted, they found room to rally. But the *Consul* had now closed his Battalions in such a manner, that they all seemed to be but one *Phalanx*. Besides, he had posted his *Triarii* in the last Line, so near the *Adda*, that if they had been obliged to retreat ever so little, they would have been forced into the River. However, the Valour of the *Romans* was greater than the Imprudence of their General. The Attack began by the *Insubres*, who fell upon the first Line of the Enemy. But before they could come near enough to reach the *Romans*, it was necessary to break the long Javelins of their Enemies by their Strokes, and this blunted their Sabres. When this first Fire was spent in cutting Wood, then the *Romans* collared the *Gauls*, if I may so speak, and shortening their Swords, stabbed so many of them, that they left nine thousand dead upon the Spot. After this, it was nothing more than a Rout; and the *Romans* thought only of making Prisoners. About seventeen thousand *Insubres* threw down their Arms, and surrendered at Discretion. Thus, in spite of their Prognosticks, the Answer of the *Augurs*, and the Orders of the Senate, the *Romans* gained one of their most important Victories. But it was more owing to the ready Obedience and Valour of the Soldiers, and the Conduct of the subaltern Officers, than to the Prudence of the General.

Year of
R O M E
DXXX.
C. FLAMINIUS
NEPOS, P. FU-
RIUS PHILUS,
Consuls.

Orof. B. 4. c. 13.

AFTER the Action was over, the *Consuls* immediately opened the Packet they had received from *Rome*; and found that they were recalled, and an express Order given to quit the Enterprize. *Furius* was not so bold as his Collegue. He had probably, out of Deference to his Masters, declined a Command, during the Battel, which he presumed would be disliked by the *Romans*. At least, he was for immediately obeying their Orders, as soon as he had received them, and for marching back the Army without Delay. But *Flaminius* encouraged him. *A successful Act of Disobedience*, said he, *is often more honourable than a timorous Submission. The Augurs have deceived the Senate with false Predictions. I appeal to our Victory, in Proof of it. Will the Republick suffer herself to be always imposed upon by deceitful Oracles? Perhaps we may at last teach her to despise those vain Scruples of a ridiculous Religion. Let us go on, and take all the Advantage we can of a Battel, which may put us in Possession of a large Country. For my part, I will not lay down my Consulship till my Year is ended.*

Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 20.

THEN *Flaminius* ordered his Troops to march into *Insubria*; and all that fine Country was given up a Prey to his Soldiers; which gained him the Affection of all his *Legionaries*. But *Furius* would not follow his Collegue's Example. All that he could be prevailed on to do, was to continue unactive in his Camp, and there wait for *Flaminius's* Return, in order to march together, thro' those Nations which were but little affected towards the *Romans*. So that *Flaminius*, with his single Army, seized some Castles, took a pretty considerable City by Force, and gave it up to be plundered by his Soldiers. His *Legionaries* were all *Citizens of Rome*; he would stand in need of their Protection, to screen him from the Attacks of the Senate, at his Return; and he secured them to his Interest, by giving them, with great Liberality, the Wealth which he took from the Enemy. At length, *Flaminius* rejoined his Collegue; and they returned to *Rome* together.

Liv. B. 21.
Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 20.

THE Moment they arrived, both the People and Senate shewed their Resentments against them. No Body went to meet them; nor were they saluted with any of those Acclamations, with which Conquerors used to be honoured, at their Return. Nay, the Senate was preparing to revenge the Contempt shewn to Religion, and the Disobedience to their Orders. *Furius* indeed, who was less criminal than his Collegue, might have obtained a Triumph, but the Senate denied it him, out of Hatred to *Flaminius*. But it was not so with the People. They were prevailed on, without doubt by the Faction of those *Legionaries* whom *Flaminius* had enriched with the Spoils of the Enemy, to decree their General a Triumph. He

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

Year of marched in Procession to the ⁷² *Capitol*, on *The Sixth of the Ides of March*; and
 R O M E his Collegue ⁷³ triumphed two Days after. The Victory had been gained under the
 DXXX. *Auspices* of both. It is said, that the *Gauls* had made a Vow to the God *Mars*, to
 C. FLAMINIUS adorn his Statue with a gold Collar, if they came off victorious: But *Flaminius*
 NEPOS, P. FU made *Jupiter* a more magnificent Present. He consecrated a Trophy of Gold to
 RIUS PHILUS, him. Thus the Boldness of a disobedient Man was crowned with Success; and the
 Consuls. Fayour of the People got the better of the Religion of the Senate. Nevertheless,
 Flor. B. 2. the *Conscript Fathers* obtained some kind of Satisfaction of the refractory *Consuls*,
 Fast. Capit. by obliging them to abdicate, immediately after their Triumph. The Republick
 Plut. Life of fell into an ⁷⁴ *Interregnum*, and one of those who governed the State by turns,
 Marcellus. presided in the *Comitia* for electing new Magistrates ⁷⁵.

Year of §. XXVII. THE *Centuries* cast their Eyes upon one of the greatest Men *Rome*
 R O M E had ever bred. This was the illustrious *Claudius Marcellus*, whose Memory is re-
 DXXXI. corded on Brass, and by so many Historians, that it will never die. It was his par-
 M. CLAUDIUS ticular Glory to have raised the *Plebeian* Branch of the ⁷⁶ *Claudian* Family, much
 MARCELLUS, above the *Patrician* Branches of it. He was the first who bore the Surname of
 CN. CORNELI- *Marcellus*, which is a Proof of his Valour; it was designed to shew, that he was
 US SCIPIO, Consul.
 Plut. Life of
 Marcellus.



⁷² According to *Plutarch*, these People were only enraged at *Flaminius*. He seems to declare, that *Furius* was not reproached, like his Collegue, with having despised the *Auspices*, and the Orders of the Senate. Yet *Zonaras* affirms, that it was charged on them both as a Crime. *Goltzius*, in his *Fasti Consulares*, says, that the Memory of *Flaminius's* Triumph is preserved on a silver Medal. On one Side is the Head of a *Jupiter*, crowned with Lawrel. On the other, a winged Victory, which holds in her left Hand a Palm-Branch, and with her right crowns a Trophy, which represents *Flaminius's* Victory over the *Gauls*.

⁷³ The Descendants of *Furius* have transmitted down to us the Memory of *Publius Furius's* Triumph, by another Medal. The Reverse is a Trophy crowned by a *Bellona*; and we guess, that the Design of *Marcus Furius*, who struck it, was to represent the Triumph of the two *Consuls*, *Caius Flaminius*, and *Publius Furius*, by the two Heads placed Poll to Poll.

⁷⁴ The two *Consuls* for the Year 531, were elected soon after the Triumph and Abdication of the preceding ones, *Caius Flaminius*, and *Publius Furius*. They successively triumphed, one on *The Sixth*, the other on *The Fourth, of the Ides of March*. After which, they were obliged to abdicate the Con-

fulship. Their Successors were therefore elected on *The Ides* of the same Month, as all the Annalists conjecture. At least, this was the Day fixed for assembling the *Comitia* to chuse *Consuls*, for several Years; as will appear in the Course of this History.

⁷⁵ *Livy* and *Plutarch* seem to place a very remarkable Event near this time. *Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Quintus Sulpicius*, were deprived of the Priesthood; the former for having placed on the Altar the Entrails of a Victim, in a different manner from what the Ritual of the *Hebrurians* prescribed. And the second was degraded from being *Flamen*, because the Tuft of his Cap, which was the distinguishing Mark of his Office, fell off from his Head to the Ground, during a Sacrifice. So superstitiously regardful were the *Romans* of Things the most indifferent in themselves! They drew from them Inferences of good or ill Success, according to their own Prepossessions. An accidental Fall, the Cry of a Rat, or Mouse, and the meeting of an Wolf, were all thought ominous.

⁷⁶ There were two Branches of the *Claudian* Family. One was derived from that *Claudius*, who came from *Sabinia* to *Rome*, and was *Patrician*. The other, tho' *Plebeian*, was of considerable Rank in *Rome*, and produced more Great Men than the former. The *Marcelli* were of the *Plebeian* Branch.

born

born for War, and had a martial Genius. And indeed, few *Romans* before him had had more Activity of Body, more Address in handling their Arms, or had shewn greater Ardour to signalize themselves in the Heat of Battels. He chiefly excelled in single Combat; but being neither passionate nor quarrelsome, he reserved all his Fire and Activity for opposing the Enemies of his Country. *Marcellus* was also born with excellent Dispositions for Letters; and if the military Employments, which it was then necessary every *Roman* of Distinction should pass through, prevented his making the Progress in them he desired; yet he had at least as great an Esteem for learned Men, and as much Penetration and Taste for discovering the Beauties of their Works, as any Man of his Age. Nor did his Gravity and Innocence of Manners fall short of his Bravery, and the Excellency of his Understanding. He abhorred all kinds of Irregularity and Excess; and when promoted to the *Edileship*, thought himself obliged to accuse one of his Collegues of a detestable Crime. *Marcellus* had one Son, who was brought up under his Father's Eye, in all the Sentiments which Virtue inspires. This young Man, yet in the Bloom of Life, was tempted to an horrid Crime, by an infamous Debauchee named *Capitolinus*, who was unworthy of the Rank he bore in the Republick. Being tired out with the importunate Sollicitations of this wicked Man, young *Marcellus* communicated the Secret to his Father; whom no Consideration could prevail on to neglect the Rules of Honour and Probity. The *Edile* therefore accused his Collegue; and *Capitolinus* 77 in vain endeavoured to avoid a Trial. He in vain pretended, that he was invested with an Office which rendered his Person sacred: In vain appealed to the *Tribunes of the People*; who would shew him no Protection in so infamous a Case, but forced him to stand Trial. There was no Witness against him, but the young *Marcellus*, who was produced. And his Ingenuity, Modesty, Silence and Tears, were sufficient to get the Offender condemned. A Mark of Infamy was set upon *Capitolinus*; and he was obliged to pay a Fine, with which *Marcellus* caused a Silver Table 78 to be made, and consecrated it to the Service of the Gods. Such was the *Consul Rome* now chose, after he had passed thro' all the Magistracies which were preparative to this supreme Dignity.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXI.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
CN. CORNELI-
US SCIPIO,
Consuls.

§. XXVIII. THE second Head then chosen was *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, a *Patrician*, who had also the Surname of *Calvus*. These two were scarce entered upon their Office, before a Deputation came to *Rome*, from the *Insubres*. After having been vanquished the last Year, they now came to implore the Clemency of the *Roman* People. But the two *Consuls*, perhaps out of a Love of Glory, and that they might have an Opportunity of signalizing their Year with Triumphs, or perhaps out of a real Affection for the publick Good, dissuaded the Senate from concluding a Treaty with these *Gauls*. *We know their Inconstancy*, said they. *They will incessantly give us Trouble, till they are entirely subdued. The Conquest of this fine Country will not only help to aggrandize us, but is absolutely necessary for the Safety of Rome.* These Reasons prevailed on the Senate, to dismiss the *Insubres*, and refuse them a Peace, as untractable Enemies. They therefore resolved to bring into *Italy* a new Inundation of *Gesatae*. These Men, who were always ready to fight for Hire, dwelt probably near the *Rhine*, and their Country was *Germany*, which was then a little confounded with *Gaul*: They took the Road to *Italy*, and passed the *Alpes*, to the Number of thirty thousand. *Viridomarus*, or *Polyb. B. 2;* *Viridomarus*, commanded them, with the Title of King; which these Warriors 34 gave to the Leaders they chose themselves. *Viridomarus* was yet young, beautiful, well made, of the largest Stature, wore glittering Armour, and was very richly dressed, in those military Ornaments, in which his Nation gloried.

EARLY in the Spring, the *Consuls* led their *Legions* into the Field, and passed the *Po*. The Way was open; *Acerræ* 79, a City at a little Distance from

77 This *Scampinius*, surnamed *Capitolinus*, was then *Curule Edile*, according to *Plutarch*. But *Valerius Maximus* seems to insinuate, that he was then *Tribune of the People*, or *Plebeian Edile*. In some Editions of this Author, he is ranked among the *Tribunes*. But the Authority of the former will always be preferred to that of the latter, who is often found to be incorrect.

78 In the Greek Text of *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Marcellus*, the Term is ἀργυροποιβία. But this being

a Word which is nowhere else to be found, it has therefore been doubted, whether the Text has not been corrupted. A modern Author prefers the reading of a MS. which has ἀργυροποιβία; to shew that *Marcellus* did not make a Table of Silver, but some of those Vessels which were used for Libations, in Sacrifices.

79 The ancient City of *Acerræ*, one of the chief Cities in *Insubria*, stood on the Conflux of the *Adda*, and the *Serio*, a little way from *Cremona*. The Village

Year of 80 *Cremona*, and near the *Po*, was the first Place that stopped them. The *Romans* besieged it with two *Consular* Armies, and it made a long Resistance. In the mean while, the *Insubres*, who were afraid of losing one of their Frontier-Towns, and were very unwilling that the *Romans* should get this Key into their Country, deliberated about the Means of delivering the Place. Their Army, since they were reinforced by the *Gæsatae*, was at least ninety thousand Men; but nevertheless, they judged it better to make an useful Diversion, than to expose themselves to the Danger of a Battel, by endeavouring to force the *Romans* to raise the Siege. They therefore passed the *Po*, entered the *Roman* Territories, advanced towards ⁸¹ *Clastidium*, a City of Importance, in the *Hither Liguria*; and were just ready to begin their Attack upon it; and then *Marcellus* could no longer confine himself to his Camp, before *Acerræ*. He ordered two thirds of the *Roman* Cavalry, and a small Body of his light-arm'd Infantry, to follow him; left his Collegue to carry on the Siege; and made long Marches to come up with the Enemy before *Clastidium*. This seemed a rash Enterprize; but he had been informed, that *Viridomarus* was laying waste the Lands on the other Side the *Po*, with a Detachment of ten thousand Men. *Marcellus's* Design was, without doubt, against him alone; or at least, his Intention was barely to watch the Motions of the Enemy. It is very improbable, that he should pretend to charge the whole Army of the *Gauls*, with so small a Body of Horse, and about six hundred Foot. But however that be, (for the Historians have not sufficiently cleared up the Circumstances of this Action, to make it probable) *Marcellus* at least came up with *Viridomarus* and his Detachment, in the Neighbourhood of *Clastidium*. The *Romans* fell exceeding short of their Enemies, in Point of Numbers; but the Confidence of their General supplied that Defect. *Marcellus* ranged his little Army with a great deal of Skill. For fear of being surrounded, he drew it up in one large Front, and then advanced leisurely towards the Enemy. The *Gæsatae* despised so small a Number of Foot; and as for the *Roman* Horse, the *Gauls* had no great Opinion of them. They were excellent Horsemen themselves; and their Cavalry was more numerous. One Difference between them and the *Romans* was this, That their Cavalry was always confusedly mixed with their Infantry, whereas the *Romans* posted theirs in the two Wings of their Armies. Whilst both Armies were advancing, *Viridomarus* left his Ranks, and with a loud Voice challenged the *Roman* General to a single Combat: And that Instant *Marcellus's* Horse started, and on a sudden made a *Demi-volt*. The General well understood the Temper of his *Romans*; knew, that in the Beginning of a Battel, the Observation of the least thing they thought unlucky, was enough to discourage them: And therefore, lest they should put an ill Interpretation on this Accident of his Horse, he made him make an entire *Volt*, and worshiped the Sun. It was customary with the *Romans*, when any one did Honour to the Statue of a God, to turn round: So that this Motion of the General passed for an Act of Religion. And some add, That the *Consul* made a Vow to *Jupiter*, to hang

Front. Strat.
B. 4. c. 5.

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

Village now called *Gberra*, is the poor Remains of that City. We must take care not to confound it with another Town of the same Name, which was in *Campania*, on the Banks of the *Clanio*, near *Suessula*. *Virgil* speaks of it, in his second *Georgick*.

..... *Et vacuis Clanius non aquas Acerris.*

80 The *Gauls*, who came into *Italy* founded *Cremona*. It became in time a considerable City; especially after the *Romans* had sent a Colony thither.

81 *Plutarch* places *Clastidium* in *Cisalpine Gaul*: But *Livy* places it among the Cities of *Liguria Montana*. Which can only be reconciled by saying it stood on the Borders of both Provinces. It was then so inconsiderable, that *Plutarch* does not think fit to give it the Name of a City. According to him, it was only a small Town between the *Po*, and the *Alpes*.

82 *Plutarch* tells us, that this Way of worshipping the Gods, by turning round, was enjoined by *Numa*. And the *Gauls* had this Custom among them, as well as the *Romans*, only with this Difference, That the latter turned to the right, the former

to the left. This is observed by *Pliny the Naturalist*, B. 28. c. 2. *In adorando, dexteram ad osculum referimus, totumque corpus circumagimus, quod in lavam Galli fecisse religiosius credunt.* *Plautus* alludes to this Custom, in his *Curculio*. *If you salute the Gods, I think you ought to turn to the right, [si Deos salutes, dextrorsum censeo,]* replies *Palinurus*, to his Master *Phedromus*, who says, he is in such Confusion he knows not which way to turn. *Quo me verum nescio.* It is not easy to guess, for what Reason *Numa* enjoined this Ceremony. Some imagine, his Design was to represent the orbicular Motion of the Heavens, the Habitation of the Gods, according to Pagan Principles. But *Plutarch* thinks it had a Reference to the Scites of ancient Temples. According to the Rites of Paganism, it was necessary they should look Eastward. So that those who came to offer up their Prayers and Vows in them could not enter them without looking to the West, or come out of them without looking towards the East. And these two Motions made an entire Round, according to this Author. But it is more natural to say, that the *Roman* Lawgiver designed to signify by this turning round, the Imminensity of the Divine Being, who

hang up in his Temple, the richest Spoil of the Enemy ; after which, *Viridomarus* immediately appeared before him ; and he could not but think his magnificent Dress a present worthy to be offered to the King of the Gods.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXI.

MARCELLUS, who had now his utmost Wishes, accepted the Challenge ; single Combat was his Talent. The two Parties left the Field free for the Champions ; and both Armies continued unactive, waiting to see the Issue of the Duel. *Marcellus* rushed upon his Enemy full speed, and with the first Stroke with his Lance, pierced his Breast-plate, and gave him a deep Wound. Then bearing hard with his Horse upon that of the *Gaul*, he made him recoil, rear, and throw his Rider ; after which, he with repeated Blows dispatched him. When he was dead, the *Roman* stripped him, according to the military Laws ; and holding these magnificent Ornaments in his Hand, he lifted up his Eyes to Heaven, and said ; Great Jupiter, to thee I dedicate these most valuable Spoils ! I will, after the Example of the Founder of Rome, go, and offer them in the Temple, which he erected to thy Honour. Continue to protect us, and support the Courage of the Romans in the Battel ! Upon these words, the *Romans* charged the disheartened *Gesatæ*, who had lost their Leader, pressed hard upon them, and overthrew them, notwithstanding the great Numbers of other *Gauls*, that ran to their Assistance. In short, the Consul retired, loaded with Glory, and the valuable Spoils of *Viridomarus*. A most memorable Action, which scarce ever was equalled ! A Handful of *Romans* puts a whole Army of *Gauls* to flight, and delivers a City from the Siege with which it was threatned. It would be difficult to find such another Instance in all History.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
CN. CORNELI-
US SCIPIO,
Consuls.
Plut. ibid.

§. XXIX. DURING *Marcellus's* Absence, *Acerræ* had been taken by his Colleague ; who had gone from thence, and attacked ⁸³ *Milan*, the largest, richest, and most populous City in *Insubria*. But an Hero's Presence was necessary to subdue it. *Cornelius* suffered extremely before the Place. He was more closely besieged by the Army of the *Gauls*, than *Milan* was by him. But upon *Marcellus's* Arrival, the whole Scene was changed. The Death of *Viridomarus*, and the Name of his Conqueror, both filled the *Gesatæ* with Terror : and they, despairing of Success, fled, repassed the *Alpes*, left the Inhabitants of *Milan* to the Mercy of the Conquerors ; and their City surrendered. After this, *Coma* submitted to the Dominion of the *Romans* ; and in short, all *Insubria* was now reduced to a Necessity of surrendering to the victorious Republick, at Discretion. Thus all *Italy*, from the *Alpes* to the *Ionian* Sea, became entirely *Roman*. A great Event, and sufficient of itself to eternize the Memory of *Rome* ! To say that this City, which was so contemptible in her Beginning, did, in the space of about five hundred Years, make herself Mistress of all that Country ; pass Barriers which seemed unsurmountable : and extend her Conquests even beyond the Seas ; is indeed but too mean an Encomium on her Virtue, her military Labours, her indefatigable Constancy, and the Wisdom of her Senate. *Insubria* and *Liguria* were now made one Province, and called *Cisalpine Gaul*. *Rome* changed their Laws and Customs, and resolved from that time to govern this Province by *Prætors*, tho' it was long before she sent any to it. The *Insubres* indeed, and other Nations of the *Gauls*, revolted afterwards, and took up Arms for *Hannibal*, as soon as he had passed the *Alpes* ; but they were then Rebels, who made War with lawful Sovereigns. However, *Rome* took proper Precautions to keep them steady. She sent Colonies to *Cremona* and ⁸⁴ *Placentia*,

Entrop. B. 3.

*Plut. Life of
Marcellus.*

who has neither Beginning nor End, and whose Power reaches beyond the Bounds of the Universe. Perhaps, adds *Plutarch*, this circular Motion was an Imitation of the *Egyptian* Wheels, which were made to shew, that there is nothing stable in this World. *Clemens Alexandrinus* had made the same Remark, after a Grammarian called *Dionysius of Thrace*. He says, that the *Egyptian* Priests turned round a Wheel, in the Presence of those who came to the Temples of the *Egyptian* Gods. The Design of this Ceremony was, according to this Father, to represent to them the Instability of human Affairs. And at the same time Flowers, and Branches of Trees with their Leaves upon them, were given them ; to signify thereby, as is pretended, the Shortness of our Lives.

83 We have observed, *Vol. 2. p. 6.* that *Milan* was founded by a Swarm of those *Gauls*, who came into *Italy* with *Bellovesus*. *Livy* and most ancient Writers agree in it. This City was afterwards a *Municipium* : And it has for many Ages been esteemed one of the most ancient, and most famous Cities in *Europe*.

84 The Etymologists conjecture, that the agreeable Situation of *Placentia*, the Beauty of the Country, and the Sweetness of the Climate, was what gave it the Name which it still retains. It was built by the *Romans*, who gave it the Title of a Colony, in the beginning of the *Carthaginian* Wars. *Cicero* ranks it among the *Municipia*. The *Roman* Republick built a Port, at some distance from the City, for the Convenience of Trade.

Year of one on that Side, the other on this Side the *Po*; and she demanded but small *ROM E* Tributes of so mutinous a People.

DXXXI.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
CN. CORNELI-
US SCIPIO,
Consuls.
Tab. Triumph.

Prop. B. 4.
Eleg. Serv. in
Æneid 6. and
Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

Tab. Triumph.
Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

THIS noble Conquest, for which the Republick was wholly indebted to *Marcellus*, procured him the Honours of an extraordinary Triumph. The Decree passed by the Senate and People, was, *That M. Claudius Marcellus should triumph, for having conquered the Insubres and Germans.* This is the first time we find the Name of *Germans* in any Records of the *Roman* Story; the *Gefatæ* came ⁸⁵ originally from *Germany*. Besides, an ancient *Roman* Author assures us, that they lived on the Banks of the *Rhine*, and that *Viridomarus* calls himself the Son of the *Rhine*. Add to this, that the Victory the *Consul* had gained over this King of the Barbarians, gave great Lustre to his Triumph. There had been but one more Instance, since *Romulus's* time, of a *Roman* General, who had killed the Enemy's General with his own Hands. *Marcellus* was the third, who gained those Spoils called ⁸⁶ *Opima*, that is, the best of all Spoils. *Romulus* had dedicated those he had taken from King *Acron*, to ⁸⁷ *Jupiter Feretrius*. *Numa* had since made a Law, requiring that the second Spoils of this kind, which should be taken, should be consecrated to *Mars*, and the third to *Quirinus*. And accordingly, *Cornelius Cossus* had hung up those he had taken from *Tolumnius* King of the *Tuscan*s, in the Temple of *Mars*. But *Marcellus* had made a Vow, that he would dedicate the Spoils he hoped to take from *Viridomarus*, to *Jupiter*. And therefore it is probable, that in order to reconcile his Vow and the Law, he went first, and presented them to *Jupiter*, and afterwards hung them up in the Temple of *Quirinus*, that is, *Romulus*. But be that as it will, the *Romans* were never more delighted with any Sight, than that of this triumphant Victor.

ON the first Day of *March*, the Procession began in great Order. The Senators, and all other Bodies of Men in the Republick, joined in it. A prodigious Number of Prisoners taken in *Insubria*, were led before the Triumphal Chariot; but *Marcellus* himself chiefly attracted the Eyes of all the People. He had dressed up a young Oak, which he had cut on the Top of an Hill, with the Arms and Habit of *Viridomarus*, and thereby made a Trophy of it; which the triumphant ⁸⁸ Victor carried on his own Shoulders. The *Consular* Army followed his Chariot, and made the Air ring with the military Songs they sung in Praise of the Conqueror. The Collars, and Bracelets of Gold, which were taken from the Enemy, and carried in great State, on Biers, were almost numberless. In this manner, *Marcellus* passed through the City, in his Way, to the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*; where, after the usual Sacrifices and Thanksgivings to the Gods, the Spoils were distributed. A



⁸⁵ *Polybius* indeed places the *Gefatæ* near the *Rhone*. But it appears that this Name was common to other Nations, originally *Gauls*, which dwelt near the *Rhine*. And indeed several Nations from beyond the *Alpes*, assembled together from different Countries to join their Arms with those of their Countrymen, against the *Roman* Republick.

⁸⁶ See the Origin of this Expression, *Opima Spolia*, Vol. 1. p. 36.

⁸⁷ *Plutarch* says, that the Appellation of *Feretrius* given to *Jupiter*, alluded to the Cries of the Soldiers in the Heat of a Battel, *Feri, Feri, Strike, Kill.* See Vol. 1. p. 36. Note 131.

⁸⁸ Several Medals have preserved the Memory of this Triumph of *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*. On the Reverse of one of them is this General depositing his Trophy in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*. It is

past doubt, that the Surname of *Marcellinus*, which is on the Face of this Medal, belonged to *Cneius Cornelius Lentulus*. This *Roman*, who was descended from the *Claudian* Family, was adopted into the *Cornelian*. And for the Honour of his Family, he transmitted to Posterity the Name and Exploits of the famous *Claudius Marcellus*, whom he reckoned to be one of his Ancestors. The Coiner intended to point out the reciprocal Affection of the *Sicilians* and the *Marcelli*, by the Figure of the three Thighs joined together, which he has put on the Face of the Medal. *Cicero* tells us, in his *Fifth Oration* against *Verres*, that the *Marcelli* were zealous Patrons of the *Sicilians*. Not to mention the Festival instituted at *Syracuse*, under the Name of *Festa Marcella*. We shall see this City conquered by the *Romans* under the Conduct of the illustrious *Marcellus*.

Part of them was sent to good King *Hiero*, that faithful Friend to the Republick, who was yet living; and Part to the Cities of some other Allies. And lastly, a Cup of Gold, of a great Weight, was made out of them, and sent to ⁸⁹ *Delphi*, for a Present to the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* ⁹⁰. This was the third and last Triumph, wherein any *Opima Spolia* were seen in *Rome*. Single Combats between Generals, at the Head of Armies, grew out of use after this time.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXII.
M. MINUCIUS
RUFUS, P.
CORNELIUS
SCIPIO ASINA,
Consuls.

§.XXX. As for the Collegue of *Marcellus*, he did not indeed receive the Honours of a Triumph. But he had reason to be the less offended at the Preference so justly given to *Marcellus*; because of the Distinction the assembled *Centuries* shewed him. *Cornelius* was continued General in *Cisalpine Gaul*, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*; not indeed to subdue it by Force of Arms, after it had submitted; but to regulate the Affairs of the *Province*, and subject it to the Laws of the other *Roman Provinces*. The same *Comitia* elected also two new *Consuls*; which were *M. Minucius Rufus*, and ⁹¹ *Cornelius Scipio*, surnamed *Asina*: and had it not been the Fate of *Rome* to be ever in Arms, she might now have enjoyed an Interval of Peace, after the Conquest of all *Italy*. But a slight Occasion for beginning a War, offering itself, the *Romans* took hold of it, and the *Consuls* led their two Armies into the Field. *Istria* ⁹² had given some little Offence to the Republick. As the *Istri* bordered both upon the *Gauls* and *Illyricans*, they sympathized with these two conquered Nations, and were afraid of the same Fate themselves. But these Apprehensions did not make them the more circumspect. As they bordered upon the *Adriatic Sea*, they fitted out Privateers, which took some of the *Roman Ships*; and this was enough to bring a War upon them. The Senate thought it very necessary, in order to unite *Illyricum* to *Italy*, which they had now subdued. The Conquerors therefore entered *Istria*, and encamped by the River *Ister*, which is a different River from the *Danube*, and empties itself into the *Adriatic Sea*. But the *Istri* did not long exercise the *Roman Valour*. One Year was sufficient to reduce them. It is said indeed, that it cost the Conquerors a great deal of Blood: But be that as it will, it is certain that some Parts of this large Region submitted to the *Roman Yoke*, willingly; and that the rest were compelled to bear it. Whether the two *Consuls* triumphed, is hard to say; for here *The Triumphal Tables* fail us. But it is probable, that so noble a Victory did not go unrewarded. As for *Emilius Asina*, ⁹³ the Medals have transmitted his Name with Glory to us, tho' *The Marbles* have not. On some *Denarii*, which are yet preserved, we see a *Victory* driving a Triumphal Chariot; and they have the Name of *Cornelius Asina* inscribed upon them. But neither Historians, nor Medals, mention any Triumph granted to his Collegue *Minucius*.

Plin. B. 3. c. 8.
Livy, Epit. 20.
Orosius, B. 4.
c. 13.

§.XXXI.

⁸⁹ See Vol. 1. p. 181. Note 100.
⁹⁰ See our Account of the Surname of *Pythius* given to *Apollo*, Vol. 1. p. 578. Note 49.

⁹¹ This is the same *Cornelius Scipio Asina*, who, two Years after, in the beginning of the second *Carthaginian War*, was one of the *Triumviri* appointed by the Republick, to conduct a *Roman Colony* to *Placentia*. The Surname of *Asina* was hereditary in this Branch of the *Cornelian Family*. *Macrobius* gives us this Account of the Origin of this Nick-Name. One *Cornelius*, says he, the Head of the Branch of the *Asinae*, had bought a Piece of Ground, or as others, had betrothed his Daughter. And being required to give a legal Security for the Payment of the Sum agreed on, he ordered an Ass, loaded with the Money then current, to be led to the *Forum*, where the *Prætor* was administering Justice; and replied, This is the Security I will give you. The Surname of *Scipio* was brought into this Family by one *Cornelius*, who thought it his Duty to lead about his Father who was become blind. He was as it were the *Staff* of his old Age. Hence the Surname of *Scipio*, (which signifies a *Staff*) was given to him and his Descendants.

⁹² *Justin* pretends, that the *Istri* came originally from *Colchis*. They, says he, whom King *Æsa*, the Father of *Medea*, had sent in search of his Daughter, who had been carried away by the *Argonauts*, arrived in the *Euxine Sea*, from whence they

came to the Mouth of the *Danube*, and followed the Course of that River. Then they carried their Ships cross the Mountains, to the nearest Shore of *The Adriatic Sea*; and when they came there, lost all Hopes of coming up with the *Argonauts*; and therefore resolved not to return home, for fear of being sacrificed to the King's Resentments. So that they retired into this Country, which they called *Istria*, from the Name of *Ister*, the old Name of the *Danube*; because they had made a Part of their Voyage on that River. Nevertheless, it is most generally believed, that a River *Ister*, which is very different from the *Danube*, and runs into *The Adriatic Sea*, gave the Name of *Istria* to this Province, which joins to *Illyricum*. The only Question therefore is, what River this was which was called *Ister*. *Sozomen* and *Zosimus* say, it was in their time called *Aquilis*. But we don't find any River of this Name mentioned by the Historians or ancient Geographers. *Pliny* seems to insinuate, that it was not far from *Trieſte*; and if so, it must have been the River which the old Geographers call *Formio*, now the *Rhezano*, which divides *Istria* from *Carniola*: or at least one of those Rivers that water this Country. See Vol. 2. p. 307. Note 50. This Country was formerly bounded by the *Arſa*, and the *Rhezano*. Now, as in *Strabo's* time, it reaches as far as to *Timave* on one Side; and to the Frontiers of *Croatia* on the other.

⁹³ We have the Authority of *Vinandus Pighius* for

Year of
R O M E
DXXXII.
M. MINUCIUS
RUFUS, P.
CORNELIUS
SCIPIO ASINA,
Consuls.

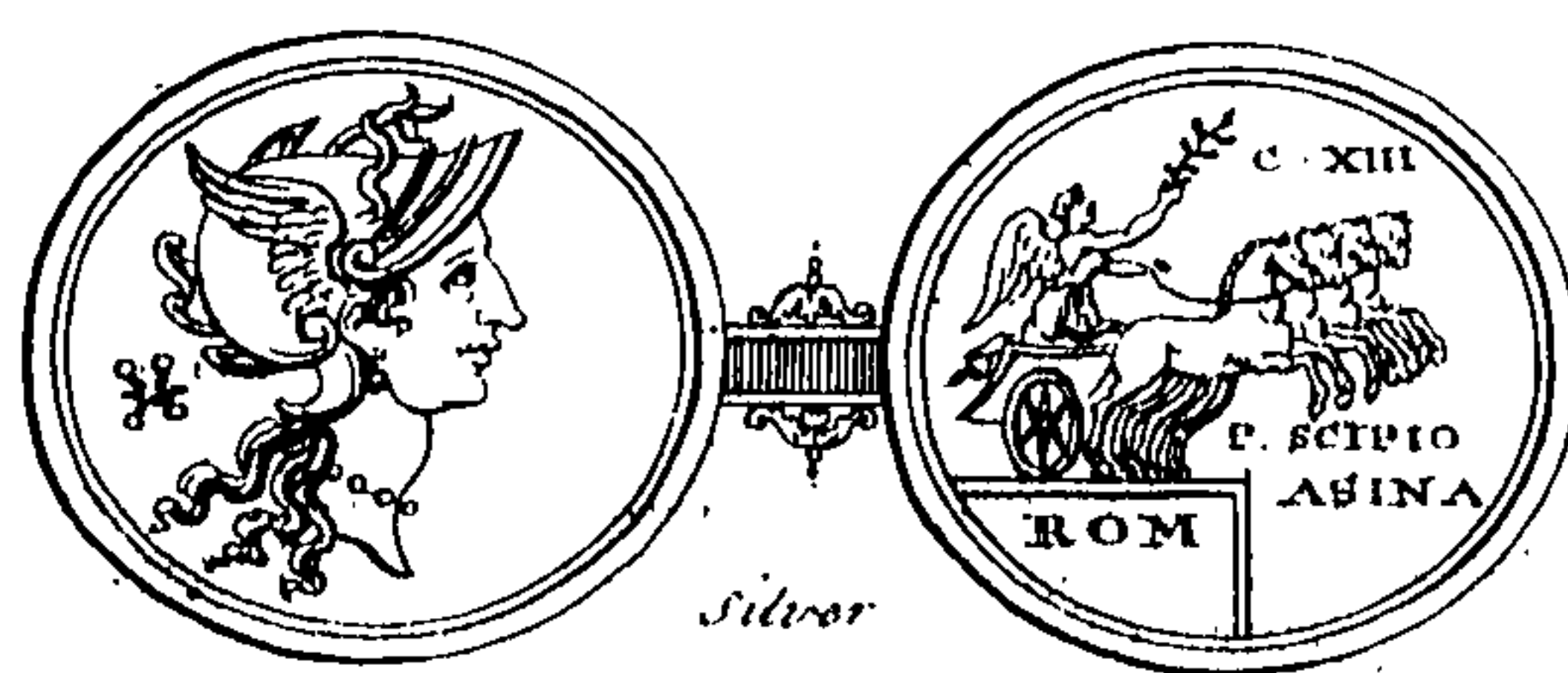
Polybius, B. 2.
c. 36.
Livy, B. 21.
c. 2.

Polybius, *ibid.*

§. XXXI. HOWEVER, this at least is sure, that in their time the News was brought to *Rome* of the Death of *Asdrubal*, and of the Choice the *Carthaginians* in *Spain* had made of the famous *Hannibal* to be their General. As long as *Asdrubal* lived, the Republick had reason to depend on his observing the Treaties she had made with him. He never broke through any Articles he had agreed to; and during his Life, the *Saguntini* lived secure, under the Protection of *Rome*. He enlarged the Boundaries of his Republick, rather by Insinuation and Address, than by Violence and Force of Arms. This Merit in him, *Rome* had no reason to complain of, tho' very jealous of his Progress; and she lamented his Death, on account of the manner in which it happened, as well as because the World lost in him a Conqueror of great Moderation. Different Accounts were given of it; but the general Report was this, that a *Gaul* had privately assassinated him in the Night, in his own Tent, in Revenge for personal Injuries. To which others added, that the Murderer being taken, and tortured, he suffered with a smiling Air, as applauding himself for a fine Action. As for *Hannibal*, who succeeded him in his Command, he from that time became the Terror of the *Romans*. He remembered the Oath he had taken, to be an irreconcilable Enemy to *Rome*; and if his Sentiments had not been known, his Character was of itself sufficient to give her some Apprehensions. He was said to be a Man, in the Flower of his Age, not past twenty six, and educated by a Father, who had the Reputation of being the greatest Soldier *Carthage* had ever bred. It was affirmed, That the Son, who had already signalized himself by numberless Exploits, whereby he had merited the Generalship, promised greater Abilities than his Father; and That, without the Phlegm, which Years and Experience give, he was more bold, more enterprising, and more subtle, than *Hamilcar* himself.

AND indeed, the first Expedition *Hannibal* undertook, confirmed the *Romans* in their Fears. He made War with the 94 *Olcades*, a People bordering upon the *Iberus*; and gave reason to believe, that he would soon pass it, notwithstanding the Treaties to the contrary. He had already taken the City of *Althæa*, by Assault, and given the World an high Opinion of his Courage. The Cities in that Neighbourhood had already submitted to him: and the Conquest of this rich Country had made him Master of the Silver Mines, which were found here in great Plenty. Thus he established a Reputation in his first Campaign; and as soon as it was over, made it his whole Business to gain the Affections of his Soldiers, whose Esteem he had deserved. During the Winter, which he spent at *New Carthage*, he payed his Soldiers with the Silver he had taken from the *Olcades*; and by his Liberalities, secured himself their Affections for ever. But all this while, *Rome* had yet no reason to declare herself his Enemy; and she therefore turned her Arms another Way 95.

§. XXXII.



for one of these Medals; which he says he examined, and found to be ancient. *Monsieur Vaillant*, and *Goltzius*, have inserted it in their *Fasti Consulares*. On one Side of it, is a winged Victory driving a triumphal Chariot, and holding a Branch of Laurel in her Hand. The Face of it, is the Head of a *Roman*, with an Helmet on.

94 *Snidas* places the *Olcades* near *New Carthage*. But some say they inhabited that Part of *Batica*, of which *Cartela*, now *Tariffa*, was the Capital. Nevertheless, *Polybius* says, that the capital City of the *Olcades* was *Althæa*, which is thought to have been near the Place where *Ocagna* now stands, which is in the Kingdom of *Toledo*. If the *Olcades* were a People of *Barica*, they must have lived near the lit-

tle River now called *Rio Tinto*, which was formerly called the *Iberus*, as well as another great River of *Spain*, which rises in the Mountains of the *Asturias*, and discharges itself into the Sea, after it has run through *Old Castille* and *Aragon*. If I may be permitted to guess at the old Habitation of the *Olcades*, it seems to me more natural to believe, that their Country bordered on the Territory of *Cardis*. At least this was one of the first Countries the *Carthaginians* conquered. But it must be owned the Ancients have not said enough of it, to determine us in these Uncertainties.

95 *Sigonius*, in his *Fasti Consulares*, and after him *Vinandus Piginius*, have placed the first Dictatorship of *Quintus Fabius Maximus* towards the End of the Year

S. XXXII. *ILLYRICUM*, formerly subdued by the *Romans*, seemed inclined to shake off the Yoke: And her Hostilities were owing to a Person, from whom they ought least to have been expected. It may be remembered, that the Republic had heaped many Favours on *Demetrius of Pharos*. After she had assigned him large Estates, and ample Revenues, she assisted him in putting him in *Teuta's* Place, making him Guardian to the young King *Pinaeus*, and lodging the Government of *Illyricum* in his Hands, in Quality of Regent. And then, these Dignities made him alter his Conduct, tho' not his Principles. He had begun with being a Traitor to his Country; and now returned the Favours he had received from the *Romans*, with Ingratitude. When he saw them embarrassed with a difficult War with the *Gauls*, and found that *Carthage* wanted only a fair Opportunity to declare War with them, he despised their Orders, endeavoured to make Conquests in the Countries *Rome* had subdued, and forced the *Atintanes*, who had surrendered themselves up to the *Romans*, to come into his Measures, and renounce their Alliance with the Republic. Nor was this all. He acted as King in all Places; governed the *Illyrians* with Severity; and even ventured, contrary to the Treaty, to send fifty Ships of War beyond *Lyffos*, to pillage the ⁹⁶ *Cyclades*, or at least lay them under Contribution. Complaints of the People he had plundered or used ill, were brought to *Rome*, from all Parts; and the Senate at last thought it necessary to turn their Arms against a Wretch, whom neither Probity, nor the sacred Ties of Oaths, could keep within the Bounds of his Duty. The new Consuls, ⁹⁷ *L. Veturius Philo*, and *C. Lutatius*, would have immediately set sail for *Illyricum*, if their Election had not been found defective. Before their Abdication, they

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIII.
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, C. LUTATIUS, Con-
suls.

App. in Illyr.

Dis. in Ext. &
Fast. B. 29.

Year 532. The *Capitoline Marbles* being defective, as to the Magistrates for this, and the following Years, they have, for want of their Authority, followed *Livy* and *Valerius Maximus*. It is certain, according to these two Authors, that *Quintus Fabius* was twice Dictator. The former expressly says, that the *Roman People* invested him with this Power a second time, after the unfortunate Battel of the Lake *Thrasimenus*. So that he had enjoyed the Honours of the Dictatorship already. *Valerius Maximus* also says, that *Quintus Fabius* had just named *Caius Flaminius* for his General of Horse, when all on a sudden a Mouse was heard to squeek. This was a fatal Prognostick, according to the Principles of the *Augural Science*: and those who were present, being alarmed at it, they fancied, that the Election of these two Magistrates was not approved of by the Gods. So that they were both obliged to abdicate, in order to calm the Minds of a superstitious People. And *Plutarch* says the same thing in his *Life of Marcellus*, only with this Difference, that he substitutes *Marcus Minucius* in the room of *Fabius*. But this is the Error of some Copyist, who read *Minucius*, instead of *Maximus*, which was the Surname of *Fabius*; or else the Mistake was founded in *Fabius's* having created *Minucius* his General of Horse, when he was made Dictator the second time. But be that as it will, the joint Testimonies of *Valerius Maximus* and *Livy*, are a sufficient Proof that *Fabius* was twice created Dictator. And we have another Proof of it in an ancient Inscription quoted by *Onuphrius*, and mentioned by *Victorius*. It recites all the Titles and Dignities with which *Fabius* was ever honoured; and his two Dictatorships are expressly named. The Difficulty is, to assign the Time when he was first advanced to that Dignity: and we guess it was not far from this time. It seems well enough to suit the time when the two Consuls were employed in the War in *Istria*, and could not probably preside in the *Comitia* by Centuries, which were to chuse their Successors. It is likely that *Quintus Fabius* was created Dictator for that purpose. His Election was faulty, as we have observed; and therefore it was necessary to chuse another, whose Name we should doubtless have had, if the *Capitoline Marbles* had been preserved entire. And if I may be allowed to guess, I shall suppose, that *Marcus Aemilius Barbula* was

chosen in *Fabius's* room. At least, an ancient Inscription, which we find on a Medal, gives him the Name of Dictator; and we think this the most convenient Year to be assigned for his Dictatorship.

96 The Name of *Cyclades* was formerly given to the Islands in the *Archipelago*, because they form a Circle round *Delos*, a little Island revered by the Ancients, for being the reputed Birth-place of *Diana* and *Apollo*. These two Divinities had a stately Temple in it. The Inhabitants of all these Islands sent to it every Year a Company of Virgins, who celebrated the Memory of these Children of *Latona*, with Dancing. And at the same time, they sent chosen Persons to assist at the Solemnity, and offer Sacrifices in the Name of the neighbouring Nations. Some rank among the *Cyclades*, the Islands the Ancients commonly called *Sporades*, because scattered about in the *Aegean Sea*, at a greater Distance from *Delos*, than the former. Among the fifty three *Cyclades* which the Geographers reckon from *Tenedos* to *Crete*, there were twelve considerable ones, which we shall have Occasion to mention hereafter. The Rocks and Shelves that surround them, make it difficult to come at them.

97 *Zonaras* and *Cassiodorus* have preserved the *Prenomina* and Names of *Lucius Veturius*, and *Caius Lutatius*; but don't distinguish their Surnames. And no other ancient Historian mentions these two Consuls. This *Veturius Philo* seems to be the same Man who died in his Censorship, as we shall observe hereafter. His Colleague *Caius Lutatius Catulus*, was the Son of him who put an end the first *Carthaginian War*. *Sigonius* guesses that they did not finish the Year of their Consulship; but abdicated, under Pretence that there was some Defect in their Election: And he thinks, that the Republic chose *Marcus Aemilius Lepidus*, and *Marcus Valerius Laevinus*, to succeed them. The Foundation of his Conjecture is this: *Livy* says that the latter were twice promoted to the Consulship. Now it is certain, from the *Fasti Capitolini*, That *Marcus Aemilius Lepidus* was Consul the first time, in the Year 521. Besides, *Livy* assures us, B. 29, and 30, that *Valerius Laevinus* was twice Consul. All that remains therefore is, to find out *Lepidus's* second Consulship, and *Laevinus's* first. Now these two Consulships are not found in the *Capitoline Marbles*, between the Beginning of the first *Punic War*, and the Year 532.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIII.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS, M.
VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls
Liv. Epit. 20.

Flor. in Epit.
Liv. 20.

Plin. B. 25.
c. 17.

they had gone to *Cisalpine Gaul*, had run thro' all the Countries at the Foot of the *Alpes*, and compleated the Reduction of several little Districts, which were not before subject to the *Roman Dominion*. But upon being recalled, and forced to abdicate, before their Year expired, they gave Place to *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who was now raised to the *Consulship* a second time, and to *M. Valerius Lævinus*: and the Year being too far advanced for the *Illyrican Expedition*, it was postponed till the succeeding *Consulship*. So that *Lepidus* and *Lævinus* continued in the City; and applied themselves to Works of Peace. By their Orders, the *Consular Armies* were employed in building a *Circus*, and levelling a great Road from *Rome* to 98 *Ariminum*. Such Care was then taken, not to suffer the Troops to languish away their Time in Idleness! The *Circus* and great Road both bore the Name of 99 *Flaminius*, who was then *Censor*, and without doubt formed the Plan of these great Works, carried them on, and took care of the Execution of them. The *Flaminian Circus* was placed without the City, pretty near the Gate *Carmentalis*, between the *Capitol* and the *Campus Martius*. And the same *Flaminius*, and his Colleague *L. Æmilius Papus*, made their *Censorship* memorable, by the forty third *Lustrum*. There then appeared to be in *Rome*, two hundred seventy thousand two hundred and thirteen *Citizens*, fit to bear Arms. They also formed the Senate, by pitching upon the Members which were to compose it: They incorporated all the *Freed-men*, who enrolled themselves in any *Tribe* they thought fit, into four *Tribes* only: And lastly, they, at the Request of one *Metilius*, a *Tribune of the People*, reformed the Luxury of private Persons. The Fullers were ordered not to make the Habits of the Candidates for Offices, or of the common People, whiter than ordinary; and not to make use of Chalk, or other Drugs, for that Purpose. These little Niceties plainly shew the great Modesty of the *Romans* at that time. A more than ordinary Degree of Whiteness in the Stuffs now worn gave them Offence.

§. XXXIII. AND now the War before resolved on with the *Illyricans* was undertaken. *Demetrius* had deserved the Resentment of *Rome*, and their Vengeance was now ready.

And yet these *Marbles* have given us a complete chronological List of the Magistrates which had successively governed *Rome*, for above forty Years, ending with this time. But at the same time *Livy*, who gives us an exact List of all the *Consuls* during the second *Punic War*, leaves no vacant Room for this second *Consulship* of *Lepidus*, and the first of *Lævinus*. We must therefore find a Place for them in one of the three preceding Years, in which both the *Capitoline Marbles* and *Livy*, are defective. For this we must have Recourse to Conjecture: And we have chosen rather to suppose the Abdication of *Veturius* and *Lutatius*, and the Election of *Lævinus* and *Lepidus* in their room, than entirely to rase out the first *Consulship* of *Lucius Valerius Lævinus*, and the second of *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*; which would have confounded the Order of the *Consulships*.

98 We have spoken of *Ariminum*, Vol. 2. This City, now called *Rimini*, stands in *Romagnia*, a Province of *The Ecclesiastical State*.

99 The Ancients don't agree about the time when *The Flaminian Circus* was built. According to *Plutarch*, in his *Roman Questions*, it was so called from one *Flaminius*, who lived long before him who was *Censor* in this Year 533. He was a very rich Citizen, says that Author, who left the *Roman People* a very large Field, on Condition that they should annually celebrate *Equestrian Games* in it, in Honour to *Apollo*. And he gave a considerable Revenue to defray the Expences of the *Shew*. Then, adds *Plutarch*, this Field was made into the Form of a *Circus*; and because the Sums allotted for it, were much more than enough, the Over-plus was employed in levelling and paving the great Road, which was called *The Flaminian Way*, or *Via Flaminia*. *Livy*, B. 3. c. 63. speaks of *The Flaminian Meadows*, in which the *Tribes*, and sometimes the Senate, assembled: and expressly says, that from the Year 300, this Quarter, which was without the City, was cal-

led *Circus Apollinaris*. *Consules in prata Flaminia, ubi nunc Aedes Apollinis est, (Circum jam tum Apollinarem appellabant) advocavere Senatum*. On the other hand, *Florus*, and among others *Festus*, give the Honour of these new Works to *Flaminius* the *Censor*. *Flaminius Circus & Via Flaminia, a Flaminio Consule dicta sunt qui ab Annibale interfectus est, ad Lacum Thrasimenum*. Nevertheless, these Authors may be fairly so construed as to remove these seeming Contradictions, and make them all of one Opinion. We allow, with *Livy* and *Plutarch*, that *The Flaminian Meadows*, and the Man who gave them to the People, were in being almost as early as the Establishment of the Republick. We will also grant, That this Place was, in these early Times, thrown into the Form of a *Circus*; and, That the *Romans* had their Chariot-Races and Horse-Races there. And to this we will add, that it was then called *Circus Apollinaris*, from a little Temple of *Apollo*, which stood near it, or in *The Flaminian Field*. But we may, notwithstanding all this, affirm, That *Flaminius* the *Censor* made it Matter of Merit, to repair or embellish a Work which bore the Name of his Family, and which he looked on as a Monument of the Liberality of one of his Ancestors. This *Circus* stood near the *Herb-Market*. Those whom the Republick, for Reasons of State, forbade entering the City, lived there. The Senate often assembled there, to treat with the Ambassadors of the Nations which were Enemies to *Rome*. And we shall hereafter see *The Flaminian Circus* embellished with stately Ornaments, and brought within the *Pomurium*, in the Reign of *Augustus Caesar*. *The Flaminian Way*, which was the other Work of *Caius Flaminius*, began at the Gate *Flumentana*, and reached two hundred and twenty thousand Geometrical Paces, according to *Antoninus's Itinerary*; or a hundred and ninety four Miles, according to *Pentinger's Tables*.

The two *Consuls*, *M. Livius Salinator*, and *L. Æmilius* ¹⁰⁰ *Paulus*, were both charged with this important Commission; tho' some Authors pretend, that it fell by Lot to *Æmilius* only. His Collegue *Salinator* had his Share in it; and they both embarked for *Illyricum*. The treacherous *Demetrius* was a Man of Expedition, and wanted neither Address nor Courage. Before the Storm came, he had taken proper Measures to secure himself a Shelter from it. *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, his Neighbour, lay under the highest Obligations to him. The Assistance the Regent had given him, in his Wars with the confederated *Achaïans*, indispensably obliged him to receive *Demetrius* into his Dominions, in case of Misfortune; so that this was a sure Retreat. But *Demetrius* did not stop there. He fortified *Dimalum*, a City of Importance in *Illyricum*; put all the Governors of Places he suspected, to Death; substituted others in their room, on whom he could depend; and held his Court in his Island of *Pharos*, where he gathered together all the choicest of his Troops.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIV.
M. LIVIUS SALINATOR, L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Consuls.

ÆMILIUS, to whom the greatest Part of the Glory of the Campaign was certainly due, came early in the Spring, and sat down before *Dimalum*, this formidable ¹⁰¹ Bulwark, with which the Regent pretended to screen himself from the Vengeance of *Rome*. *Demetrius* thought this Port impregnable; and the *Consul* was full of Expectation, that upon his taking it, all the old Allies of *Rome*, who had been compelled to submit to the Tyrant by Force, would with Joy return to the *Roman* Dominion. He therefore made surprizing Efforts to subdue it; and in seven Days time made himself Master of it. Then, the Report of this glorious Conquest was no sooner spread in *Illyricum*, but all the Nations contended who should first send Deputies to the *Consuls*, to make their Submissions. They were much better pleased to obey the Laws of an equitable Republick, than those of an avaricious and imperious Master, whom she had set over them, before she was not sufficiently acquainted with the Man. And then, this first Success induced the *Consuls* to attempt the taking of *Pharos*, the second and last Refuge of the Regent, in his own Country. This seemed a more difficult Enterprize, and *Æmilius* thought Stratagem, as well as Valour, was necessary, in order to conquer an Island defended by the choicest Troops of a great Nation; and which must be attacked both by Sea and Land, at the same time. The *Consuls* had a considerable Fleet, and two *Consular* Armies, which were used to stand their Ground; and they divided their Troops into two Parts, one of which they kept on Board, and landed the other in the Island, in the Night, with Orders to hide themselves in the Forests, and behind the Rocks. This first Descent was made unknown to the Enemy; and the Leaders were commanded not to appear, and rejoin the main Army, till the Signal was given.

A Squadron of the *Roman* Fleet went and appeared off *Pharos*, in open Day, as it were with design to land some Forces there. And the Presence of the *Consuls* drew *Demetrius* and his Army to the Shore, to oppose their landing. The *Illyrican* Troops all marched out of *Pharos*, after one another, and left the Place defenceless. Upon which, the *Legionaries* which had landed in the Night, immediately left their Ambush, marched on silently, and came and seized an Eminence between the City and the Port. By this means, the Retreat of the *Illyricans*, who had rashly left the Walls, which they ought to have guarded, was cut off. Then *Demetrius*, finding himself invested on both Sides, and thinking it the least dangerous Attempt of the two, exhorted his Soldiers to make Head against the Troops that were landed. *It is plain they are afraid of us*, said he, *since they make use of Artifice against us. You owe all your Misfortunes to Teuta; while she reigned Rome triumphed over Illyricum. But Demetrius can deliver you from an Enemy, which was too powerful for a Woman to encounter with. Without me, the Romans would never have conquered you; and with me, you may expect to conquer the Romans.* Thus spake *Demetrius*, and immediately led on his *Illyricans* to the Attack of

¹⁰⁰ *Lucius Æmilius Paulus*, one of the *Consuls* for this Year, was the Father of the famous *Lucius Æmilius Paulus*, who conquered *Perſes*, King of *Macedon*.

¹⁰¹ Tho' *Polybius* has not said enough of *Dimalum* in *Illyricum*, to determine the exact Situation of it, yet it is evident from his Account, that it stood on the Confines of *Macedon*. Some have thought that

it was the same City which the ancient Geographers call *Delminum*; and is now called *Dumno*. But the latter was farther up in the Country, near the River *Drinus*, or *Lodrinus*, in *Dalmatia*. A Situation which does not well agree with that of *Dimalum*, which *Livy* places at a little Distance from *Dyrachium* and *Apollonia*.

Year of the Eminence; where he met with a greater Resistance than he had expected. *R O M E* These brave *Romans* sustained the Attack of the Enemy long enough to give the *Consuls* time to make their Descent; and then the *Illyricans*, attacked both in Front and Rear, fled in Disorder, and escaped. The Regent himself went hastily on board a Bark, which he kept ready, for fear of a Disaster, and retired to the King of *Macedon*; where we shall find him full of Rage and Ingratitude, and acting as fatal Part to his Friend, as he had done for himself.

DXXXIV.
M. LIVIUS SALINATOR, L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Consuls.

Zonaras, B. 8. c. 20.

THE Consequence of this precipitate Rout, was the taking of *Pharos*; which the *Consuls* gave up to be plundered, and then rased it. So that *Rome* was now a second time Mistress of *Illyricum*; where she governed as she pleased, but did not reduce it to the State of a *Province*. The *Consuls* had some Compassion for the young King *Pineus*, who had been embarked in these Affairs, solely by the Management of his Guardians: And the Republick continued the Alliances she had formerly made with him. She restored the young Monarch a Part of his Dominions, laid a little heavier Tribute upon him than formerly, and took all the Care she could to secure the Fidelity of a great Nation, bordering upon *Istria*, which had been newly conquered.

Auth. of the Lives of Illust. Men.

Front. Strat. B. 4. c. 1.

Liv. B. 29. c. 37.

Plin. B. 29. c. 1.

§. XXXIV. IN the mean time, the Season for the Return of the Troops advanced; and the Seas would soon be impassable. The *Consuls* therefore returned to *Rome*, where they both triumphed on the same Account: And this shews that they had made the Campaign together. Nevertheless, Complaints were ready to be brought against them, at *Rome*, for bad Conduct; but their Prosecution was postponed till their *Consulship* was expired. As soon as that happened, their Enemies accused them before the assembled *Tribes*, of having applied many of the Spoils taken from the Enemy, to their own private Use, and distributed the Booty partially among the Soldiers. *Æmilius* indeed was acquitted; perhaps because less criminal than his Colleague, or perhaps out of regard to the Glory he had acquired: But all the *Tribes*, except the *Tribe Mæcia*, condemned *Salinator*. An Affront which he could not brook, and he carried his Resentments of it to great Excess. He appeared no more in publick; but retired to his Country-house, and led there the Life of a Recluse. He let his Hair and Beard grow, and became so wild, that his Friends durst not come near him. Nor could any thing draw him from his Retreat, till the publick Calamities afterwards made it necessary that he should leave it, for the Service of his Country. He was a good Commonwealth's man, and a great Officer; but cast some Stains on his Glory, by being too obstinately bent on Revenge. When he was *Censor*, he punished the *Tribes*, which had condemned him. He deprived them all, except the *Tribe Mæcia*, of their Right of Suffrage, and took from them all the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*, but left them under the Obligation of paying their Quota's toward the publick Taxes.

§. XXXV. THIS *Consulship* was also remarkable for other Events, besides the Victories, and Trial of the *Consuls*. *Surgery* was then first introduced into *Rome*. Not that Wounds had all along been absolutely neglected; every one had his Family-Receipts, which were conveyed down to him by Tradition. But now, the *Romans* thought fit to receive into their City a *Greek*, who came from *Peloponnesus*, and professed the Art of curing Wounds, without pretending to meddle with inward Disorders; and they gave him the Right of *Citizenship*. His Name was *Archagathus*, the Son of *Lysanias*; and he was at first received with Applause. The *Romans* were so well pleased with the Novelty, that they built him a Shop at the publick Expence, in the midst of the most famous Cross-Ways in the City. But the Use and Experience of his Remedies soon lessened his Reputation. His Art almost wholly consisted in making large Incisions, in order to cure Wounds with the more Certainty. But the *Romans* being used to less painful, tho' perhaps not so effectual Remedies, they gave him the Name of *Butcher*, and immediately brought his Art into Disrepute.

NOR was this the only Innovation at that time. The Splendor of the Republick had drawn a great Concourse of Merchants and Travellers to *Rome*, from all the Countries of the *Levant*; and among the rest, the *Ægyptians* had come thither to trade, and had introduced the Worship of their Gods ¹⁰² *Isis*, and *Osiris*.

¹⁰² *Isis* and *Osiris* seem to have represented the chief Divinities of the Pagans. At least they always appear on the ancient Monuments, in the same Dress and Posture, and with the same Symbols, which the *Greeks*

There were already several Sanctuaries built to these Divinities; and it is well known, what Aversion the *Romans* had to the Religion of Foreigners. A Law of *The XII Tables*, supposed to be made by *Numa*, forbade the introducing the Worship of any but the ancient Gods of the Country; and the Senate therefore ordered the Oratories of *Isis* and *Osiris* to be demolished. But the impious Worship of these Divinities had already got such Footing among the People, that no Workman durst venture to be guilty of the Sacrilege. The Consul *Æmilius* therefore took upon himself the Execution of a Decree, which was founded in a Zeal for the Religion and Laws of his Country: he laid aside his Consular Robe, took an Hatchet in his Hand, and beat down those Monuments of the Religion of the *Egyptians*.

Greeks and *Romans* give their Gods and Goddesses of the first Rank. But without running into tedious Enquiries into the *Theogony* of the *Egyptians*, it is sufficient to say, that the Ancients give *Isis* all the Attributes, that were proper to *Ceres*, *Juno*, *The Moon*, *Tellus*, *Nature*, *Minerva*, *Proserpine*, *Thetis*, *Cybele* the Mother of the Gods, *Bellona*, *Diana*, *Venus*, *Hecate*, &c. This odd Application of the Properties of so many Divinities to one Goddess, gave her the Appellation of *Myrionima*, that is, *The Goddess with a thousand Names*. Thus *Apuleius*, in his *Metamorphoses*, multiplies her almost in infinitum, to make her at the same time, a *Ceres*, a *Proserpine*, a *Diana*, a *Venus*, &c. She is, says he, Nature herself, the sovereign Mistress of the Elements, the Principle of the Universe, and of the Ages, the Sovereign of the Gods, and the Queen of the *Manes*. She has the Preheminence above all celestial Beings. The Gods and Goddesses are swallowed up in her Immensity. The Winds, the Sea, and Hell, are all subject to her. In short, according to him, all the different Divinities that the Nations worship, do all make but one *Isis*; or rather, they are but so many Parts of this immense Being. *Plutarch*, agreeably to this Account of her, acknowledges her to be the Protectress of *Egypt*, in an Inscription cut on the Pavement, in a Temple of *Minerva*. It was to this effect. *I am every thing that has been, is, or shall be; and no Mortal has yet been able to see thro' the Veil which conceals me from human Eyes*. Another Inscription which *Græver* mentions, is in the same Taste, and runs thus. *TIBI UNA QUÆ ES OMNIA DIA ISIS*; that is, *To Thee, Goddess Isis, who art but one, and yet art all things*. Amidst this monstrous Confusion of Attributes, which the Pagans proposed to themselves as the Objects of their Worship, it appears that they particularly worshipped under this Name of *Isis*, The Goddess *Tellus*, or *Cybele*, whom the Pagans represented to be the common Mother of all Beings. And according to this Prepossession, they took *Osiris* for the Sun, and married him to *Isis*, to shew that this Planet contributes to the Fruitfulness of Nature, or *The Earth*, by its Influences. This is *Macrobius's* Remark, in the first Book of his *Saturnalia*. Yet it must be confessed, that *Osiris* has undergone so many *Metamorphoses*, that it is often impossible to know him. Sometimes he is turned into a *Jupiter*, and his Wife into a *Juno*. Sometimes he is a *Bacchus*, the Conqueror of the *Indians*. Sometimes he is transformed into the Tutelary God *Nilus*, or *The Nile*, who with the Assistance of his Wife *Isis*, makes the Fields of *Egypt* fruitful. Then all on a sudden, he becomes a *Ceres*, who was said to have enriched the World, by having taught Men Agriculture. According to the Mythologists, there were many Mysteries concealed under these allegorical Beings; and they have tortured themselves to find out the Meaning of these Riddles, which perhaps were only the Creatures of Caprice and Enthusiasm. It is well known, that the Poets, who passed for the Pagan Mythologists, often multiplied or disguised these Di-

vinities, without any Design, but that of adorning their Poems with beautiful Episodes, or giving them a Tincture of *The Marvellous*. But be that as it will, the Discourses that have been, or may be made on that Subject, are foreign to our Purpose. We will leave it to the Mythologists to clear up this Chaos. Nor will we deny them the Pleasure they have, in taking very uncertain Conjectures for the clearest Evidence. Besides, as the Gods of *Egypt* will at last find an *Asylum* in *Rome*, after having been long denied Admission, they will appear again upon the Stage; and we shall be obliged to say more of them, and of the Worship that was paid them. [The great *Bacchus* of the Ancients, and the *Osiris* of the *Egyptians*, were the same Person as *Sesac* or *Sesostris*, King of *Egypt*, who, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, succeeded his Father *Ammon* in that Kingdom, about the Year before *Christ* 1002; *Chronol. p. 18, 191-196*. He was the *Hercules* of the *Egyptians* during his Father's Reign, conquered *Troglodytica*, invaded *Ethiopia* and *Lybia*, and fought the *Africans* with Clubs; whence he is painted with a Club in his Hand. He went Westward as far as the Ocean, and *Gades* in *Spain*, and set up the famous Pillars in *Africa*, as he erected others near the red Sea, and in *India*, with Inscriptions describing his Conquests, *p. 214-216*. He divided *Egypt* into thirty six *Nomes* or Counties, and in every City erected a Temple for the *Nome*, each of which had its own God; but *Osiris*, and *Isis* his Wife, were worshipped over all *Egypt*. And because *Sesac*, to render the *Nile* more useful, dug Channels from it to all the capital Cities, therefore that River was consecrated to him, and he was called by its Names, *Aegyptus*, *Siris*, and *Nilus*. And this River being called *Schichor*, or *Sihor*, in Scripture, the *Greeks* from thence formed the Words *Siris*, *Sirius*, *Serapis*, and *Osiris*, *p. 218, 219*. *Sesac* had in his Army many *Lybian Amazons*, who were commanded by *Miryna*, or the *Minerva* of the Ancients, who was killed by the *Greeks* about nine hundred sixty five Years before *Christ*; and the Singing-Women in his Army were celebrated in *Thrace*, by the Name of the *Muses*, *p. 21*. *Sesac* was slain about nine hundred fifty six Years before *Christ*, by his Brother *Japetus*; who after Death was deified in *Africa* by the Name of *Neptune*, and called *Typhon* by the *Egyptians*. He was the Admiral of his Brother's Fleet, and assisted him in his Conquests. *Sesac* was succeeded by his Son *Orus*, afterwards deified by the Name of *Sol* or *Apollo*; and about nine hundred forty seven Years before *Christ*. The *Ethiopians* invaded *Egypt*, and drowned *Orus* in the *Nile*. Whereupon *Bubaste*, the Sister of *Orus*, killed herself, by falling from the Top of an House, and their Mother *Astræa*, or *Isis*, went mad; and they ended the Reign of the Gods in *Egypt*, *p. 24*. *Jupiter Ammon*, *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Typhon*, *Orus*, and *Bubaste*, were the *Dii Magni Majorum Gentium*, *p. 230*.]

103 We have put this among the Laws of the *XII Tables*, Vol. I. *p. 465*.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIV.
M LIVIUS SAL-
LINATOR, L.
ÆMILIUS
PAULUS, Con-
suls.
Vol. Max. B.
1. 2 3 4 5 6

Year of
ROM E
DXXXIV.

M. LIVIUS SA-
LINATOR, L.
ÆMILIUS
PAULUS, Con-
suls.

Plin. B. 10.
c. 18.

Val. Max. B. 5.
c. 6. §. 4.

§. XXXVI. THE *Romans* were daily more and more attached to the Supersti-
tions they had received from their Fathers. This remarkably appeared this Year,
by an Accident, which gave *Ælius Pætus*, surnamed *Tubero*, an Opportunity
of signalizing his Courage. He had been chosen *Prætor of Rome* by Lot; and as
he was administering Justice in the open Air, in the *Forum*, according to his Office,
a Woodpecker is said to have perched upon his Head. The *Romans* were surprized
to see a Forest-Bird, which was naturally so wild, fly into the City, have no regard
to the Noise of the Suitors, and become so tame, as to suffer the *Prætor* to take
it, without fluttering. Besides, Woodpeckers were highly revered in *Rome*,
and greater Credit was given to them in *Auspices*, than even to Vulturs. It was
pretended, that *Picus*, the Son of *Saturn*, and an ancient King of the *Aborigines*,
had had a tame Woodpecker, which helped him to foresee future things. So that
the new Adventure of the Woodpecker made a great Noise in *Rome*; the whole
College of *Augurs* immediately consulted together, to know whether the *Prætor*
should let the Bird fly, or kill it: and they, by chance, answered, That if *Ælius*
let the Bird go, he and his Family should enjoy a constant Flow of Prosperity;
whereas if he killed it, the Republick should arrive at the highest Pitch of Gran-
deur, but the *Prætor* and his Family be miserably destroyed. Then *Ælius Pætus*
did not deliberate a Moment; his Love of his Country was much greater than his
Concern for his own personal, or Family-Interest: He tore the Woodpecker in
pieces, and left the rest to the Gods. And if this Account, which is given us by
Pliny and *Valerius Maximus*, two Authors often suspected, be true; the Prediction
was by Accident fulfilled in a very surprizing manner. Some time after this, se-
venteen brave ¹⁰⁴ Men of the *Ælian* Family were killed in the Battel of *Canna*,
and the Republick advanced in time to the highest Pitch of Glory.

§. XXXVII. In the mean time, *Hannibal* was forming great Designs against *Rome*,
and preparing to enter *Italy* soon. His Victories in *Spain* were no more than an
Amusement to him; or rather, were only his Apprenticeship, or first Essays in
War. As warlike as the *Spaniards* were, they were not an Object worthy of this
Hero. He had not indeed passed the *Ebro* yet; *Asdrubal* had covenanted with
Rome, not to do it: But *Hannibal* was resolved to break through this Barrier, as
soon as he had conquered all the Country on this Side of it. After he had sub-
dued the *Olcades*, in the first Year of his Generalship, he struck out into a wider
Field, in his second Campaign. He first fell upon the ¹⁰⁵ *Vaccæi*, a People whose
Territory was watered by the *Duero*; and the Inhabitants of ¹⁰⁶ *Hermantica*, and
Arbacala, two of their rich Cities, left them to be plundered by the Conqueror,
and fled to the ¹⁰⁷ *Carpetani*, who were situated between the ¹⁰⁸ *Tagus*, and the
Anas,

Anonym. in
Hannib.
Liv. B. 21.
c. 5.

¹⁰⁴ *Pliny* and *Frontinus* say, that the *Prætor* *Ælius Pætus* himself was killed in the Battel of *Canna*, with sixteen others of the same Name, and Family. The Copyists of the latter have taken the *Corlii* for the *Ælii*. In the other Editions, we read *Lælius*, instead of *L. Ælius*, which is a Fault that has been rectified on the Authority of the most correct Manuscripts, and the greatest Number of Authors. In order to complete the Elogium of these seventeen *Ælii*, *Valerius Maximus* adds, that they were so poor, that all of them together were worth but one little House in the City, and a Field near *Vei*, which was scarce enough to supply them with Necessaries. *Unus in Agro Veiente Fundus minus multo Cultores desiderans, quam Dominos habebat.* *Plutarch* gives the *Ælii* the same Commendation, in his *Life of Paulus Æmilius*.

¹⁰⁵ *Isidorus* places the *Vaccæi* at the Foot of the *Pyrenees*; and derives their Name from an ancient City called *Vacca*, without telling us in what Part of *Spain* it stood. This People lived on the Borders of *Galicia*, and possessed a Country, which is now a Part of the Kingdoms of *Leon* and *Castille*, on both Sides the River *Duero*.

¹⁰⁶ *Livy* is the only Author who mentions a City called *Hermantica*, on the Credit of some Memoirs of *Polybius*: And we are as great Strangers to the Situation of *Arbacala*, as to that of *Herman-*

dica. *Sanfon* the Geographer guesses, that the former was the same City which is now called *Avila*. Others place it near *Arevallo*, in *Old Castille*.

¹⁰⁷ The Country of the *Carpetani* lay in the Center of *Spain*, on both Sides the *Tagus*. It was first a Part of the Province of *Terragona*; and afterwards it was made Part of the Province of *New Carthage*. *Toledo* was, according to *Pliny*, the Capital of this Country, which besides the Kingdom of that Name, comprehended all that Canton of *New Castille*, which the *Spaniards* call *La Mancha*. These People were bounded to the North, by the Provinces, in which the Cities of *Valladolid*, *Segovia*, *Burgos*, and *Palencia* now stand, and by a Part of the Kingdom of *Arragon*: to the South, by the Countries near the Heads of *The Guadiana*, not far from the Cities of *Ubeda*, *Jaen*, and *Baëca*; to the West, by the Frontiers of *Portugal*, on the Side of *Beja*, and *Salamanca*.

¹⁰⁸ The *Tagus* is the most considerable River in *Spain*, except the *Iberus*. It rises near the Place where *Xucar*, and *Guadalquivar* rise, at Mount *Ilabeda*, which in this Place is called by the Natives, *Sierra de Albarazin*, towards the Confines of *Arragon* and *Old Castille*. After it has watered *Toledo*, and several other Cities, it comes to *Estremadura*, crosses Part of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, forms a little *Gulph*, which serves for a Port to *Lisbon*, and discharges

109 *Anas*, to implore their Assistance. There these fugitive *Vaccai*, the *Olcades*, and the *Carpetani*, entered into a League against *Hannibal*; and all together made an Army of above an hundred thousand Men. Their first Business was to wait for their Conqueror, on the Banks of the *Tagus*, and give him Battel. Accordingly, *Hannibal* came thither; and being surprized to find so numerous an Army there, ready to dispute his Passage, he did not hazard a Battel immediately, but encamped his *Carthaginians*, who were fatigued with long Marches, and loaded with Spoil. *Hannibal*, tho' very young, had as much Prudence as Valour: and as soon as the Night had forced the Enemy to retire to their Camp, and they were asleep, he silently passed the River with his *Carthaginians*, in a Place where it was fordable. He knew the Impetuosity of the Barbarians, and suspected that they would be eager enough to pass the River after him, rather than lose an Opportunity of engaging him. And he was not mistaken. The confederated *Spaniards* did not hesitate about pursuing an Enemy, which they thought timorous, because circumspect. Without waiting for their General's Orders, and depending wholly on their Numbers, they leaped into the Water, and said, That a River was not sufficient to rob them of a certain Victory. As for *Hannibal*, he waited for them, on the opposite Bank, and was delighted to see them fall into the Snare he had laid for them. He had posted his Cavalry in the Water, and ordered them to guard the Ford, on both Sides, to a certain distance. The Shore was defended on his Side, by forty Elephants, all placed in the first Line; and behind them, the *Carthaginian* Infantry were drawn up in Battalia. All the Disadvantages of the Battel were on the Side of the *Spaniards*. They were obliged to fight in the Water, standing in Mud, and slippery Places, with Horsemen, who were above them, and flanked them: so that it is no wonder, the *Tagus* should be dyed red with their Blood, and so many of them perish in it. Those which came to the opposite Bank, were immediately trodden under Foot by the Elephants. Most of the Confederates were obliged to give over the Attempt of passing the River, and return back again: and then the brave *Hannibal*, in order to take Advantage of the Fright and Disorder of the Enemy, repassed the Ford with his Army, and fell on the Enemy's Troops. Upon which, the Rout was general, and the Confederates all dispersed. All the Country of the *Carpetani* fell a Prey to the *Carthaginians*; and the whole Nation submitted to the Conqueror.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIV.

M. LIVIUS SALINATOR, L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Consuls.

Livy, B. 21.
c. 5.

Polybius, B. 3.
c. 14.

Livy, B. 21.
c. 5.

§. XXXVIII. HITHERTO indeed *Hannibal's* Conquests, had only given the *Romans* some Uneasiness: tho' they suspected him, he was not yet their declared Enemy. Nevertheless, the *Saguntini* with reason feared, that the Torrent would overflow their Country, in its Turn; that being the only District the *Carthaginians* had not attempted, and the nearest to the *Ebro*. Nor was the Protection of *Rome* any great Comfort to them. They had frequently sent Deputies into *Italy*, and informed the Republick of *Hannibal's* Progress; but she was engaged in a War in *Illyricum*, and depended a little too much on the Faith of Treaties, and the Superiority she had gained over the *Carthaginians* in the former Wars. Till at length, a manifest Infraction of the Conventions opened her Eyes; and she was sensible, that she must contend with *Carthage* a second time. *Hannibal* entered the Country of the *Saguntini*, and came to lay Siege to *Saguntum*. Upon the first News of this, *Rome* granted the *Spanish* Envoys Request, and resolved to send an Embassy to the *Carthaginian* Generals; with Orders to go on to *Carthage*. in case the proud *Hannibal* refused to do them Justice. These Ambassadors were *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *Q. Bebius Tamphilus*: and whilst they were preparing for their Journey to *Spain* and *Africa*, *Saguntum* was besieged in Form, and attacked with the utmost

discharges itself into *The Atlantic Ocean*, two Leagues below that City. It is generally said to run near an hundred and ten Leagues. The *Tagus* was formerly said to abound with Gold-Sand; perhaps, because the neighbouring Lands had Plenty of Gold-Mines.

109 The *Anas* is now called the *Guadiana*. It rises near a Place in *New Castille*, vulgarly called *Rio Reidera*, and begins to enlarge itself in a neighbouring Plain, which the *Spaniards* call *Campo de Montiel*. A little beyond *Calatrava* it disappears,

and loses itself under Ground, for one League, and not ten, as some modern Geographers affirm: and this gives the Natives room to say, that they have a Bridge, which continually furnishes Pasture for several Herds of Cattel and Flocks of Sheep. This River, after it has run from East to West, as far as to *Badajoz*, continues its Course from North to South, and falls into the Sea, near *Ayamonte*. The *Anas* formerly divided *Portugal* from a Part of *Bætica*.

Year of R O M E DXXXIV. M. LIVIUS SALINATOR, L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Consuls.

Courage and Animosity. These were the First-Fruits of the Hatred *Hannibal* had sworn to the *Romans*. Whilst on the other hand; never was City defended with more Steadiness and Constancy. This is the earliest, and perhaps noblest Instance we have in Story, of the Bravery and Fidelity of the *Spaniards*.

Livy, B. 21.
c. 7.

SAGUNTUM, a City near the Sea, on the same Coast as *Valencia*, was for some time in Alliance with the *Romans*; and their mutual Interests kept up a perfect Amity between the City and the Republick. It was the Interest of the *Saguntini* to be under the Protection of *Rome*, in order thereby to preserve themselves from the *Carthaginian* Yoke; and it was of Consequence to *Rome*, to set *Saguntum* as a Barrier, and Boundary, to the Ambition of the *Carthaginians*. But the furious *Hannibal* had broken through this Barrier; he had entered into the Territory of *Saguntum*, contrary to the Treaties, and was attacking the City in three Places. The strongest Attack was on that Side, where the Walls made an Angle, towards a Valley, which afforded convenient room for drawing up an Army in Battalia. There the *Carthaginian* advanced with his *Galleries*, in order to work his *Ram*, under Shelter; but this first Attempt did not succeed. The Angle, in which the Breach was designed to be made, was overlooked by an high Tower, from which the Besieged beat back the Assailants; and the Wall, which was higher there than in any other Part, was defended by the bravest Youth. Showers of Darts were thrown upon the Enemy, and the Sallies of the Besieged generally proved fatal to the *Carthaginians*. Young *Hannibal* was every where; and advancing one Day too near the Wall, he was immediately wounded in the Thigh with a Dart. This caused so great a Disturbance about the General, and so terrified the Besiegers, that they were ready to have abandoned their Batteries. At least, they suspended the Attacks for some time; and whilst the Wound was healing, the *Saguntini* had time to breathe. But this Respite did not last long. The *Carthaginians* returned to the Charge with greater Activity than before. They had recovered new Strength, and had had time to build new Machines. But as the Ground was not very proper for working them, they advanced with their *Mantelets* and *Ram*: and the Besieged began to be tired out with the Numbers of the Besiegers. The *Carthaginians* had an hundred thousand Men in their Army; so that the Fatigues of the Siege were little, when the Works were divided among so great a Multitude. But the *Saguntini* had scarce Men enough to withstand the furious Assaults that were made upon them. Nevertheless, their Courage supported them. A great Part of their Wall was tumbled down, and three Towers that joined to it, and defended it, were fallen with it. So that the Breach was so wide, that Battels began to be fought in it, as upon plain Ground; the Walls were no more Defence to the Besieged, than to the Besiegers. These were not tumultuous Engagements, as is very usual in Sieges, but pitched Battels; not indeed in the open Field, but between the demolished Walls, and the Houses that were near them. The Besieged were actuated by Despair, the Besiegers animated by Hope. For Want of Walls, the *Saguntini* made a Barrier with their dead Bodies, to defend their Houses; and none of them stirred from his Post, for fear of suffering the Enemy to gain Ground. The Lines on both Sides were exceeding well closed; so that no Blow was given, or Dart fell to the Earth, in vain. But the *Saguntini* did most Execution with a sort of Halbert, called *Falarica*. They fastened burning Tow to the Iron of this sort of ¹¹⁰ Javelins, which they threw with Violence. The Iron Heads of them were so long and ¹¹¹ sharp, that they pierced through the Bucklers, and wounded the Soldiers: and the Fire they spread among the Lines, made the Troops move irregularly to avoid it, and created more Disorder, than it did Execution. By this means, the *Saguntini* retarded their Destruction. They first drove back the *Carthaginians* towards the Ruins of the Wall, and at last forced them to retire to their Camp.

DURING the Heat of these Battels, the Ambassadors arrived from *Rome*; and were scarce landed, before *Hannibal* sent them word, That he had something else

¹¹⁰ Livy, B. 8. makes the *Falarica* to have been three Foot long. St. Isidore of Seville speaks of another sort of *Falarica*, which was but one Cubit long.

¹¹¹ That Part of the Javelin where the Iron joined to the Handle, was stuffed with Hemp, dawbed over with Bitumen and Pitch; which was first set on fire, and then the Javelin was thrown.

to do, than to give Audience to Ambassadors; and That a Field of Battel was not a proper Place to receive the Ministers of Peace. Nevertheless it is evident, that they were at last admitted to an Audience. The proud *Hannibal*, in Answer to their Remonstrances, in relation to the Siege of ¹¹² *Saguntum*, said, That the *Romans* themselves had formerly treated this City with Severity; That they had ordered some of the *Saguntini* to be put to Death; and That *Saguntum* had drawn her Misfortunes on herself, by her Hostilities against the Allies of the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* might indeed have urged much stronger Reasons, to justify his Infraction of the Peace. *Rome* had given him the Example. Her Attempts on the Islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, and her repeated Extortions of Money from the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the Treaty of *Sicily*, were plausible Reasons, and not bare Pretences. But *Hannibal* disdained to make use of them; and said to the Ambassadors, *If you have any Complaints to make of me, carry them to the Senate of Carthage.*

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIV.
M. LIVIUS SALINATOR, L.
ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Consuls.

NEVERTHELESS, the artful *Carthaginian* instantly sent away some Men, in whom he could confide, to give his Friends in *Carthage* favourable Prepossessions, in relation to his Enterprize upon *Saguntum*, the Complaints of *Rome* against him, and the Reception to be given to the Ambassadors *Valerius* and *Bebius* at *Carthage*. Then the latter set sail for *Africa*, and *Hannibal* returned to the Attack of *Saguntum*, which he had a little interrupted, in order to refresh his Troops. But before they entered again upon Action, he assembled them together, and promised them the Plunder of the City. The hopes of so great a Booty therefore gave them new Courage; and the General had great Reason to expect they would exert themselves to the utmost.

Liv. B. 21.

DURING the Inaction of the *Carthaginians*, the Besieged also had some Days Respite; but tho' they had then no Battels, they were not exempt from Labours. They repaired the Breaches of their Walls with incredible Expedition, and put them into a Condition to make some Resistance. Then *Hannibal*, returning to the Siege with more Vigour than ever, did not content himself with battering the City in one Place, but attacked it on all Sides. Nothing was heard without the Walls, but the Shouts of the Assailants; nothing seen within, but the Movements of the Besieged. They ran to all Places wherever the Enemy appeared; and, if I may so speak, seemed to multiply themselves, to be in all Places where there was Need. *Hannibal* himself went up upon one of those moveable Towers which were driven to the Walls upon Wheels, and encouraged his *Carthaginians* with his Exhortations and Example. This Tower consisted of several Floors, on each of which were *Catapultæ* and *Ballistæ*, which by throwing Darts, soon cleared the Rampart; and then *Hannibal* ordered fifteen *Africans* to beat down the new Wall with Axes; which was no very difficult Work. The Wall was slightly built, and in haste, only of rough Stones, and with no Mortar, but wet Earth: so that the Breach was soon wide enough for whole Companies of the Enemy to march up quite to the first Houses. Nor was this all. The *Carthaginians* seized an Eminence, which commanded the *Forum*, surrounded it with Walls, like a Citadel, and placed *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ* upon it. The *Saguntini*, on the other hand, made a new Entrenchment in that Place which was not yet taken, and lessened their City, in proportion as the Enemy got Ground. The long Continuance of the Siege began to make Provisions scarce among them; and they had no Hopes of any Relief. The *Romans* were too far off, and the neighbouring Countries were just subdued by the *Carthaginians*.

NEVERTHELESS, a new Diversion gave the *Saguntini* some glimmering Hopes still. *Hannibal* was obliged to go away in haste, to put a Stop to the Disturbances among the ¹¹³ *Oretani* and *Carpetani*, who were very uneasy at the prodigious Levies

vics

¹¹² *Saguntum* had formerly had recourse to the *Romans*, when their City was enslaved with a Sedition raised by some turbulent Citizens: and *Rome* being made Arbitress and Judge of the Quarrel, she suppressed the Mutineers, restored the City to its Tranquillity; and, in order to preserve Peace and Union among the Inhabitants, condemned the most criminal of the Seditious to die. This is the Se-

verity with which *Hannibal* reproaches the *Romans*, as if their Sentence had been unjust.

¹¹³ The *Oretani* derived their Name from their Capital called *Oretum*. It stood near the *Anas*, or the *Guadiana*. It is the modern *Calatrava*, according to *Morales*. But *Sanson* thinks the Situation of this City agrees better with that of *Notre Dame d'Oret*. The *Oretani* formerly dwelt in the Province

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIV.
M. LIVIUS SA-
LINATOR, L.
ÆMILIUS
PAULUS, Con-
suls.

vies the General made in their Country. But this Tumult was soon appeased. The *Carthaginian* returned to *Saguntum*, and carried on the Siege with the same Ardour as before. It had not been interrupted during his Absence. *Maherbal* had had the Command of it, had fought some Battels with Success, and had demolished a Part of the new Wall. So that *Hannibal*, upon his Return, found himself in a Condition to besiege the Upper-City; where he fought a Battel, which turned wholly to his Advantage. Some Posts in the Upper-City were taken, and the *Carthaginian* made Lodgments in it. In this Extremity therefore one *Alcon*, who had a great Love for his Country, deserted, without saying any thing to his Countrymen, came and threw himself down at *Hannibal's* Feet; and proposed an Accommodation. But the proud General insisted on such severe Terms, that the zealous *Saguntin* durst not return, and propose them to his Countrymen. But another *Spaniard*, named *Alorcus*, who was a Soldier in *Hannibal's* Army, but openly professed a Friendship for the *Saguntini*, thought he could prevail upon them to accept of the General's Terms. He therefore went to that Part of the City which was yet to be taken, delivered up his Sword, was conducted to the Commander, desired a Council might be called, and addressed himself to it thus: *Had Alcon dared to have returned to you, he might have spared me some Trouble, but would have deprived me of a greater Advantage. I have the Happiness to be able to make you an Offer of Peace and Safety. All is not yet lost. Indeed Rome deserts you; your Walls are demolished, and the Enemy is in the middle of Saguntum: But the Conqueror does not desire your Lives. He only demands your City, and your Money; which are both, in a manner, in his Possession already: It is in your own Power to preserve the rest. Hannibal offers to restore you your Lands, and Power to build a new City. Will you then venture your Lives and your Liberty, by refusing to surrender up your Money and demolished City, which you cannot keep from him? Who knows but your Submission may gain yet more favourable Terms of the Conqueror? He will perhaps lessen the Rigour of the Conditions he prescribes. But whether he does or not, will you rather chuse to see your Wives and Children miserably perish with you, than voluntarily surrender up your Money, and consent that your City shall be rased? You have already shewn Constancy enough in the Defence of Saguntum: march out of it now unarmed, and with two Garments. It is better to be banished one's Country, than to die in it.*

WHILST *Alorcus* was thus addressing himself to the Senate of *Saguntum*, the People crowded round him to hear him, and to know what Resolution their Leaders would take: And the latter, without declaring their Design, ordered all the Money to be brought out of the publick Treasury, and all private Persons to bring theirs. Then they lighted a great Fire in the *Forum*, and threw into it those Pieces of Gold and Silver which had tempted the avaricious *Hannibal*. By this they declared, that it was not the Love of Money that induced them to make this brave Resistance; and, to shew that they thought the Preservation of their Country preferable to Life itself, many of them leaped into the Flames, and there perished. A memorable Action, which the Ancients highly extol; which will be an eternal Testimony of the Constancy of the *Spaniards*; and which would have intimidated *Hannibal* himself, if he had been susceptible of Fear! The General continued the Siege with fresh Vigour; and the Besieged, after the Example of their Magistrates, were now more prodigal of their Lives. Both Parties were obstinate, even to Madness. And whilst the *Carthaginians* were continually pursuing Men determined to die, a Tower in the Upper-City, which had long been battered, fell down with a terrible Noise. A Body of *Carthaginians* entered the Upper-City through the Breach, and found it empty of Soldiers. So much had the Fall of the Tower disconcerted the Besieged! Upon this News, *Hannibal*, who thought himself Master of *Saguntum*, ordered it to be sacked, and forbad his Soldiers sparing the Life of any Person who was at the Age of *Puberty*. A cruel, but an useless Precaution, against Men who were resolved to kill themselves! In short, the *Saguntini* had already shut them-

vince of *Terragona*. Their Country bordered on *Lusitania* and *Boetia*. They possessed the South Part of *New Castille*, in which are *Ciudad Real*, *Campo de Calatrava*, and *Campo de Montiel*; and

they extended themselves quite to *Malaga* and *Consegra*. Their Country was full of Rocks and Hills, and covered with thick Forests.

selves

elves up in their Houses, and set Fire to them; chusing to be burnt alive, with their Wives, Children, and Effects, rather than to fall by the Enemy's Sword. Such was the tragical End of ¹¹⁴ *Saguntum*, a City which long continued buried in Ruins, and was not taken till after a six Months Siege. It was so wealthy, that notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the Inhabitants to deprive the *Carthaginians* of the Spoils of it, by setting Fire to them, they found great Riches in it. *Hannibal* found enough there to enable him to make large Presents to his Friends in *Carthage*. Then the Conqueror, now become the Terror of all *Spain*, went and passed the Winter at *New Carthage*, in order to prepare for a more glorious Enterprize. It was not enough for *Hannibal* to have insulted *Rome* in the Persons of her Allies: He resolved to make War with her, and that in the very Heart of *Italy*.

¹¹⁴ *Livy* observes that *Saguntum* was originally a Colony of the Inhabitants of the Island of *Zacynthus*; and adds, That they joined with some Citizens of *Ardea*, the Capital of the *Rutuli*, came into *Spain*, and first laid the Foundations of *Saguntum*, a Mile from the Sea, on the Borders of the Kingdom of *Valencia*.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIV.
M. LIVIUS SALINATOR, L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Consuls.
Auth. de Viris Illustr. in Annib.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XXVI.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.

P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, Con-
suls.
Polyb. B. 3.
c. 33.

§. I. **D**URING the whole time that the Siege of *Saguntum* lasted, the *Romans* were extremely uneasy. They had Reason to reproach themselves with having been the Cause of the Ruin of their most faithful Friends, by not sending them any Succours. A War in *Illyricum* had employed their Arms, which it would have been much better to have turned against a young Conqueror in *Spain*, who harboured in his Breast an implacable Hatred to their Republick. The Measures of the Senate were disconcerted, by *Hannibal's* first Step. The fatal Consequences of the Preparations the *Carthaginians* began to make in *Spain*, for passing into *Italy*, were foreseen at *Rome*. The young Warrior made it his whole Business, during the ¹ Winter, to settle the Affairs of the Province he was going to leave; and did it with a Prudence superior to his Age. He appointed his Brother *Asdrubal* Governor of *Spain*, during his Absence; and the wise Directions he gave him for the Regulation of his Conduct, shewed him to be both a great Statesman, and a great Soldier. In order to strengthen his Brother against any Fear of the *Romans*, in case they should make a Descent in *Spain*, he left him a Fleet, and Land-Forces. The Fleet consisted of fifty *Quinqueremes*, two *Quadrirèmes*, and five *Triremes*. And as to the Land-Forces, he did not leave his Brother to the Mercy of the *Spaniards*; but sent some *Spaniards* into *Africa*, and brought some *Africans* into *Spain*. By sending the former out of their own Country, he made sure of their Fidelity; and he thought the *Africans* more proper Persons to secure *Spain*; and therefore made the Exchange. Some ² *Thersitæ*, *Mastiani*, *Olcades*, and other *Spanish* Mountaineers, were sent into *Africa*, to the Number of twelve hundred Horse, and thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty Foot; exclusive ³ of the Inhabitants of the *Baleares* ⁴ Islands, who were skilful Slingers, from whence they had their Name. These ⁵ *Spaniards*, who were dispersed in

¹ Before he came to an open Rupture, *Hannibal* took all possible Methods to settle his Power well in *Spain*. In order to attach the Cantons of this Country to him the more, he had married one of their Princesses, named *Himilca*, at *New Carthage*. She was born at *Castona*, on the Frontiers of *Boeotica*; was of Royal Descent, and besides her illustrious Birth, she brought him immense Riches for her Portion. This Marriage gained him all the *Spaniards*; and he could depend on their Fidelity, during his Absence. But he likewise got another Advantage, which was of great Use to him for his *Italian* Expedition, and that was, the Discovery he then made of several Gold and Silver Mines in *Spain*. They were commonly called *Hannibal's Pits*. He ordered them to be worked without Interruption. These Mines were so rich, that one of them yielded above three hundred Pounds Weight of fine Silver, in one Day. The considerable Sums he drew from these Mines, were very serviceable to him, in order to enable him to defray the Expences of the War he proposed to carry on, and to quiet the Nations which might have opposed him in his Passage. When he was ready to set out for *Italy*, he sent his Wife and Children to *Africa*; or, as others, she chose to reside at *Castona*, whilst he was employed

in the Wars in *Italy*.

² We cannot guess what Part of *Spain* the *Thersitæ* inhabited. As for the *Mastiani*, *Hecatens*, *Stephens*, and *Ortelius*, place them near *The Streights of Gibraltar*. They took their Name from *Mastia*, their capital City.

³ According to *Livy*, *Hannibal* had eight hundred and seventy Slingers from the *Baleares* Islands, to serve in his Army in *Africa*.

⁴ The Ancients gave the Name of *Baleares* to the two Islands which are now called *Majorca* and *Minorca*. They were called *Gymnesiæ* by the *Greeks*, because the Inhabitants of them went naked in the Summer. The ancient Historians boast much of their Skill in the Use of their Slings. We shall have occasion to speak of all their Customs and Usages, when we come to the time when they were subdued by the *Romans*.

⁵ *Livy* says, that to these *Spanish* Troops was added a chosen Body of four thousand *Africans*, raised in the several Cities of *Numidia*. But *Polybius* reckons that they were only three thousand, which had been raised in the Canton of the *Metagonitæ*. This was a little Country within sight of *Cape Metagonium*, now *Capo de Tres Forcas*, over-against *New Carthage*.

Africa,

Africa, as far as *Carthage*, were to defend this vast Country against the Attacks of the *Romans*; and on the other hand, about ⁶ fourteen or fifteen thousand *African* Soldiers were brought into *Spain*: whereby the wise *Hannibal* provided for the Security of both *Carthage* and *Spain* at the same time.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.

P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, CON-
suls.

§. II. In the mean while, new *Consuls* were chosen at *Rome*, as usual; and the Persons promoted to that Dignity were, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Tib. Sempronius Longus*. They were no sooner elected, but *Valerius* and *Bæbius*, the Envoys sent first to *Hannibal*, to divert him from pursuing the Siege of *Saguntum*, and then to *Carthage*, returned to *Rome*, and gave an account of their Embassy. They had been received in the most haughty Manner possible. Not that the whole *African* Republick approved of *Hannibal's* Conduct, and were without Suspicions of the Consequences of those Seeds of War, which their General had sown in *Spain*, by his Infraction of the Treaties. The *Carthaginian* Senate was divided into two Factions; one which was called the *Barcan* Faction; and another which opposed it, and was headed by *Hanno*. The former had been formed in the Life-time of *Hamilcar*, surnamed *Barca*, had got Ground in the time of his Son-in-law *Asdrubal*, and was now supported by the Hopes they had conceived of the Valour and Prudence of *Hannibal*. The latter, consisted of the oldest Senators, and wisest Men, in the Republick. These remembered their former War with the *Romans* in *Sicily*; and the Experience of what was past, made them fearful of what was to come. But the young Senators carried every thing by Numbers. *Hannibal's* Successes, joined with the Presents he had sent them, had made his Party much the stronger. These were the Dispositions of the *Carthaginian* Senators, when the *Roman* Ambassadors were admitted into their Assembly. The Siege of *Saguntum* was not then over; or at least the News of its being taken was not then arrived. *Valerius* and *Bæbius* complained of *Hannibal's* Haughtiness and Violences, and called the Gods, the Avengers of Justice and of the Laws of Nations, to witness the Truth of their Assertions. The main Business of their Commission was to demand, that *Hannibal* should be delivered up to the *Romans*, to be punished according to his Deserts; and to declare, that the *Romans* would look on the Refusal of so just a Demand, as a publick Approbation, on the Part of the State, of the Violation of the Peace, and the Destruction of *Saguntum*.

INDEED the Proposal of the Ambassadors was hard to be complied with; and the Satisfaction *Rome* demanded, had an Air of Authority, which is very shocking, especially in Times of Prosperity. It seemed both shameful and inhuman, for the *Carthaginians* to give up to the Cruelty of his Enemies, a young Conqueror who was the Glory and the Hopes of his Nation. Nevertheless, the prudent *Hanno* supported the Demand of the *Romans*, in the Senate at *Carthage*, with all his Interest and Eloquence. O ye immortal Gods, said he, I call you to witness, that I have done my utmost to avert the Storm which threatens us! Why was not I suffered to stifle this Evil in its Birth? How often have I declared, that this pernicious Son of *Hamilcar* would perpetuate the Misfortunes of his Country? How oft have I said, that to put him at the Head of your Armies, was to receive in the Son, the restless Manes of a turbulent Father? As long as you make any of the *Barcan* Blood Generals, you must expect to see Treachery triumph. As long as that is the Case, you are not to hope for any Fidelity, or religious Regard to Treaties, or to have any Dependence on your Conventions. The Ambition of the rash young Man is already very notorious. What does he aim at, but to add War to War; to reign over an Army enslaved to his Will; to gain himself Glory enough to be able to oppress us with it; to assume a sovereign Authority in a free Republick; and to impose his Yoke on his own Country, after he has first subdued some other Nations? All this I foretold, when it was proposed to make *Hannibal* General in *Spain*. But you would chuse him. You then lighted the Fire which now flames. *Saguntum* is besieged; May the Gods grant, that *Carthage* be not so, in her turn! Are you so little acquainted with the *Romans*, as not to dread their Arms? Your General has highly affronted them in *Spain*. He would scarce vouchsafe them a Hearing; and being repulsed by him,

Liv. B. 21.
c. 10.

Liv. B. 21.
c. 10.

⁶ Besides these Troops, which were to serve under *Asdrubal* in *Spain*, *Carthage* likewise sent a Reinforcement of fourteen Elephants.

⁷ *Plutarch*, *Tacitus*, *Marianus*, *Cassiodorus*, &c. Vol. III.

dianus, and several others, change the true *Prenomen* of *Tiberius Sempronius*, into that of *Titus*. This Error ought to be corrected by the Texts of *Polybius*, *Appian*, *Eutropius*, *Æmilius Probus*, &c.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.

P CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, CON-
suls.

Liv. *ibid.*

Liv. *ibid.*

Liv. *ibid.*

Liv. *ibid.*

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 20, 21.

they now have recourse to you; and lay their Complaints before you. They demand Vengeance for an unjust Violation of a Treaty: and would clear the Body of the Nation, of the Shame of so odious a Breach of publick Faith. They demand, that the wicked Author of the Siege of Saguntum be delivered up into their Hands. Their Proceedings are regular, and their Demand is just. What then will you do? The more moderate the Proceedings of the Romans are at first, the more exasperated, I fear, they will be afterwards. Remember the Ægates, and the Affair of Eryx. Remember, how much we then suffered for twenty four Years together: And yet, we then had not this Boy at the Head of our Armies; his Father Hannibal was General; who is said, by some, to have been another Mars. But we began then with breaking Treaties, by the Siege of Tarentum; and we now repeat the same Crime, by besieging Saguntum. Since then, the Gods declared themselves against us in the first War; can we have any reason to believe, they will favour us in the second? Notwithstanding our Pretences, They made us sensible, by the Event, that we had been guilty of breaking through the sacred Ties of Oaths. Will then, their Vengeance be less severe now, than formerly? No, doubtless. The Machines Hannibal is now preparing against Saguntum, threaten Carthage herself. The Ruin of the one, will infallibly end in the Ruin of the other. Alas! say you, must we deliver up Hannibal into the Hands of his Enemies? I know, Carthaginians, that my Opinion will have little Weight with you, on account of the open Hatred between his Father and me. But believe me, I won't dissemble with you; I own, I as much detest the Son, for reviving this pernicious War, as I hated his Father, for obstinately persisting in pursuing it. Hannibal is a Fury raised up to destroy us. Tho' Rome should not have demanded this Incendiary of us, I should have been for banishing him to some desolate Island, where both his very Name and Actions would be buried in eternal Oblivion. I therefore absolutely determine, for sending Deputies to Rome, without delay, to make the injured Republick Satisfaction; for dispatching others to the Army in Spain, with Orders to raise the Siege of Saguntum, and deliver up their General to the Romans; and for sending a third Deputation, to make Restitution to the Saguntini.

BUT this the Assembly thought a severe Opinion; it was plainly dictated by Passion. So that the Senate, already prepossessed in *Hannibal's* Favour, cried out, that a Roman could not have spoken with more extravagant Heat. The *Barcan* Faction triumphed. The Affair was discussed with the Roman Ambassadors with all the evasive Chicanery and Cunning, that Art could invent. The Carthaginians nominated a Commissioner, expert in Negotiations, to answer the Memorial of the Romans. These complained, that *Hannibal* had broken a Treaty concluded between their Republick and *Asdrubal*, in relation to the *Saguntini*. The Advocate for *Carthage* answered, That the Senate of *Carthage* had not empowered the General to conclude a Treaty with the Romans, on that Account; That *Asdrubal's* Engagement was personal; That he had kept it as long as he lived; and That it did not at all oblige his Successor. To which he added, That the Consul *Lutatius* had formerly of his own Head entered into a Treaty with the ⁸ Carthaginians, about a Peace in *Sicily*; and That his Conventions were for that very Reason disannulled, because they had not been accepted by the Roman Senate and People. Nor was this all. He even produced the last Treaty between *Rome* and *Carthage*; and said, there was not one Word of *Spain* in it. One of the Articles indeed, says he, is this, That neither the Romans nor the Carthaginians shall make War on their respective Allies. But the *Saguntini* were not then entered into any Alliance with the Romans. A pitiful Evasion indeed! As if the Obligation not to attack each other's Allies, did not extend to all those, that either Republick should enter into Friendship with for the future. Were they obliged, either to refuse Protection to all People not in Alliance with them at that time, or to suffer them to perish, for fear of breaking the Peace with their Aggressors? Is not attacking the Allies of any State, of whatever Date their Alliance be, attacking that State itself? To which the Ambassadors of *Rome* added, that there was an essential Difference between the Treaty of *Carthage* with *Lutatius*, and that of *Rome* with *Asdrubal*. The for-

⁸ The Articles of the last Treaty of Peace, which put an end to the first Punick War, had been engraven on Tables of Brass, which were deposited in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

mer was plainly conditional; the latter, absolute. *Lutatius* had expressly declared in the Articles he drew up, that they should be of no Force, unless confirmed by his Republick. *Asdrubal* on the contrary, absolutely promised, without any Proviso, That the *Carthaginians* should never pass the *Ebro*, and should always maintain Peace with *Saguntum*. And indeed, the *Carthaginians* gave their Generals in *Spain*, an absolute, and independent Power.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TRIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, CON-
suls.

WHEN therefore all the Subtleties of the Commissioner were exhausted, and he had done his uttermost to colour over the Proceedings of *Hannibal*, the *Roman* Ambassadors returned to the Senate of *Carthage*: and again insisted, that the Infringer of these Treaties should be delivered up. But the Senate would have entered again into the same Debates, and would have eluded the just Reasons of the Ambassadors with Sophisms. And at length, to cut short these endless Disputes, the chief of the Ambassadors, I believe *Valerius*, made two Folds in his Robe, and said, *One Side is Peace, and the other War; chuse 9 which you will*. The President of the Assembly answered, *We will not chuse either; give us which you please*. Take War then, replied the Ambassador: And at these Words, the Senators of the *Barcan* Faction cried out with Joy, *War! War!* A fatal Declaration, which cost both the Republicks a great deal of Blood! That of *Rome*, severely handled at first, will soon be on the Brink of Ruin; and that of *Carthage*, tho' victorious at first, will at last be subdued, not so much by the Valour, as the Constancy of the *Romans*. Which of the two Nations was the Author of the War, it is not easy to determine: it has very different Appearances, if considered in different Lights. It is certain, that if we only consider the last Hostilities committed by *Hannibal*, his Republick was in the wrong. And if we trace the Matter higher, and carry it to its Origin, who can say, that the *Romans* did not justly draw the Resentments of *Carthage* on themselves? Their haughty Conduct, their continual Exactions, and the unjust Invasions of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, had sowed the Minds of the *Carthaginians* with such Prejudices against them, as were never to be removed. Hence the eternal Hatred of *Hamilcar*, and his Son *Hannibal* to the proud Republick. And therefore Providence, which distributes Rewards and Punishments with Equity, punished both *Rome* and *Carthage*; and made that Nation victorious at last, which had most Virtues, and fewest Vices. But to return to the Senate of *Rome*.

Appear in Pa-
nicks.
Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 22.
Polybius, B. 2.
c. 33.

§. III. THE Relation the Ambassadors *Valerius* and *Bæbius* there gave of their Negotiation, and the News of the sacking of *Saguntum*, made lively Impressions on the Minds of the *Conscript Fathers*: and the *Consuls* immediately drew Lots for their respective Provinces. *Africa* fell to *Sempronius*; and *Spain*, to *Cornelius Scipio*. *Sempronius* had Orders to go into *Sicily*, assemble all the Troops in that Country, then sail to *Africa*, and begin Hostilities there. *Cornelius* on the other hand was directed to go into *Spain*; or at least to stop *Hannibal*, wherever he found him, and prevent his entering into *Italy*. And the Preparations *Rome* made for both these Enterprizes, were answerable to the Importance of them. She made extraordinary Levies; raised six *Legions*, amounting to twenty four thousand Foot, and eighteen hundred Horse; and did not determine what Quota's the Allies should furnish. This was left to the Discretion of the *Consuls*; who raised, in the several Nations in *Italy*, subject to the Republick, four thousand Horse, and forty four thousand Foot. As for the Fleet, *Rome* equipped two hundred and twenty *Quinqueremes*, and twenty other light Boats. The raising such numerous Forces all at once, plainly shewed the Terror of the *Romans*; which proceeded from their Reflections on the Condition of the Enemy, with whom they were going to engage. Ever since *Hamilcar's* time, the *Carthaginians* had been continually fighting and conquering. The Seat of their Wars was *Spain*; a rugged Country, mountainous, and full of warlike People, who knew not how to give way, but were steady even to Obstinacy. So that an Inundation of these *Spaniards* was almost as much to be dreaded, as the *Carthaginian* Armies. *Rome* knew her Weakness, and durst not compare her Wars with those of the *Carthaginians*; or

Liv. B. 21.
c. 17.

9 Varro, Aulus Gellius, and Pomponius, B. 2. de
origine Juris, agree that the *Roman* Ambassadors
it to the Senate of *Carthage*, to chuse Peace or
War. But the two latter add, that they presented to

the Senate two little Tablets; on one of which
was drawn the Figure of a Javelin, the Symbol of
War; on the other, a *Caduceus*, the Emblem of
Concord and Peace.

Year of her Generals with *Hannibal*. He was in the Flower of his Age, brought up to Arms from his Infancy, and instructed by a Father, who had taught him to be continually laying Snares for the Enemy, and surprizing them. He was born with strong Inclinations to Pleasure; but had subdued them to a stronger Passion for Glory. He scarce remembered he had a Body. Hunger, Thirst, Watchings, Change of Seasons and Climates, very little affected him. He was ready to endure every thing, provided he could but gain his Point; neither the Winter-Frosts, nor the Summer-Heats, neither the Presence of the Enemy, nor any Difficulties in his Way, could stop him. He conformed himself to the present State of his Affairs, and acted many different Parts, as Occasion required. He was sometimes sweet tempered, and mild; at others, cruel and passionate, even to Fury; but always had an Eye to his Interest, which made him thus inconsistent. Young as he was, he had had the Experience of several Years Command of the Army. Before he was nominated General by his Republick, *Asdrubal*, who was but an indifferent Soldier, had committed the Conduct of all dangerous Enterprizes to him. So that no General had had more Exercise than *Hannibal*; nor were any Troops better disciplined than his. But what were the *Consuls Rome* had to make Head against him? Men, who had not commanded above a Campaign or two; had conquered none but *Illyricans*, and *Epirotæ*; and were formidable only to very weak Enemies.

R O M E
DXXXV.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, Con-
suls.

THESE Reflections made *Rome* doubtful of Success; but Constancy in Adversity was her distinguishing Virtue. She divided her Troops between the two Collegues with Prudence. *Cornelius Scipio* had but two *Legions*, each consisting of four thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, with fourteen thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, of the Allies: and sixty *Quinqueremes* were assigned him, to transport his Army to *Transalpine Gaul*, along the Coasts of *Liguria*. This was indeed but a moderate Army, to oppose *Hannibal*; but two *Legions* more, with fourteen thousand Foot, and sixteen hundred Horse, were left in *Italy*, under the Command of the *Prætor L. Manlius*, to keep *Cisalpine Gaul* quiet. The *Consul Sempronius*, who was designed for *Africa*, had most Troops; his Army, consisting of two *Legions*, sixteen thousand Foot of the Allies, and eighteen hundred Horse, was put on Board a Fleet of an hundred and sixty Galleys, and twelve light Boats. Thus the *Romans* prepared at once, both to attack the Enemy, and defend themselves; to carry the War into *Africa*, and to keep *Hannibal* in *Spain*, or at least drive him back thither.

§. IV. As for *Sempronius*, he was successful, till he came to make War in *Italy*. Before he arrived in *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* had sent out a little Fleet of twenty Galleys, to plunder the Coasts of *Italy*. But this Fleet had been dispersed by stormy Weather. Nine of these Ships had put in at the Island of *Lipari*, eight at *The Island of* ¹⁰ *Vulcan*, and three had driven out to Sea: and it happened, that good King *Hiero* was then at *Messana* with his Fleet. He was always a Friend to the *Romans*, and an Enemy to the *Carthaginians*, and was come from *Syracuse* to *Messana*, expecting to meet the *Consul* there, and give him fresh Proofs of his Affection for *Rome*. But this was not all. As soon as he heard that the *Carthaginian* Fleet was dispersed, *Hiero* sent out his own, which took some of the Enemy's Galleys, almost without Resistance: and the Prisoners informed him, That besides this Fleet of twenty Ships, *Carthage* had sent another of thirty five Galleys for *Sicily*; and That in all probability, the Enemy's Design was to reconquer *Lilybæum*, and gain over the *Sicilians* to them. *Hiero* therefore sent this Advice to the *Prætor Æmilius*, who then governed *Sicily*; and set out himself, to go and defend the threatned City. *Æmilius* immediately sent Directions every where, to guard the Coasts with Care; and published an Order in *Lilybæum*, commanding all Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors, belonging to the *Roman* Fleets, to furnish themselves with ten Days Provision, and be ready to embark, on the first Summons. The *Prætor* likewise commanded all Persons to watch narrowly for the Arrival of the Enemy. The *Carthaginian* Fleet was indeed already a little off *Lilybæum*, and

¹⁰ *The Island of Vulcan*, now *Volcano*, is one of the *Æolian* Islands, of which we have spoken, Vol. 2. It was probably so called from the *Volcano's* that were in it. The Streams of Fire that at certain times burst out of these fiery Gulphs, made the Peo-

ple believe, that *Vulcan* dwelt, and had his Forge, there. Hence it was called *Hiera*, or *Sacra*, to shew that it had been consecrated to this God. It also had the Name of *Thermessia*, from its hot Baths.

would have entered the Port, by Favour of the Night. But it unfortunately happened to be a bright Moon-shine, and as the Fleet had hoisted all their Flags, they were easily seen, even in the Night. The *Carthaginians* found by the Appearance of the *Romans*, that they were upon their Guard in *Lilybæum*, and therefore did not attempt to enter the Port; but altered their Measures, retired to some distance from it, and drew up their Gallies in Line of Battel. The *Romans* and *Syracusans* accepted the Challenge, got ready, sailed out of the Port, and offered Battel. The whole Business of *Hiero*, and the *Romans*, was to grapple with the Enemy's Ships, and board them: and the whole Care of the *Carthaginians* was to avoid it. They were afraid of engaging Man to Man; and certainly their Gallies were better provided with Rowers than Soldiers. But at length the Boldness of the *Romans* succeeded. They invested seven of the Enemy's Ships, and took them. The rest of the *Carthaginian* Fleet fled, and the Conquerors returned back to Port, without the Loss of one Galley. Only one had been pierced in the Fight, and she was not sunk, but returned to her Squadron. The Prisoners then taken, amounted to the Number of seventeen hundred Men, among whom were three *Carthaginian* Lords of Distinction.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.

P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, Con-
suls.

HIERO had had his Share of this Victory, having fought with twelve of his Ships; and these he now carried back in Triumph to *Messana*, where he found *Sempronius* arrived. The King went on Board the Consul's Ship, embraced him tenderly, congratulated him upon his Arrival, informed him of the State of Affairs in *Sicily*, and promised him to continue the same Affection for *Rome*, in his old Age, which he had always had for her in his Youth. Indeed the last Victory spake sufficiently for him; but to that he added Liberalities. He clothed the *Legionaries*, and the Crews of the *Roman* Ships, at his own Expence; and furnished the whole Army with Corn, for its Subsistence. From *Messana*, the King and Consul went together to *Lilybæum*, where they parted with Regret.

§. V. WHILEST *Hiero* was returning to *Syracuse*, *Sempronius* formed the Design of taking the Island of ¹¹ *Melita* from the *Carthaginians*. It being situated between *Sicily* and *Africa*, it seemed to be a Post of Importance, especially in the Beginning of a War. But the Consul needed only to appear before it, to make himself Master of it. One *Hamilcar*, who was the *Carthaginian* Governor there, surrendered up the Island, City, and Garrison, to the *Romans*. This Conquest guarded *Sicily*, on that Side: but the *Carthaginian* Fleets were come to the Coasts of *Italy*, and had already ravaged Part of *Calabria*. *Sempronius* had therefore resolved to drive them thence, when he received the News, that *Hannibal* had passed the *Alpes*, and at the same time, an Order from the Senate, to return into *Italy*. But upon this he went from *Sicily* in haste, leaving the *Prætor Æmilius* there, with Troops and Ships enough to defend it. And he likewise took this further Precaution, of sending one of his Lieutenant-Generals, with some Forces, and a Squadron of Ships, to guard the Coast of *Italy*: and then he went on Board his Fleet, and entered the *Adriatic* Sea, with a Design to land at *Ariminum*.

§. VI. As for the Passage of *Hannibal*, from *Spain* into *Italy*, through *Gaul*, it is so memorable an Event, as to deserve to be related here at large. The *Carthaginian* General, who was now authorized to act against the *Romans*, as he thought fit, did not wait for their coming to attack him in *Spain*. His Measures were concerted, and his Preparations made, for going and attacking them, in the very Heart of their own Dominions. He tarried only for the Answers of the *Gauls* in *Italy*, to whom he had sent some Emissaries, to solicit them to shake off the *Roman* Yoke. As soon as he received Assurances of their Affection, and of their earnest Desires of seeing him soon in *Italy*, he applied himself wholly to his Journey. Some *Roman* Historians indeed, to render *Hannibal* odious, represent him as an impious Man, who knew no God but his own Arm; but nevertheless, before he begun his most glorious Expedition, he put himself under the Protection of *Hercules*, who was worshipped at *Gades*. He took a Journey thither, and offered Sacrifices and Vows to the God, to render him propitious. Then he assembled his Troops, very early in the Spring, and harangued them, in this manner. The Greatness of the Design I have formed, is answerable to the high Notion I

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 34.
Liv. B. 21.
c. 21.

¹¹ This is the Island which is now called *Malta*. See Vol. 2.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.

P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, CON-
suls.

have of your Courage. Rome is an Enemy worthy of you, and of me; and the Hatred which I early imbibed against her, is lately increased. Would you believe, dear Fellow-Soldiers, that Rome would have deprived you of a Leader, who has so often made you conquer, and who could not have conquered without you? The Spoils you took at Saguntum enraged her against me. The Romans ventured to demand of the Carthaginians, that I should be delivered up to their Resentments. The People of Rome are afraid of us; let us then make the best Use of their Fears. Let us fly to the Conquest of a delicious Country, which will compensate us for all the Fatigues of our Journey. Some Gauls have shewn us the Way over the Barriers which separate Gaul from Italy. Let us tread in their Steps. They wait for us; they invite us to come, and enjoy our selves, as they do, in those fruitful Plains, whose Agreeableness nothing but the Avarice of Romans can diminish. Let us revenge, let us revenge the Cause of these faithful Allies. Let us deliver them from the Yoke that oppresses them; and let Rome, enriched with the Pillage of Sicily, become in her turn a Prey to the united Spaniards and Carthaginians. This Discourse was applauded, and the whole Army consented to follow him.

THEN *Hannibal* numbered his Troops; found that he had ninety thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse, in his Army: And the Joy with which this mighty Force began to march, is not to be expressed. *Hannibal* took his Rout along the Sea-shore from *Gades*, and coming to ¹² *Etoivissa*, a Place situated on the *Iberus*, passed that River there, after he had divided his Army into three Bodies. The General sent away two Detachments of Horse from ¹³ thence; one to enter *Gaul*, and treat with the Inhabitants about a free Passage for the *Carthaginian* Troops. The other had Orders to find out the best Passage over the *Pyrenees* into *Gaul*. And here a celebrated Historian, after he has needlessly ¹⁴ multiplied the Number of the *Roman* Embassies sent to *Carthage*, makes the Embassadors take *Spain* and *Gaul* in their

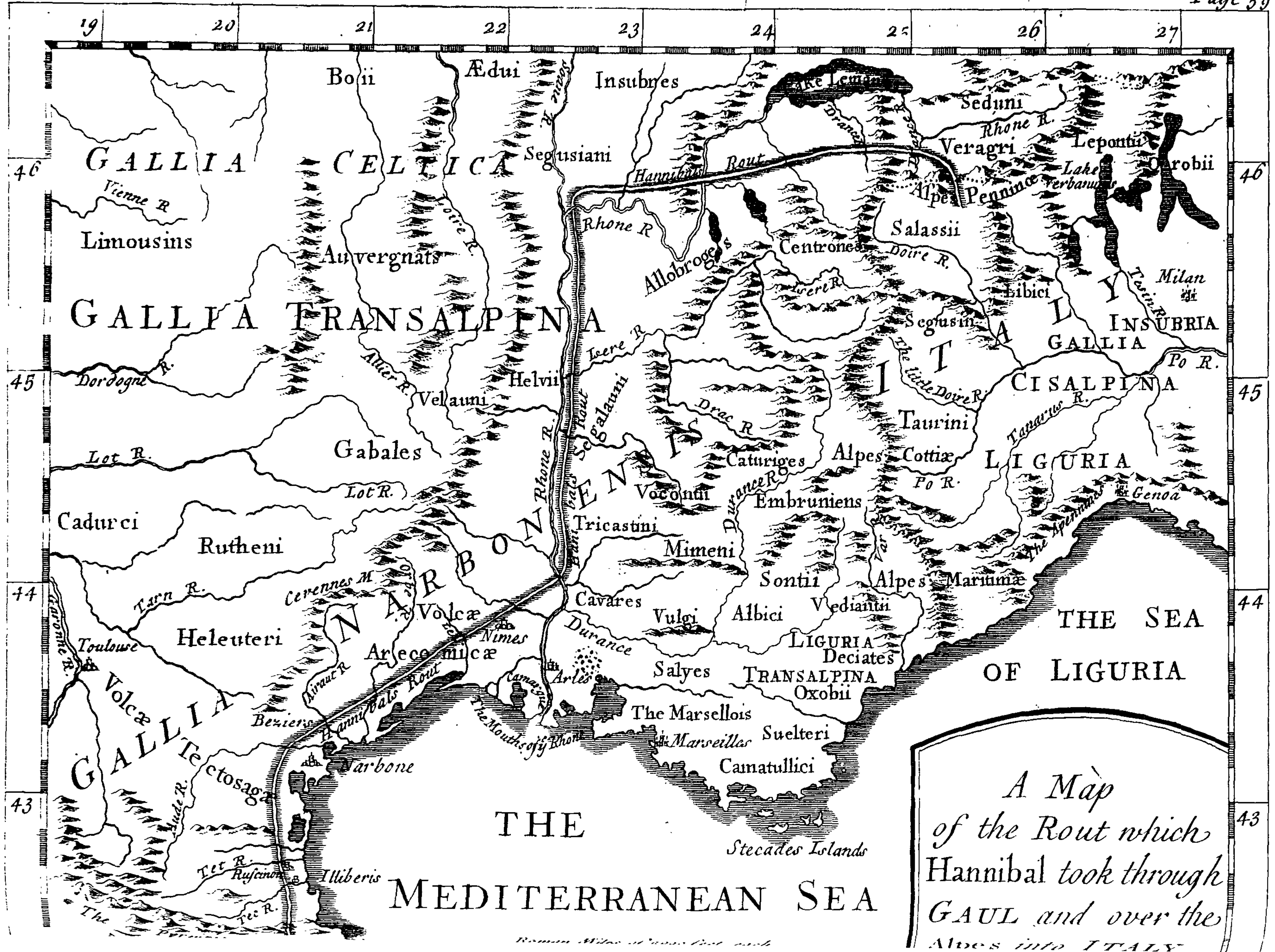
¹² The true Situation of *Etoivissa* is not known. Some take it for *Buziol* in the Kingdom of *Valencia*. But this is a great way from the *Ebro*, whereas, by *Livy's* Account, *Etoivissa* seems to have been near it. Others place this City near *Caspè*, a Town in *Arragon*, on the Banks of the *Ebro*. But they don't consider, that we are speaking of a maritime City of *Spain*; whereas *Caspè* is an Inland-Town. The Situation of *Etoivissa*, seems therefore better to agree with that of *Binaros*, on the Frontiers of *Catalonia*, at a little distance from the *Ebro*. At least, this ancient City stood in the Neighbourhood of *Miravet*, which is watered by the same River.

¹³ *Livy*, who mixes Prodigies with almost all his Events, here takes a Story of that kind for granted. He says, that during *Hannibal's* Stay at *Etoivissa*, he saw in a Dream, a young Man who had the Air and Figure of a God. He said he was sent from *Jupiter*, to pave the Way for the *Carthaginian* General's Passage into *Italy*. At the same time he ordered *Hannibal* to follow him, and to fix and keep his Eyes steadily upon him. The General, seized with Fear at this Sight, immediately obeyed the Voice of the God who called him. But turning aside his Eyes, out of Curiosity, he then saw a Serpent of an enormous Size, which drew after it a confused Heap of Trees and Bushes, torn up by the Roots. Beyond them, appeared a thick Cloud, from which came a violent Clap of Thunder. At this strange Sight, *Hannibal* asked what the Gods meant by it; and the God answered, *The Ravage of Italy. Ask no more. The rest is a Mystery, which I am not permitted to explain to you.*

¹⁴ It must be confessed, that according to *Polybius* and *Livy*, the *Roman* Republick sent Ambassadors to *Spain* and *Africa*, at two different times. *Publius Valerius Flaccus*, and *Quintus Babi*us *Tamphilus*, were the Chiefs of the first Embassy; and they had Orders to go to *Hannibal's* Camp, and to sail from thence to *Carthage*, if he persisted in carrying on the Siege of *Saguntum*. So that, being obliged to go on to *Africa*, they laid before the Se-

nate of *Carthage* their Complaints against the unjust Proceedings of a General who sported with the Faith of Treaties. But the Senate would scarce vouchsafe to pay any Regard to their Remonstrances. The *Barcan* Faction prevailed against *Hanno*, in favor of *Hannibal*. Yet still the *Romans* had not hitherto declared War. The Senate of *Rome*, upon the Report *Babi*us and *Valerius* themselves made of the ill Success of their Embassy, lamented the deplorable Fate of the *Saguntini*. The Senators reproached themselves with having lost time, in useless Negotiations, instead of sending speedy Relief to those faithful Allies. And to the Shame of having abandoned *Saguntum* to *Hannibal's* Fury, succeeded a Compassion for the many unhappy People who fell Victims to their Attachment to the *Romans*, Rage and Grief at having been cheated by a perfidious Nation, and the Fear of an implacable Enemy, who had sworn the utter Ruin of *Rome*. The Senators were struck dumb, and not knowing what Measures to take, kept a melancholy Silence. In the Distraction which the Relation of *Hannibal's* Haughtiness occasioned, no steady Measures were taken to prevent the Storm that was ready to fall on the Republick. Mens Minds were kept in Suspence, and in an Irresolution which favoured of Dejection.

Nevertheless, say our Historians, that no Form might be wanting, which the Laws of Religion and Equity prescribed, *Rome* sent *Quintus Fabius*, *Marcus Livius*, *Lucius Æmilius*, *Caius Licinius*, and *Quintus Babi*us, to the Senate of *Carthage*; and they, according to their Orders, declared War with the *Carthaginians*, in form. From *Carthage* they went to *Spain*, to draw the Nations of that Country into a League against *Hannibal*. They had already gained the *Bargusii*, whose Country lay between *Catalonia* and *Arragon*. These were impatient of the *Carthaginian* Yoke, and inclined to revolt. Several other Nations also, beyond the *Iberus*, in hopes of meeting with better Success if they joined the *Romans*, received the Ambassadors favourably. But this was not the Case with some other



their Way home; and says, that they in vain endeavoured to stir up the *Gauls* against *Hannibal*. But be that as it will, many of the Nations of the *Gauls* were much inclined to favour the *Carthaginians*; whether out of Fear, or Affection, or whether influenced by the Presents they had received, is uncertain. But before *Hannibal* went farther, he enlarged his Conquests in *Spain*, between the *Iberus*, and the *Pyrenees*. He subdued the ¹⁵ *Ilergetes*, ¹⁶ *Bargusii*, ¹⁷ *Ausetani*, and ¹⁸ *Lacetani*. And in order to keep these *Spanish* Nations at the Foot of the *Pyrenees* in Subjection to him, he left *Hanno* Governor of the Country, with Orders to keep the *Bargusini*, whom he had Reason to suspect, to their Duty. Then he made a new Detachment of about ten thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, for this Governor; and here were laid up all the Effects of the *Spanish* and *Carthaginian* Soldiers, which were to follow him. Nevertheless, some of his Troops were intimidated, when they came to the Borders of *Spain*; and three thousand *Carpetani* deserted all at once. But the artful General pretended that he had sent them away; and he disbanded seven thousand other *Spaniards*, with a Promise, that he would invite them into *Italy*, in case he wanted their Assistance. After this, *Hannibal* had still fifty thousand Foot, and nine thousand Horse left; which were enough to strike Terror into all the Nations beyond the *Pyrenees*. The *Carthaginian* Army passed them without Opposition, and had their general Rendezvous at ¹⁹ *Illiberis*, a City of *Gallia Narbonensis*. Then the *Gauls* began to be jealous of this great Army. They had heard indeed, that it was designed only for *Italy*: but *Hannibal* had enslaved *Spain*; and *Gaul* had Reason to fear that she should lose her Liberty,

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXV.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LÆNGUS, Con-
suls.

Polybius, B. 3.
c. 25.

Liv. B. 21.
c. 23.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 35.

other Nations who were intimidated by the Ruin of *Saguntum*, and especially of the *Volsiani*. *Romans*, said one of the most considerable Men among them, with what Face dare you ask us to prefer an Alliance with you, to one with *Carthage*? Do you think we have forgotten the melancholy Fate of the *Saguntini*? You, more barbarous than *Hannibal*, suffered those People who were your Friends, and in vain called out to you for Succours, to perish without Pity. Their only Misfortune was, that they were too faithful to you. Their Ruin ought not to be so much imputed to the Man who destroyed them, as to the Cruelty and Treachery of your Consuls. Go and seek for Allies among those People who know nothing of the Destruction of that unfortunate City. As for us, we, instructed by so fatal an Example, will take Care to be upon our Guard against your seducing Promises; and will tell all the Nations what they are to expect from an ungrateful and faithless Republick. After which, the Ambassadors were ordered to depart out of the Country of the *Volsiani*, without Delay. Nor did they succeed better in several other Cantons, to which they went; and were therefore obliged to pass over into *Gaul*, to engage the *Gauls* to oppose the Passage of the *Carthaginian* Army. Upon the Arrival of the Ambassadors in that Part of *Gaul*, which is next *Spain*, the People ran in Arms to the Place where they held their Assemblies, as usual, and the Deputies came thither. They boasted much of the Power of the *Roman* Republick, the Extent of her Conquests, and the Glory she had acquired by her Victories: And the Design of this Discourse was to engage the Nation to enter into an Alliance with *Rome*, and deny the *Carthaginians* a Passage through *Gaul*. But how much were the Ambassadors surprized, when they heard the Hisses and Clamours of the assembled People! Why, replied they with a Sneer mixed with Indignation, why, should we join with the *Romans*? What Service have they done us, that we should assist them with our Arms? What Reason have we to complain of *Hannibal*, or treat him as an Enemy? Or rather, don't we every Day hear of the base Treatment your Countrymen give ours, who shared the Provinces in *Italy* with them? They are either driven out of their Country, or forced to groan under the Yoke of a proud Republick, and have no Enemies more cruel than the *Romans*? The Deputies had the Mortification every where to find the People either very regardless of the Interests of *Rome*,

or exasperated against her, and prepossessed in favour of *Hannibal*. The People of *Marseilles*, who had long been in Alliance with the Republick, were the only Nation that vouchsafed to receive the Ambassadors; who but too plainly saw, that even They were ready to sell their Services to the best Bidder. So that *Rome* being wholly left to her self, had no Remedy against the Attacks of so formidable an Enemy, but in her own Forces.

15 The *Ilergetes* dwelt beyond the *Sycoris*, in that Province of the Kingdom of *Arragon*, which lies between the *Ebro* and the *Pyrenees*. *Lerida* is thought to have been their capital City.

16 The *Bargusii* inhabited that Part of *Spain* which borders upon *Arragon* and *Catalonia*. *Ptolomy* mentions the City of *Bergusia*, from which they had probably taken their Name. *Scanson* thinks it was the same City that is now called *Balaguer*, and stands on the Banks of the *Sycoris*. Some think it was near *Bergos*, in the Diocese of *Jacca*, in the Kingdom of *Arragon*. Others think *Bergusia* stood near *Pons*, on the River *Bragos*, which runs into the *Sycoris*. *Andrew de Poce* calls the *Bargusii*, *Perthusini* and *Berguses*, and places them near *Puycerda*.

17 The *Ausetani* were so called from the City of *Ausa*, afterwards called *Ausona*, a City of *Catalonia*, which is vulgarly called *Vic d'Osona*. *Pliny* gives the Inhabitants of this City the Name of *Aquicaldenses*, because of their hot Waters. *Father Briet* does not distinguish the *Ausetani* from the *Authetani*. He makes their Country to have reached from the *Pyrenees*, to the Neighbourhood of *Gironne* and *Vic*.

18 The *Lacetani* possessed a Part of the Bishoprick of *Lerida*, and of *Catalonia*, all along the Sea-Coasts, between the Rivers *Lobregat* and *Ter*. *Barcelona*, *Urgel*, *Ostalric*, and *Solsona*, stand in the Canton these People formerly inhabited. Few Geographers distinguish them from the *Laetani*, whom *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* call *Leatani*. At least, it's certain these two Nations were in the Neighbourhood of each other.

19 Old *Illiberis* was then one of the greatest and most wealthy Cities in *Gallia Narbonensis*, on the Coast of the *Mediterranean*. In *Pliny* and *Mela's* time, there were scarce any Remains left of what it had formerly been. Afterwards it changed its Name to *Caucoliberis*. It is now called *Collioure*, in *Roussillon*.

Year of in her turn. The neighbouring Nations therefore assembled at *Ruscino*, then a considerable City in *Gaul*, of which nothing now remains, but one Tower, not far from *Perpignan*. Nevertheless, the Plots and Arms of these Nations did not at all fright *Hannibal*. But he was afraid of losing time in unprofitable Negotiations. He encouraged the intimidated People, and promised them not to draw his Sword, till he came into *Italy*.

R O M E
DXXXV.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, CON-
suls.
Liv. B. 21.
c. 25.

§. VII. In the mean time, tho' it was reported in *Italy*, that *Hannibal* had scarce passed the *Ebro*, the *Boii* began to act, as if he was at the Foot of the *Alpes*. Tho' they had long stood out obstinately against the *Romans*, they were at present subject to them; and now their Fury against *Rome* revived, and signally appeared in an open Revolt, upon a very slight Pretence. Ever since the Conquest of *Cisalpine Gaul*, the Senate of *Rome* had decreed, that two *Roman Colonies*, of six thousand Men each, should be sent to the Cities of *Cremona* and *Placentia*, which stood one on this, and the other on that Side of the *Po*. The Design of this was to keep the *Gauls* in Awe: And it was customary with the *Romans*, as we have frequently observed, when they settled any *Colonies*, to distribute the Lands of the new *Colony*, among the new Citizens, who were transplanted thither. This Distribution was generally made by three Commissioners, deputed by the Senate, all Men of Distinction, and generally some of the old Magistrates; who were ordered to conduct these new Inhabitants, to the Place allotted them, in a Body, like an Army.

THE Leaders of the *Colonies* of *Placentia* and *Cremona*, were an old *Consul* named *Lutatius*, and two Senators, who had both been honoured with the *Prætorship*. But the *Boii* took it in their Heads to keep the two *Colonies* from coming to their Habitations by main Force. It was indeed no difficult Matter for the Rebels to put two Companies of *Romans* to flight, who were marching with their Wives, Children, Household-Goods, Utensils, and all their Effects; and the latter fled for Refuge to ²⁰ *Mutina*, an old *Roman Colony*. The Revolters pursued them thither, and prepared for besieging the Place. But as they were not very skilful in taking Cities, they had Recourse to Treachery. They drew the three Leaders of the *Colony* out of the Place, under Pretence of a Conference, and seized them; designing to exchange them with the *Romans*, for the Hostages they had formerly left in their Hands. Then the Rebel-Party increased, and the *Insubres*, being solicited to come into the Revolt, did so before *Hannibal* arrived; and shook off the Yoke to which they had but very lately submitted. This roused the *Prætor Manlius*. *Cornelius Scipio* the *Consul*, had left him, when he set out for *Transalpine Gaul*, two *Legions*, to keep the *Cisalpine Gauls* in Subjection: And *Manlius* now led one of them to the Deliverance of *Mutina*, which the confederate *Boii* and *Insubres* continued to besiege. But all the Country being covered with Forests, and the *Gauls*, being acquainted with all the Roads, they laid an Ambush for the *Prætor*, and surprized him; so that he himself did not escape without Difficulty, after a considerable Loss of his *Legionaries*. However, being at length got out of the narrow Passes, he retired to an Eminence, and made a little more honourable Retreat from thence, to the City of *Tanetum*, where the *Boii* invested him. Upon this News, *Rome* was alarmed; she sent away, with all Speed, the second *Prætor*, at the Head of the remaining *Legion*, and five thousand Auxiliaries hastily raised: And their Approach intimidated the *Boii*. They disappeared, raised the Sieges of ²¹ *Tanetum*, and *Mutina*, and dispersed themselves about their Country, well satisfied with their first Success, and very impatient of *Hannibal's* Arrival in *Italy*; the Influences of whose Star were first felt in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and had already, in some degree, reached *Rome*.

§. VIII. In the mean time, the *Consul Cornelius Scipio* had sailed from *Pisa*, coasted along *Liguria*, and landed at that of the three Mouths of the *Rhone*, which is next to *Marseilles*. The *Marseillois* and ²² *Salii*, had then come over to the *Romans*; and *Scipio's* Design was to wait for the *Carthaginian's* Arrival on the Frontiers of *Gaul*, and there give him Battel, before he attempted to pass the *Alpes*.

²⁰ *Mutina* is now known by the Name of *Modena*; a famous City between the *Po* and the *Apennines*.

²¹ *Tanetum* was formerly a City in *Gallia Cispadana*, eight Miles from *Parma*, Eastward, on the

Banks of the River *Nicia*, now the *Lenza*. It is now only a Village in the Republick of *Modena*.

²² See our Account of the *Salies*, a Nation of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and of *Liguria Transalpina*, Vol. 2.

He thought him a great way off; but *Hannibal* was more diligent and expeditious than the *Consul* imagined. After he had passed, without delay, through the vast Countries, which were between the *Pyrenees*, and the *Rhone*; he came and encamped on the Banks of that River. But the Difficulty was, how to pass it. The *Volcæ*²³, a People of the present *Lower Languedoc*, then dwelt on both Sides the *Rhone*; and those on this Side of the River, had, out of Fear, suffered *Hannibal* to march his Army through their Country; but those on the other Side of it, thought they were able to dispute his passing it. And indeed, the Rapidity and Depth of the *Rhone*, are such, as would have been unsurmountable Obstacles to any Man but *Hannibal*. An Army of *Gauls* waited for him on the opposite Bank, and this Army consisted of the *Volcæ* on this Side the River, who had left their Houses; and those on the other Side the River, who pretended to guard their Country. And what would have become of *Hannibal's* Expedition, if the *Romans* had given the *Volcæ* timely Assistance? But it unfortunately happened, that *Scipio* had been encamped in *La*²⁴ *Camargue*, but a few Days; and his Troops wanted Refreshment, after the Fatigues of the Sea. Besides, the *Consul* knew not that the Enemy was²⁵ so near. All that he could do, immediately after his landing, was to send out three hundred Horse, with some *Gauls* for their Guides, to discover the *Carthaginians*. Had he indeed gone but a few Days March farther, he would have saved *Italy*; and the *Rhone* had been the Boundary of *Hannibal's* Incursions. It must be owned, that in this great Crisis, his Good-Fortune was equal to his Valour.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, Con-
suls.

THE *Carthaginian* General, on the other hand, had some Suspicion, that a *Con- sular* Army was not far off. Being therefore under a Necessity of passing a River, which was no where fordable, without delay, and in sight of an Enemy's Army, he had recourse to Stratagem: and the *Gauls* were not then well enough skilled in military Affairs, to guard against it. He ordered *Hanno*, the Son of *Bomilcar*, to take a large Detachment, march up the River²⁶, and pass it out of sight of the Enemy's Camp. *Hanno*, after several Nights private March, came to a Place where the *Rhone* makes a wider Channel, and is divided by a little Island in the middle of it; and there resolved to cross it. The River was there more shallow, and less rapid, than any where else. A neighbouring Forest furnished *Hanno* with Wood for the Boats and Rafts he wanted; which were not many. The Detachment partly consisted of *Spanish* Troops, who were skilful in swimming over Rivers: and they first placing their Bucklers and Baggage upon blown Bladders, laid themselves down upon them, and so swam over. The *Carthaginians* in the Detachment passed over safe in Boats. Then *Hanno*, after a Day's Repose, marched his Troops a great way about, and came and lay in Ambush within reach of the Camp of the *Volcæ*. They knew not that *Hanno* had passed the River; but *Hannibal* knew it by the Fires *Hanno* ordered to be lighted, which was the Signal agreed

Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 23.

Livy, B. 21.
c. 27.

²³ The Name and Country of the *Volcæ*, were common to two Nations of *Gallia Narbonensis*. The first are called *Arecomici*, by the ancient Geographers. They inhabited *Lower Languedoc*, or the Eastern and Maritime Borders of that Province. *Nismes* was their Capital. The other Nation, called *Tectosages*, dwelt in the Western Part of that Province, quite to the *Pyrenees*. According to *Pto- lomy*, their Country reached towards the Coasts of the *Mediterranean* Sea, beyond the Cities of *Illiberis*, *Ruscino*, *Narbone*, and *Beziers*, in which this Nation settled. But *Strabo* makes them an inland People, and places them in the chief Cantons of the present *Upper Languedoc*: So that *Tolouse* belonged to them. It is manifest, that under the Name of *Volcæ*, *Livy* here comprehends only the *Arecomici*, of the Territory of *Nismes*, and in that Neighbourhood. *Hannibal* found means either to keep the Nations, through which he passed from the *Pyrenees* to the *Rhone*, quiet, out of Fear; or to gain them over to him with his Money.

²⁴ *La Camargue* is an Island in the *Rhone*, in *Pro- vence*. It is seven Leagues long from *Arles* to the Sea. It was called by the *Latins*, *Camaria*, and af-

terwards *Castra Mariana*; because *Marius* encamped his *Legions* there, to watch the Motions of the *Cimbri*, and *Tentones*.

²⁵ According to *Polybius*, after *Hannibal* had passed the Countries between the *Pyrenees* and the *Rhone*, he at last arrived with his Army at this River, four Days Journey from the Mouth of it, at a Place where it was narrower than ordinary. And consequently, the *Rhone* must run at least thirty Leagues between *La Camargue*, and the Place where *Scipio* rested his Troops; since this is the least we can allow for four Days Journey. It is therefore now taken for granted, that *Hannibal* halted on the Banks of the *Rhone*, above *Nismes*, between *Avignon* and *Orange*.

²⁶ *Livy* and *Polybius* agree exactly in the Account they give of *Hanno's* March. They say, this General, guided by some *Gauls* of the Country, marched along by this River; and after he had gone twenty five Miles, in a whole Day, that is, about eight or nine common Leagues, he halted, with a Design to try to pass it. Judging of it therefore by the length of the Way *Hanno's* Detachment marched, they must have advanced beyond *Pont Saint Esprit*, above *Priviers*, and passed the River there.

Year of on. Immediately therefore the *Carthaginian* General got every thing ready, to
R O M E make his Attempt. By his Presents, he gained over the *Volcæ*, on the same Side
 DXXXV. of the River with him. They were easily wrought upon; it was their Interest to
 P. CORNELIUS get rid of the *Carthaginian* Army, as soon as possible: and they diligently got
 SCIPIO, TIB. together all the Barks on their Side of the River. Upon them *Hannibal* embarked
 SEMPRONIUS his Cavalry, and ranged them in a long Line, the better to break the Force of the
 LONGUS, CON- Water. Their Horses swam at the Tails of the Boats, tied four and four, and each
 fuls. four led by a Horseman. The Infantry, under shelter of the Barks, which guarded
 them against the Impetuosity of the River, prepared to pass it, in little Canoes, each
 made of an hollowed Tree.

THESE Preparations drew the *Gauls* out of their Barracks. They hoped it
 would be easy to hinder the landing of the Enemy, and either to drown them, or
 kill them with their Darts. They did not expect to be attacked in the Heat of
 the Action, by Troops that were already landed. The whole Shore rung with
 the Shouts and ²⁷ Songs of these Barbarians, and the clattering they made with
 their Bucklers: tho' at the same time, *Hannibal's* Fleet, if I may so speak, that is,
 the prodigious Number of his Boats of all sorts, the good Order they kept, and the
 confused Noise of Rowers and Soldiers, could not fail of intimidating them. But
 what disconcerted all their Measures, was the taking of their Camp by *Hanno's*
Polybius, B. 3. Detachment. They found themselves surrounded on all Sides: And amidst this
c. 43. Confusion, some of the *Carthaginian* Troops were already landed, and were making
 Head against the Enemy, who fought in great Disorder and Confusion.

UPON the Sight therefore of an Army, which increased every Moment, by the
 Arrival of more and more Soldiers, who were all disciplined, the tumultuous Ar-
 my of the *Gauls* gave way, dispersed, and every Man made what haste he could
 to his own Village. So that *Hannibal* became Master of the Plain; and after
 having overcome this first Difficulty, he did not despair of passing the *Alpes*. Ne-
 vertheless, he had yet his Elephants to bring over; and these Animals were fear-
 ful of Water, and were never embarked without Danger. *Hannibal* therefore
 being Master of both Banks of the River, contrived a new Way of getting them
 over it quietly. He made a sort of Sledge on the Western Bank of the River,
 fastened it to the Shore with Cables on both Sides, lest it should be carried away
 with the Stream, and so covered it with Hurdles and Turf, that it looked very like
Polybius, B. 3. the Bank of a River. At the End of this Sledge, which was fixed, he fastened
c. 46. two Ferry-Boats, which were big enough for each to carry two Elephants at a
 time. Then he first led the Females on upon the Sledge, and the Males easily fol-
 lowed them. From the Sledge they came to the Ferry-Boats, and were all carried
 over, one after another. Nevertheless, some of them were so restless, that they
 tumbled into the Water; and tho' the River was above their Depth, they were
 not drowned. They breathed through their Trunks, which they kept above Wa-
 ter; and dividing the Waves with their great Bodies, came safe to the Shore ²⁸.

§. IX. AFTER *Hannibal* had passed the River, he received certain Information,
 that some *Romans* were arrived at the Mouth of the *Rhone*. He therefore sent
 out five hundred *Numidian* Horse, to observe their Situation, and their Strength;
 and they were met by that Party of three hundred Horse, which the *Consul* had
 sent out, to discover *Hannibal's* Camp. Upon this, a sharp Action ensued, in
 which the *Romans*, assisted by the *Gauls*, had all the Advantage. This was the first
 Engagement between the *Roman* Troops, and those of the formidable *Carthagini-*

²⁷ Anciently, among the barbarous Nations es-
 pecially, when Armies were ready to engage, they
 made the Air ring with their Shouts, to frighten the
 Enemy. This was, as it were, the Preliminary to
 the Battel. According to *Polybius*, the *Gauls* and
Germans used to sing military Songs, and dance a
 kind of Dance, before they began a Battel. The
Spaniards also did the same, according to *Silius*, and
Diodorus Siculus. Their Songs were accompanied
 with the clattering of their Bucklers, with which
 they beat Time. This was also the Practice of the
Lacedæmonians. The Assaultants were animated in
 the Heat of the Action by the Sound of Flutes and
 Trumpets that were joined with the Songs of the
 Soldiers.

²⁸ Some Authors, whom *Livy* mentions, say,
 that a Stratagem was found out to make the Ele-
 phants pass the *Rhone*. These Animals, say they,
 were brought together on the Banks of the River;
 and one of their Leaders designedly enraged one of
 the wildest, and immediately leaped into the *Rhone*,
 and swam away. The enraged Elephant pursued
 him into the Water, and then the Force of the
 Stream carried him cross the River: And all the
 other Elephants following him, they were carried
 over, in the same manner. But *Livy* does not think
 this Story probable, and therefore rejects it, and ad-
 heres to more credible Testimonies.

an; and how inconsiderable soever their Success gained in it might be, the Romans, who laid great Stress upon Presages, thought it an happy Omen for the rest of the War. They lost very few Men in the Battel; but the Numidians had two hundred killed upon the Spot. However, this little Disadvantage did not discourage Hannibal. He was indeed, for some time, in doubt, whether he should attack Scipio before he attempted to go into Italy, or pass the Alpes first: And the Deputies of the Boii of Cisalpine Gaul determined him. They, after their Revolt from the Romans, had sent one of their Generals, named ²⁹ Magalus, to Hannibal, to persuade him to hasten his March: And Magalus promised the Carthaginian to be his Guide over the Alpes. In short, he convinced Hannibal that it would be dangerous to hazard a Battel before he arrived in Italy. He represented to him, That if his Army was weakened, and continually pursued and harassed by the Enemy, he would find it no easy Matter to get over these difficult Mountains: and added, *My Lord, the safest way is to avoid Scipio; to lead your Army over the Mountains entire; and to prevent its being weakened or rendered contemptible by any Disaster.* This was wise Advice, and it was followed: And it will perhaps appear, that Scipio was too indolent in Gaul, and might have prevented great Misfortunes to his Country, had he been a little more active.

For fear therefore of being stopped by the Consul Cornelius, Hannibal turned about, marched up the River, and came and encamped in a delightful Country, by the ³⁰ Conflux of the Rhone and the Saone, which has since been made famous

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.

P CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, Con-
suls.

²⁹ Magalus is called Matalus in some Editions of Livy: and Polybius gives him the Name of Magilus. It is no uncommon thing to change an *a* into an *i*. Thus *Massinissa* and *Mithridates*, are called by some Authors *Massanissa* and *Mithradates*.

³⁰ We ought not here to dissemble any of the Objections that are usually made to the Accounts given us by Livy and Polybius, of Hannibal's March to the Place where the Rhone and the Saone join.

1. The Latin Historian says, that the Place where Hannibal passed the Rhone, was but four Days March from the Conflux of the two Rivers; and most of those who have followed his Rout, agree, that the Carthaginian Army passed the Rhone near Roque-maure, between Avignon and Orange. Now from thence to the Mouth of the Saone, is about thirty five Leagues. How then is it possible, that Troops so much fatigued, should be able to march so far, in so short a time? This seeming Impossibility has made several learned Men reject the Account of these two Roman Writers as indefensible. And they further say, that Polybius's Testimony is of no Authority in the present Case. In his Text, we find indeed the Word *Ἀεργός*, which signifies the Saone; but in the old Editions, we read the Word *Ἐσάργος*; and the Learned know no River in Gaul that bears this latter Name. So that Casaubon, add they, by thus correcting this Name, has only inserted the Mistake in the Greek Historian, which is justly blamed in the Latin.

2 Some pretend to draw an Argument against Livy, from a Passage in his own Book. He says, that Hannibal encamped at the Place where the Rhone joins the Saone, which, according to him, rises in the Alpes. This, say they, is not true of the Saone; since it rises in the Mountains of Vange, and not in the Alpes.

But the first Difficulty will soon disappear, if we in the least consider, that Hannibal's Business was to avoid Scipio's Army, which was landed in La Camargue, to hinder his passing into Italy. Hannibal would not run the hazard of having his whole Scheme destroyed by a Battel: and he had reason to take it for granted, that the Roman General pursued him with great Marches. Hannibal therefore could not secure his Army as he design'd, without making long and forced Marches, which he did, resolving to give his Soldiers some Days Rest, after he had escaped the Pursuit of the Romans. The Carthaginian General proposed, according to Livy, to get as far

as he could from the Sea, and to continue his March up into the Country, along the Rhone. Not, says this Historian, that this was his direct, or shortest Way to the Alpes; but he by this Tour removed farther off from Scipio, and consequently pursued his Resolution not to give the Romans Battel, till he came into Italy. *Postero die profectus Mediterraenae Galliae petit, non quia ad Alpes rectior via esset, sed quantum a mari recessisset, minus obvium fore Romanum credens, cum quo, priusquam in Italiam ventum esset, non erat in animo manus conferere.* Polybius also tells us, that Hannibal continued his March along the Rhone, Eastward. Now by the Cast of an Eye on a Map, it is evident, that if the Carthaginian Army marched up the Rhone, from West to East, it must first have marched along by it, as far as to Lyons. The Greek Historian made this Remark, after he had distinguished between the Eastern and Western Part of the Rhone. But whatever may be said to the contrary, this Author's whole Account can only agree with that Part of Lyonnois, where the Saone and the Rhone unite. *Four Days after Hannibal had passed the Rhone, says Polybius, he arrived in a fruitful and populous Country, where the two Rivers make an Island, which is of a triangular Form. It is like the Delta in Egypt; with this Difference, that the Delta is surrounded with the Sea, and the Rivers that discharge themselves into it; whereas this Island is bounded by Rocks and Mountains.* If we observe the Course of these two Rivers in a Map, we must see that they make a Triangle, the Sides of which reach along the Mountains of Vange. And besides that Polybius and Caesar call all these Countries an Island, which lay between the Rhone and the Saone; we are told, in an ancient Cartulary of the Year 1000, That Part of the Ground on which Lyons was built, was formerly an Island of a triangular Form. See the History of the City of Lyons, by Father Menestrier.

As to the second Objection, drawn from Livy's making the Saone to rise in the Alpes, Strabo and Ptolomy are guilty of the same Mistake, if it be a Mistake. We know, and have observed in the second Volume, that in the Language of the Ancients, all high Mountains, and even the Pyrenes, were called Alpes. Yet Claver concludes from this weak Reason, that the Texts of Livy and Polybius are both defective. He thought they both meant the Isere, and not the Saone. As if the Conflux of that River, and the Rhone, had been the Place where Hannibal turned off from this last River, to go to the

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, CON-
suls.

Livy, B. 21.
c. 31.

mous by one of the finest Cities in *Europe*. There ³¹ two Brothers were disputing for the Kingdom; and their Contests had produced a Civil War. Their two Armies were already encamped near one another; and the Dispute between the two Brothers was just ready to be decided by a Battel, when *Hannibal* appeared with his Troops. The eldest looked on the Arrival of the *Carthaginians* as an Advantage which was not to be neglected: And he drew the foreign General into his Interests, without much Difficulty. *Hannibal* foresaw the Advantage it would be to him, to have the Friendship of a Prince, whose Country bordered upon the *Alpes*; and who, if placed on his Throne by him, might assist him in his Passage over them: And therefore joining his Forces to those of the *Gauls*, he drove out the younger Brother, and placed the elder on the Throne. The Service was great and his Gratitude was sincere. The enthroned King gave his Avenger very reasonable Assistance, and made him very liberal Presents. The Arms of the *Carthaginians* were broken, their Clothes tattered, and most of them were bare-foot: He therefore furnished them with Necessaries against the Snows and Ice of the *Alpes*, and supplied them with Provisions for this painful Passage. Nor was this all. The *Carthaginians* being afraid of being attacked by the *Gauls* dispersed about these unknown Countries; the King guarded them in Person, and conducted them safe all the Way to the Mountains. It is indeed said, that at the Conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Saone*, *Hannibal* turned back, and came down towards ³² *Durance*. But was this consistent with his Prudence? Why should he run the hazard of meeting *Scipio*, whom he endeavoured to avoid; and expose himself to

the *Alpes*, cross *Dauphine* from *Valence*, to the other Side of *Grenoble*! In like manner, this Geographer has very improperly confounded the *Σαῶνας* with the Term *Ἰσάρας*, in this Passage of *Polybius*. He thought the Name of *Σαῶνας* was a Name that might very properly be given to the *Isera*, whose Water was dirty and muddy. But besides that the *Isera* has never been called by this Name, it is clear from all the Circumstances of this Passage of *Polybius*, that it can be understood only of the *Saone*. And in this he agrees with *Pliny* and *Livy*. It were unjust to pay more regard to the Conjecture of a modern Author, than to the express Testimony of two of the most celebrated *Roman* Historians, and particularly of *Polybius*. He was almost a Contemporary with *Hannibal*. This Conqueror's Attempt was made in his Sight, if I may so speak, and he had followed close after him. At least he assures us, that he went to the Places himself, that being informed of the Truth of Facts, upon the spot, he might be the better able to give the Reader the more faithful Account of them. With this View, he rejects all those Fables which common Tradition had authorized, to give *Hannibal's* Expedition the Air of *The Marvellous*. He leaves the Fable of the Demi-God, who was said to have paved the Way for the Passage of the *Carthaginians* over the *Alpes*, to the Credulity of simple People, and ranks it among poetical Fictions. For fear of not giving us a full Account of so concerning a Fact, he came to the Passage through which the ancient *Gauls* went into *Italy*; examined the Situation of the different Provinces, through which the *Carthaginian* Army was to pass, observed the Difference of the Climates, the Dimensions of each Country, and the Course of the great and little Rivers. And after this, he made an exact Computation of the Distances of the Countries, and the Number of *Stadia*, from *New Carthage*, where *Hannibal* began his March, to the *Rhone*; and from the *Rhone*, to the *Alpes*. When we have the Testimony of so considerable an Author in favour of our Opinion, *Cluver's* Criticism can only impose on those who don't know, that the *Saone* was anciently called *Σαῶνα*, or *Sœna*, and by Corruption *Saucona*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* calls it so; and from thence it had the Name of *Matifcona*, to shew the Situation of *Macon*, on the Banks of that River. So that here is Correction for Correction. Is it not more natural, and more probable, that *Σαῶνας* should

be changed into *Σαῶνας*, than that *Σαῶνας* should be turned into *Ἰσάρας*? This *Cluver's* most zealous Advocates must grant. Besides the triangular Figure that *Polybius* gives the Island which is formed by the Conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Saone*, can never agree with that Part of *Dauphine*, which lies between the *Rhone* and the *Isera*. It is rather an oblong Square, than a Triangle. In order to convince those fully of it, who have been prepossessed with the contrary Opinion, they need only observe, that according to *Polybius*, the Country in which *Hannibal* encamped, after he had passed the *Rhone*, abounded with Corn. He undoubtedly meant the Plains of *Dombes* and *Bresse*. He could not say so of that Part of *Dauphine*, which borders on the *Rhone* and the *Isera*. Every body knows, that this Canton is planted with Vineyards, from *Montelimar* to *Vienne*. And lastly, according to *Polybius* and *Livy*, *Magilus* or *Magalus*, and the most considerable of the *Italian Boii*, came to meet *Hannibal*, and to be his Guides. And it is probable, that they came the same Way through which the first *Boii* had formerly gone into *Italy*. Now these latter are well known to have come from *Bourbonnois*, and the neighbouring Provinces; and consequently it is not probable, that they should leave the *Bressin* Road, and go into *Dauphine*, in order to climb over the *Alpes* there. All these Proofs taken together, will doubtless be thought an unanswerable Demonstration, in favour of credible Historians, whose Relations are only opposed with Doubts.

³¹ The Name of the elder Brother was *Brancus*; he had been driven out of his Kingdom by the younger, according to *Polybius*, and *Livy*.

³² It, as *Livy* assures us, *Hannibal* returned back and went down towards the *Durance*, in order to come to the *Alpes*; how could he say, that this General turned to the left, in order to come to the *Tricastin*, near *St. Paul Trois Chateaux*, and the Canton of the *Pocontii*, now the Territory of *Du*, in *Dauphine*? It is certain, that this Country lies to the right of the Mouth of the *Saone*, from whence *Livy* makes him march his Army, in order to go to the Banks of the *Durance*. He could not go to the left, but by pursuing his Road along the *Rhone*. *Hannibal* marched up this River, says *Polybius*, and in ten Days marched an hundred Miles, or about forty Leagues. So far was he therefore from turning back, that he left *Dauphine* on his right; did not

the Danger of keeping along the Borders of the Territory of the *Salyi*, who were Friends to the *Romans*? I rather believe an Author who lived almost at this time; who took so much Pains to learn the Truth, and transmit it to us, that he passed the *Alpes*, on purpose to follow *Hannibal's* Steps; and who is so judicious, that he has thrown all those wonderful Tales out of his History, with which Fable had filled it in his time. Without being led away with the Beauty of Descriptions, I adhere to the strongest Probabilities, and most express Authorities. I rather say, with *Polybius*, that the *Carthaginian* Army continued their March towards the Head of the *Rhone*; and after ten Days arrived at the Foot of the *Alpes*, on the extreme Parts of the Territory of the *Allobroges* ³³.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, Con-
suls.
Polyb. B 3.
c. 47.

§. X. HERE indeed, the Historian has almost as difficult a Rout to take, as the *Carthaginian* General then had. He is to make himself a Way thro' the Obscurity in which the Ancients have left us, concerning this famous Passage of *Hannibal*; to avoid the Fictions with which the Accounts we have of it are filled; to lessen Objects, rather than magnify them; and at the same time, not to fall short of the general Prepossessions concerning it. But nevertheless we will, with the help of a good Guide, follow *Hannibal* over the Precipices.

THE *Carthaginians* had nothing more to fear in *Gaul*, from *Scipio's* Army. The *Consul* had long despaired of coming up with them, and had embarked again at the same Port where he had landed. But before his Departure, he sent a considerable Squadron of his Fleet, with a large Detachment of his Troops, to *Spain*, under the Command of his Brother *Cn. Cornelius*, to make War upon *Asdrubal*, *Hannibal's* Brother, whom he had left there, to preserve his Conquests. As for the *Consul* himself, he returned to *Italy*, where at least he thought he should have an Opportunity of fighting *Hannibal* upon his Arrival, and could not avoid meeting him. On the other hand, *Hannibal* made all Haste to surmount the Difficulties which obstructed his Passage into *Italy*: But it is hard to say exactly, over what Part of the *Alpes* he passed. Upon an attentive Consideration of his Marches, it seems most probable, that he went over the Mountain which is now called *The Great Saint Bernard* ³⁴, at some Distance from *Sion* in *Valais*. But be that as it

not go from the *Rhone*, till he came to *Seissel*; and came to the Entrance of the *Alpes*, near *Sion* in *Valais*, not far from the *Dranse*. It is very probable, that *Livy*, deceived by the Similitude of the Names, took the *Durance* for the *Drance*. And this Mistake doubtless caused all the Confusion and Incoherences which we find in that Author. For it must be granted that his Narration is very perplexed and confused. The Countries he describes, are not to be found in the Places he assigns them. Most of the Criticks have observed these Contradictions; and have almost all deserted *Livy*, to adhere to *Polybius*, who lived near *Hannibal's* time, and had seen the Countries he describes.

³³ The *Allobroges* formerly inhabited all that Part of *Gallia Narbonensis*, which lay between the *Rhone* and the *Isera*, from *Valencia* to the Lake *Lemanus*, or *The Lake of Geneva*. So that this Nation was dispersed in *Viennois*, the Duchy of *Savoy*, *Genevois*, and the Cantons of *Chablais* and *Fossigny*.

³⁴ There are six Reasons, which incline us to believe that *Hannibal* crossed the *Alpes*, by *The Great St. Bernard*. 1. Because *Livy* and *Polybius* say, that this General, to encourage his Troops, shewed them the rich Plains of *Italy*, that lay near the Po, from the Top of the Mountain. Now supposing that he had marched by the *Alpes Cottiae*, as *Livy* pretends, that is between Mount *Viso*, and Mount *Cenis*, he could not possibly discover these neighbouring Regions. The other Mountains would have intercepted his View of these Plains. 2. The Mountain over which *Hannibal* marched his Army, was absolutely uncultivated and dry. But the Mountains in the extreme Parts of the Territory of *Ambrun*, by which *Livy* insinuates that the *Carthaginians* passed, were not so. It is certain, they daily afford Plenty of Pasture for a prodigious Number of Cattel, that are brought thither from *Provence*, and

Lower Dauphinè. *Hannibal* must therefore have passed the Mountains of the *Val d'Aouste*, which are always covered with Snow, and were therefore called *The Great Icehouses*. 3. *Polybius* tells us, that *Hannibal* passed the *Alpes* near the Place where the *Rhone* rises. He therefore passed by the *Alpes Pennine*, which reached from *The Great St. Bernard*, to Mount *Adula*, or Mount *St. Goddard*. 4. *Paulus Jovius*, and *Merula*, say, that in a Place called *Bard*, near Mount *Jou*, or *The Great St. Bernard*, between *Aouste* and *Ivree*, the Memory of *Hannibal's* Passage is preserved by an ancient Inscription. It is pity they have not given themselves the Trouble to transmit it down to us. It would perhaps have been of great Use in clearing up a Fact, which has hitherto been the Subject of many Disputes. 5. *Polybius* reckons a thousand and forty *Stadia*, from the Place where *Hannibal's* Army passed the *Rhone*, to the Place where he resolved to cross the *Alpes*. And if we say with *Livy*, that he passed any of the *Alpes Cottiae*, it is impossible to make out that Distance. 6. The Memory of this famous Expedition is perpetuated in the Name of the *Summus Penninus*, which was given *The Great St. Bernard*. It is so called in *Antoninus's Itinerary*. Hence the God *Penninus*, or *Pennus*, to whom the Barbarians of these Countries paid a particular kind of Worship. *Cælius*, an ancient Author quoted by *Livy*, makes *Hannibal* to have passed in a Place which he calls *Cremonis Jugum*. *Cluver* thinks this Mount, which is mentioned by no other Author, was a Branch of the *Alpes Graia*, between the Country of *Valais* and the *Val d'Aouste*, near *The Great St. Bernard*, where *Cramoyen* now stands. *Glarean* supposes it ought to be read *Centronis Jugum*. He ought to have said *Centronum Jugum*; that is, *The Little St. Bernard*, which is in the extreme Parts of the *Tarentaise*.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.

P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, CON-
suls.

will, (for we cannot ascertain any thing concerning a Fact which is not sufficiently cleared up by the Ancients, and which the Contradictions of Authors will always render obscure,) all agree in this at least, that he met with immense Difficulties in his Passage. As soon as the King of the *Allobroges* had left him, he gave Orders to his Troops to enter into the narrow Passes, which lead up to the Tops of the Mountains: And then the little Kings of the Country, whom the *Allobroges* had terrified and kept in Awe, assembled their Troops, and posted them upon the steep Places, over which the *Carthaginians* must necessarily pass. And indeed, had these Mountaineers hid their Soldiers in the Holes of the Rocks, they would infallibly have destroyed the whole *Carthaginian* Army. But they lessened their own Advantages by their Boldness. They appeared openly: And therefore, though they were able to destroy great Numbers of *Carthaginians*, by the Advantages they had of the Ground; yet the Valour of their Enemies was such, that they lost as great a Number of Men themselves.

In the mean time, these Mountaineers climbed from Post to Post, and seized new Eminencies; but *Hannibal* found Means to dislodge them. He had some *Gauls* in his Army, who spoke their Language, and he sent them to the Enemy's Camp, to observe their Appearance, and watch their Designs. By his Spies, the General was informed, that these Barbarians retired every Night to their Villages, and returned to the Ridges of the Mountains, to dispute the Passage of them, every Morning: and *Hannibal's* Artifice was this. He pretended to take a Compass, and go and encamp in another Place; and in the Evening he drew near to the Post the Mountaineers possessed, and seemed willing to pass the Night there. But as soon as it was dark, and the Enemy was dispersed, he marched the bravest of his Soldiers up to the Eminencies they had left, and there halted. By this means he gained one Post: But the rest of his March was not the less disturbed for it. The *Carthaginians*, being obliged to climb up narrow Paths, could not draw up their Horse or Foot in any tolerable Length, to oppose the Enemy; and the Mountaineers took the Advantage of it. They easily leaped from Rock to Rock, with the Agility of Hinds, fell upon the *Carthaginians*, in Flank and Rear, and the Action cost *Hannibal* dear. His Horses and other Beasts of Burden suffered much by this unforeseen Attack. The least Disturbance the Enemy occasioned among the Troops they assaulted, put Men and Horses into Disorder, and gave them terrible Falls, among the Precipices. Every Wound the Horses received, made them leap about, and at every Leap they either lost their own Footing, or were forced to drive forwards among the Soldiers before them, and tumbled them down the Rocks. *Hannibal* plainly saw of what Consequence it was to preserve these Beasts, which were laden with his Provisions; and he went in Person with a chosen Body of Troops to defend his Rear-Guard, fell furiously upon the Mountaineers, and dispersed them. After this, he marched on more peaceably; but not without Danger. At length, he came to the ³⁵ Town whose Inhabitants had so strongly opposed him, and found the Houses deserted, and no body left there, but the Prisoners, and Horses, they had taken from him; and these he had the Pleasure of recovering. The General also found some Corn and Cattel, which served for Provisions for his Army; and after he had spent one Day there, continued his March.

BUT as soon as the *Carthaginian* Army had escaped one Danger, it fell into another. Other Mountaineers, belonging to the Places he was now crossing, came to *Hannibal*, with all the Appearances of being peaceably disposed. They carried Branches in their Hands, were crowned with Boughs, and made the General many Protestations of Friendship. It was equally dangerous for him either to trust them, or distrust them. *Hannibal* therefore examined them, and caused them to be watched: And he learnt from them, that his having taken and plundered the first Village, had obliged them to come and implore his Protection. Then, being mixed with the *Carthaginians*, they behaved themselves peaceably, till at length *Hannibal* put so much Confidence in them, as to place them at the Head of his Troops, to be his Guides. But nevertheless, he took a very necessary Precaution. He placed his Elephants, and Beasts of Burden, in his Advanced-Guard, and his

³⁵ We don't know what this Village was, unless it was either *Sironne*, or *St. Eugene*, as they are now called.

best Battalions in his Rear: And this Disposition preserved him from an entire De-
 feat. These faithless Guides led the Army into an Ambuscade, from which some
 of the Troops of the Barbarians sallied out on a sudden, and fell upon the Rear-Guard
 of the *Carthaginians*, whilst the Guides turned about, and fell on the Advanced-
 Guard. But by good Fortune, the Elephants stoped the Fury of the one, and
Hannibal's choicest Infantry stood their Ground against the others. Nevertheless,
 it must be confessed, that the *Carthaginians* lost many Horses and Men in this Ac-
 tion. The Mountaineers who attacked the Advanced-Guard from the upper
 Ground, rolled down Pieces of Rocks upon the Legs of the Beasts, so that they
 could not stand against them; and they killed the Men with the Stones they threw
 at them. The Fright was so great in *Hannibal's* Army, that he himself, with a
 Part of it, stopped short, on a Rock which stood by itself, and passed the Night
 there, whilst his Advanced-Guard marched on by itself to the Place where the Bat-
 tle was fought. Early in the Morning the General rejoined the main Body of his
 Army, and continued his March. After this, the Barbarians appeared only in
 small Bodies; not so much to fight, as to harraßs the Enemy, and get Booty.
 But tho' the Roads were less infested by the Mountaineers, they were not the more
 passable. However, after many Fatigues, and many Losses, *Hannibal* at length ar-
 rived at the Top of the highest Mountain, nine Days after he began to ascend.
 There the Rock seemed to be level, and there was a Plain upon it, where the Ge-
 neral encamped his Troops, and rested two Days. This Delay was necessary, to
 gather together the Stragglers; and the General saw with Pleasure many Horses
 arrive, which he thought lost; they had escaped the Precipices, and followed him
 in the Road which he had beaten. It was now about the Middle of *November*,
 and the *Carthaginian* Army had been five Months coming from the *Pyrenees* to this
 Place. The Snow was already fallen in great Plenty, on the Tops of these high
 Mountains, and covered the Ground: And this Sight affrighted the *Africans* and
Spaniards, who were much affected with the Cold, in a Climate so unlike their
 own. In order therefore to encourage them, *Hannibal* led them to the Top of
 the highest Rock next to *Italy*, whence he gave them a View of the large and
 fruitful Plains of *Insubria*, and said: *Those are to be the Scenes of your Glory, and*
the Fruits of your Conquests. You have not climbed the Alpes, but you have scaled
the Walls of Rome. You have already made Lodgments on her Ramparts. The
rest will be but Sport. The Gauls, whose vast Countries you see, are ready to join
you, and then you will not spare even the famous and rich Capitol.

Year of
 R O M E
 DXXXV.
 P. CORNELIUS
 SCIPIO, TIB.
 SEMPRONIUS
 LONGUS, Con-
 suls.

BUT in the mean time, the *Carthaginians* had almost as many and great Dangers
 to encounter, in going down the Mountains, as they passed in ascending them.
 On the Top of the *Alpes*, the Snow does not melt in the midst of Summer. That
 of former Years hardens, and turns into Ice; but that of the present Year is soft
 and light, and oftentimes very deep. So that the Declivities of the Rocks are co-
 vered with Slides, on which there is no standing, and which carry Men down fright-
 ful Precipices, with Violence. If one Man or Beast falls, he beats down many
 others, and carries all that are in the same Line with him. The fresh Snow is in-
 deed a little Support, but when trodden upon by a numerous Army, it sinks, or
 melts, and is often as slippery as Ice. These were the new Dangers *Hannibal* had
 to encounter, in his Descent down the *Alpes*; and we are assured, that he lost as
 many Men and Horses, as he had done in ascending them; tho' he had here no
 Enemy³⁶ to engage with. But his Army had gone thro' so many Hardships, that
 it was now Proof against any Difficulties. At length it came to a Place, which
 neither the Men, Elephants, nor Horses could pass over. Not only the Way which
 was between two Precipices, was too narrow for his Men to advance; but the Decli-
 vity, which was very steep of itself, was become more dangerous, by the Fall of
 the Earth, which for a Furlong and half had tumbled down to a vast Depth. At
 sight of this new Obstacle, the Guides stopped. *Hannibal* ran thither, was affright-
 ed at the Danger, and first proposed to march round about, and seek another Road;
 but as the Snow was high on both Sides of him, and no Footsteps appeared of any
 Travellers, it would have been rash to have run the Hazards of it. What remained
 then was to try to get down a Place which was almost perpendicular, and where

Polybius, B. 3:
 c. 54.

³⁶ As the *Carthaginians* came down the Moun-
 tain, says *Polybius*, they had but few Enemies to
 contend with; and they did not appear so much
 with a Design of fighting, as of stealing the Baggage.
 there

Liv. B. 41:
 c. 36.

Year of *R O M E* there was a thin Surface of Snow, which covered a hard and thick Ice. The Foot slipped there every Moment; and if Men once fell on their Knees, they could not recover themselves, even with the help of their Hands, having nothing to set their Feet against; neither were there any Roots or Bushes to catch hold of, as they fell. Besides, loaded Horses often rolled down, as well as Men; and it sometimes happened, that by striking hard on the Ice to support themselves, they broke so far into it, that their Feet stuck fast in it, and they could not get them loose.

P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, Con-
suls.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 55.

Liv. B. 21.
c. 37.

THE Design therefore of descending by so steep a Place, seemed impracticable, as long as it continued in this Condition. So that it was necessary that *Hannibal* should level the Ground, with immense Labour. And in the mean time, he encamped on the Edge of the Precipice. He had a great deal of Trouble to clear away the Snow, and break the Ice, to pitch his Camp there: But that was not all. Some *Numidians* were ordered to make a hollow Way in the Rock, and lessen the Declivity of it; and they made use of Fire, and Instruments of Iron, for that Purpose. To which I should add, with some Historians, that they used Vinegar, to soften the Stones, if that was probable. But from whence should *Hannibal* be able to bring Vinegar enough for so laborious a Work? The Silence of the most judicious Writers, as to this Particular, is sufficient to justify our not giving Credit to so idle a Story. All that they tell us is, That the *African* Soldiers relieved one another; that they with their Hands and Pickaxes made a Way in the Rock, through which the Men, Horses and Elephants passed, with a little more Ease; and came down from the Mountains, which afforded no Forage for the Cattel, into the Valley, where they found Plenty of Pasture. Thus *Hannibal*, after having spent nine Days in climbing up the *Alpes*, and six in descending them, came at length to *Insubria*; and notwithstanding the Disasters his Army had met with, entered it with the Boldness with which his Hatred to *Rome*, and his Love of Glory, inspired him. Of 37 the fifty thousand Foot with which he had left *Spain*, he had now but twelve thousand *Carthaginian* Foot, and eight thousand *Spaniards*; and his nine thousand Horse were almost reduced to six thousand. This Attempt of *Hannibal* was indeed, if rightly considered, a rash one; but it has nevertheless been the Admiration of all succeeding Ages: And we shall be almost as much surprized at the Courage with which we shall see him carry on his Project, as with the Boldness with which he began it.

§. XI. *HANNIBAL*'s first Care, after he had entered *Italy*, was to refresh his Troops. Their Courage alone, and the Hopes of Victory, still supported them, notwithstanding all their Losses and Fatigues. They were so pale and ghastly, that they looked like Skeletons newly raised from the Dead, or Savages born in a Desert. Nevertheless, their General did not suffer them to languish long in Idleness. The *Insubres* were then making War with the *Piedmontese*; and *Hannibal*, without any Hesitation, joined with the former, against the latter. The *Insubres* being dissatisfied with the *Romans*, and in Enmity with them, it was of Advantage to the *Carthaginian* to gain their Friendship: And he therefore declared for them, entered *Piedmont*, and after three Days Siege, took *Turin*, then the only City in the Country.

Livy, B. 21.
c. 39.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 56.

WHILST *Hannibal* was employed in these his first Expeditions, the two *Consuls*, *Scipio* and *Sempronius*, were sailing towards *Italy*; the one in *The Adriatick Sea*, on his Return from *Sicily*; the other in *The Tyrrhenian Sea*, as he returned from *Transalpine Gaul*. *Scipio* arrived first, and landed at *Pisa*, from whence he had set out: But he had given the best Part of his Troops and Ships to his Brother *Cn. Scipio*, whom he had sent into *Spain* against *Asdrubal*. So that for want of his first *Consular* Army, he put himself at the Head of that which the *Prætor Manlius*

37 According to *Cincius Alimentus*, quoted by *Livy*, *Hannibal* entered *Italy* with forty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse. But *Livy* has very well observed, that *Cincius* comprehended in that Number, the *Gallie* and *Ligurian* Troops, which had joined the *Carthaginian* Army. Others, says the same Author, make his Troops amount to two hundred thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse. And some, adds he, give *Hannibal* but twenty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse. But we ad-

here to *Polybius*, who reckons only about twelve thousand *Africans*, eight thousand *Spaniards*, and six thousand Horse, in the *Carthaginian* Army. He quotes in Proof of this, the Column which *Hannibal* erected near *The Lacinian Promontory* in *Calabria*. He had inscribed upon it, the Number of the Troops he had left, after he had passed the *Alpes*. Perhaps this Monument gave this Promontory the Name of *Capo delle Colonne*, which it bears to this Day.

and so shamefully led against the *Boii*. He indeed found it both weakned and discouraged; but being impatient to come to an immediate Contest with the famous *Hannibal*, whom he had not been able to come up with, on the Banks of the *Rhone*, he passed the *Po* with his new Troops, and encamped near the *Tessin*. *Hannibal*, on the other hand, had already spread Terror; and the *Gauls* were very ardently desirous of joining him, and declating openly for him. But the Presence of the *Consul* kept them in awe. Some of them were even forced to furnish the *Romans* with their Contingents of Troops, and to serve in the *Roman Army*: So that *Hannibal* in vain depended on seeing all *Cisalpine Gaul* immediately follow his Standards. The Time for it was not yet come. Nevertheless, he ventured to march cross *Insubria*, with only those Troops that had followed him from *Spain*; and to face the *Roman Legions*, which were advancing to engage him. The two Armies were within reach of each other, and divided only by the 3^d *Tessin*, a navigable River, which rises in Mount *Adula*, and after it has watered *Insubria*, discharges itself into the *Po*.

THE two Generals, who had not yet tried each other's Strength, had a mutual Esteem one for the other. The *Carthaginian* formed his Judgment of the Ability of the *Roman*, by the Republic's having constituted him General at this time. In a critical a Conjuncture, said he, Rome has doubtless taken great care, to send one of her most skilful Commanders against me. Besides, the *Consul's* Expedition in returning to *Italy* from *Gaul*, and his Diligence in crossing *Hetruria*, and passing the *Po*, to stop his Progress, had taken off the ill Impressions his Dilatoriness on the Banks of the *Rhone*, had given *Hannibal* of him. On the other hand, *Scipio*, already struck with the Reports Fame had spread of *Hannibal*, and of his Victories in *Spain*, admired his sudden passing over the *Alpes*, through Ways which he deemed impassable. However, this reciprocal Respect, which the two brave Generals had for each other, did not diminish their Courage; but increased their Emulation, and Desire of entering the Lists together. At *Rome*, the Uncertainty of the Success, kept Men in Suspence. The *Romans* had indeed very great Advantages in a War in *Italy*, which continually supplied the Republic with fresh troops, to repair her Losses: but they were afraid of the Discontents of the *Gauls*, who, if commanded by an experienced General, might fill *Rome* with as much Terror as ever. The Senate, full of these Disquietudes, waited with Impatience for the Arrival of the *Consul Sempronius* at *Ariminum*. They thought his Presence, and the Army he brought from *Sicily*, a ready Remedy, in case Fortune should favour *Hannibal* in the first Battel.

AND indeed, the two Enemies were too near each other, long to defer entering on Action. The Banks of the *Tessin* were soon to be lined with *Carthaginians* on one Side, and *Roman Legions* on the other: And before *Scipio* passed the River, he encouraged his new Troops, of which he had reason to be diffident, by the Check they had received from the *Gauls* during his Absence; and he addressed himself to them in this manner. The Enemy you are going to engage, are but Strangers to the Romans. The bare Name of Carthaginians is enough to make you despise them. Twenty Years Wars have made our Fathers well acquainted with them; and the Remembrance of our Victories over them, ought to encourage us. *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which we took from them, were the first Proofs of our Superiority: and now *Africa* itself shall be the Reward of our Valour. The Carthaginians in general, are a vanquished People, who are making their last Efforts against their Conquerors; Tributaries, who rise up against those who demand Contributions of them. But what need have I to return to those distant Times, which brought such Disbounour to Carthage? What are these Men whom we see draw near the *Tessin*? They are mere Shadows, breathing Skeletons, only the Appearances of Soldiers; Men without Clothes or Arms, emaciated with Hunger, benumbed with the frosts of the *Alpes*, and bruised with their Falls from the Tops of the Rocks. These miserable Remains of a great Army, which fled before me along the *Rhone*, would not dare to appear here, were they not absolutely driven to Despair. Some strange Fatuation has possessed the rash young Man who commands them. Doubtless the

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, Con-
suls.

38 See our Account of the *Tesia*, which rises in Mount *Adula*, now Mount *St. Godard*, in *Switzerland*, Vol. 2.

Year of *R O M E* *Gods who are the Avengers of violated Treaties, have themselves engaged him in this Expedition. They are half subdued already by the Alpes; and Heaven has brought them hither, to complete its Vengeance upon them. For this purpose, I have been forced to come from Spain, which was my Province, leave Gaul, where I had made a Descent, and cross both Sea and Land, to become the Instrument of the Wrath of the Gods. Go then, and fall on the Carthaginians, either as so many rebellious Slaves, or as so many Victims devoted to Death. There are indeed no more Alpes for them to pass over. And we ought therefore to oppose them with the more Resolution and Courage. That alone can preserve your Houses from Plague, and your Wives and Children from Dishonour and Slavery.* These Words animated the Romans, and made them consent to a Battel, with more Alacrity than the General had reason to expect.

P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, CON-
suls.

Polybius, B. 3.
c. 64.
Liv. B. 21.
c. 41.

§. XII. ON the other hand, Hannibal employed a new kind of Eloquence, which made strong Impressions on his Carthaginians. He had taken a great Number of those Mountaineers Prisoners, who had opposed his March; and since their Captivity, had treated them with extreme Rigour, with a View to the Use he intended to make of them in Italy. They were loaded with such heavy Chains, and suffered so much from Hunger, Thirst, and Stripes, that they earnestly wished for Death. Hannibal from that time designed them for the Diversions, with which he intended to entertain his Army, before the first Battel: And he asked these miserable Wretches, whether they had Courage enough to fight with one another in single Combats, like Gladiators, in sight of his Troops. He promised signal Rewards to the Conquerors, Horses, fine Clothes, and the most valuable of all Gifts, Liberty: and he comforted the Vanquished before-hand with the Hopes of Death, which would deliver them from their insupportable Miseries. So that not one of these Allobroges refused to enter the Lists. Every one thought himself happy, to have it in his Power, either to end his Life gloriously, or recover his Liberty, by a momentary Danger. But there were too many of them, for all to fight at one Shew: and therefore they were chosen by Lot. Then each of these miserable Wretches lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and prayed that he might be of the Number of the Combatants; and those on whom the Lot fell, leaped for Joy, whilst the rest broke out into Lamentations. After this, the former were matched in Couples, armed after their own Country Fashion, the Lists opened, and they fought two and two. However incredible it may appear, both the Conqueror and Conquered expressed an equal Satisfaction. If the latter lost their Lives, they at least delivered themselves from their Captivity; the former both saved their Lives, and recovered their Liberty. But the Constancy of those who died, was more admired by the Carthaginian Soldiers, than the Valour and Skill of the Victors. And this was the main Point Hannibal had in View. Whilst therefore their Imaginations were warm with these Objects, which had strongly affected them, he harangued them in this manner.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 62.
Liv. B. 21.
c. 42.

OUR Fate, dear Fellow-Soldiers, is very like that of the Captives, whose glorious Deaths you have admired, or whom you have envied their Rewards. Italy is a vast Prison to us; from which we cannot deliver ourselves, but by Death, or Victory. Two vast Seas shut us in on both Sides. Before us, the Po, a River more difficult to pass than the Rhone, and behind us the Alpes, the very Thoughts of which make you tremble, shut us into a kind of Lists, in which we must conquer, or perish. We cannot escape the Miseries, to which Want, Hunger, Thirst, Nakedness, and heavy Chains, will reduce us, unless we purchase Liberty, Necessaries, and even Life, by our Bravery. But what am I saying? Let us consider only the Advantages which will follow our Victory. To recover Sicily and Sardinia, were indeed a Happiness worthy of all our Hopes and Vows. But that is not all. Rome herself, and the Riches she has heaped together, by the Plunder of so many Nations, are the Objects to which I would now have you aspire. You have hitherto thought yourselves happy, in plundering the Fields of Lusitania, and carrying off the Cattel of Celtiberia, under my Command. But these were only the poor Produce of your first Labours. Greater Exploits deserve more ample Rewards. After the long Course which we have run together, Rome presents herself to you, as the happy Goal where we shall swim in Plenty. The Victory is certain, if you can despise Death, and fix your Eyes only on the Reward. After all, what are these

Romans,

Romans, whose Glory is so much magnified by our Prejudices? Are they comparable to brave Men, who have carried on their Conquests from Hercules's Pillars, to the very Center of Italy? Their Consul's Army is only the miserable Remains of a Body of Men, which escaped the Fury of the Gauls who beat them, and invested them, in Mutina. The Men scarce know their General, or the General his Troops. Can I, who have been brought up in a Camp from my Infancy; who, if I may so speak, have been carried into Battels in your Arms; and have been taught the Art of War by my Father, that famous Commander, the Remembrance of whom makes Rome tremble; Can I be under any Apprehensions from a Six-Months-General, who durst not engage me, in the Fields, by the Rhone? To have conquered, I don't say the Spaniards and Gauls, but the Alpes, is more than to have scaled the Walls of Rome. I see none among you, but old Soldiers, who have been the Authors and Witnesses of my Glory; Numidian, and Spanish Horse, who are accustomed to follow me into the midst of Dangers; and Carthaginians, who are full of Indignation at the proud Republick. She would have robbed you of your General. If therefore you love me, revenge the personal Injuries she has done me. Imperious Rome! What Laws wouldst thou have prescribed to us? The Tagus shall be the Boundary of your Victories. Saguntum shall insult you with Impunity; my Name shall be her Protection, let her do what she will. But what has followed? Saguntum is no more. We have left the Tagus far behind us, have passed the Pyrenees, and have not been terrified by the Alpes. What Remains? but to put Rome upon a level with Saguntum? This it is in your Power, dear Fellow-Soldiers, to do, if you will remember, That you have no Retreat if you fly; and That a Contempt of Death is what alone can preserve and enrich you.

THE Discourse of the General was applauded by the Soldiers; and as Men are never more courageous, than when in Despair, the Carthaginian Army resolved to die or conquer. With this Disposition it drew near the Tessin. Scipio passed it over a Bridge he had made, after having built a Fort at the Head of the Bridge, to defend it. The two Armies encamped on the other Side the River; and the Romans advanced as far into Insubria, as to the Town called ³⁹ Tumulis. The Carthaginian Camp was not far off; and Hannibal, who found himself under a Necessity of giving Battel soon, repeated his Promises to his Soldiers, and was more particular in them. I assure you, said he to them, I will give every one of you Lands of his own, either in Africa, Spain, or Italy, as he shall chuse, with a full Grant of the Property of them, to you, and your Children for ever. I will give those, who prefer Money to Land, as much as they desire. I will give all the Spaniards, who desire it, the Title of Citizens of Carthage. I will send back those, who are willing to return into their own Countries, so enriched, that they shall be the Envy of their Countrymen. And lastly, I will give all the Slaves in the Army their Liberty; and to make their Masters amends, will give them two Slaves for one. And Hannibal ratified these Promises in Form. He took a Flint in one Hand, and a Lamb in the other, and said; Great Jupiter, if I do not perform my Promise, kill me, as I do this Victim, which I am going to sacrifice to thee. At which words, he broke the Skull of the Lamb with the Flint; and this religious Ceremony augmented the Confidence of his Troops. They all desired leave to fight, that they might be immediately put into Possession of so many Advantages.

§. XIII. As for Scipio, he was rather inclined to march after the Enemy, than wait for them: but nevertheless, he encamped twice or thrice, before he could enter upon Action. At length, the Forragers brought him word, that the Enemy drew near: and then, notwithstanding ⁴⁰ the fatal Presages, which had struck some Terror into his Camp, the Consul advanced, having the River on his left Hand, which

Polybius, B. 3. c. 65.

³⁹ We don't know exactly where the Village of Tumulis formerly stood; unless we say it was the Place, that is now called Dimoli, between the Rivers Tessin, and Novara. Gronovius is of opinion, that instead of Tumulis, we ought to read in Livy, Vicumviris. The Place called Vicumviris, or Vicumvirie, was a Town which the Romans fortified, during the War which they had with the Gauls. But Livy places it on the right Side of the Po, near Plaisance. Whereas the Place here spoken of, stood

on the left Side of that River, beyond the Tessin, in the Country of the Insubres.

⁴⁰ Livy, speaking of these Presages, says, that a Wolf stole into the Camp of the Romans, and cruelly mangled some of the Soldiers, without receiving the least Harm from those that endeavoured to kill him. A Swarm of Bees pitched upon a Tree near the Prætorium. The Romans drew several fatal Presages from these pretended Prodigies, according to the Principles of the Augural Science.

Year of the *Carthaginians* had on their Right. After they had marched some time along the Banks of it, the two Armies perceived, by the Clouds of Dust which filled the Air, that the Onset would soon be made: and *Scipio* advanced a little before his Infantry, at the Head of his Cavalry, to observe the Enemy, before the Battel. But he had the Precaution to take with his Cavalry, some Companies of those Dartmen, among the Foot, who used to begin pitched Battels, by throwing their Darts. The *Consul* had by his Side, his Son, then young, whom he was instructing in the Art of War; and who was afterwards, the Great *Scipio*, who merited the Surname of *Africanus*, and much surpassed his Father in Glory. As for *Hannibal*, he marched at the Head of his *Spanish* and *Numidian* Cavalry. The *Numidians* had then no Bridles; their Horses were so tractable, that they easily guided them with Switches: and this foreign Cavalry was much superior to that of the *Romans*. Then the Attack was begun, but more with the Air of a Rencontre, than a regular Battel; and a Fright immediately seized the *Roman* Dartmen, before they had thrown their Darts. They were afraid of being trod under the Horses Feet; and being posted before the first Line, they instantly retired into the Spaces between their Troops. *Hannibal's* Horse made but one large Front; the *Numidians* in the two Wings, and the *Spaniards* in the Center. The Onset began, between the Cavalry of the *Gauls* in the *Roman* Army, and the *Spanish* Horse in the *Carthaginian*. As for the *Numidian* Horse, they surrounded the *Romans*, and attacked them in the Rear; and till that time, the Success of the Battel was doubtful. The *Gallic* Cavalry, assisted with the Dartmen, who filled up the Spaces between the Squadrons, had sustained the Shock of the *Spanish* Horse; and many Men were killed on both Sides: but as soon as the *Romans* had the *Numidians* behind them, those light-armed Dartmen fled. Nevertheless, *Scipio* still fought with Courage, and supported his Cavalry by his own Example; till at length he was wounded. He would perhaps have been left upon the Place, if his Son had not had the Presence of Mind, to lead up a large Body of Horse to his Defence. Some say, a *Ligurian* Slave took up the *Consul*, after his Fall. But others, in greater Numbers, give this Honour to young *Scipio*; and whosoever it was, the latter Tradition prevailed, perhaps from the Inclination of the *Romans* to magnify the rising Merit of one of the greatest Men their Republick ever produced.

AMIDST his routed Horse, *Scipio* was carried back to his Camp; but he did not continue long there. The *Consul* considered, that *Hannibal's* Horse were stronger than his own; and that it would be dangerous to give him Battel in the flat Country beyond the *Po*. He therefore repassed that River, to post himself in a closer Country, and to give himself time to get his Wound cured. *Hannibal*, on the other hand, had seen the *Romans* fly before him; but this was only a kind of Sketch of a Victory; an Affair in which the Horse only were concerned. He had not yet tried those famous *Legions*, of whom such Wonders were related; and he therefore pursued them in their Retreat: but he found the *Consul* decamped, and removed to the other Side of the *Po*. However, he came to the Bridge, over which *Scipio* had passed the *Tessin*, which he found half broken down. As for the six hundred Men, which the *Roman* General had left in the Fort, at the Entrance of the Bridge, they retreated so slowly, that they were overtaken, and all made Prisoners of War.

§. XIV. AFTER this successful Expedition, which already put the *Gauls* in Motion, who were naturally inclined to revolt, *Hannibal* lost not a moment's time. He marched his Troops up the *Tessin*, and came to the Banks of the *Po*, in search of a proper Place, to make a Bridge over it, and pass it. But *Scipio*, and his Troops, were already arrived at *Placentia*, and by their Expedition escaped the Pursuits of the Enemy. At length, *Hannibal* crossed the River over a Bridge of Boats; and then dividing his Army into two Bodies, he gave the Command of one to his Brother *Mago*, who marched on before him: whilst he himself tarried on the Banks of the *Po*, and received the Deputies of several Nations of *Gauls*, whom his first Advantage had brought over to him. He received the Envoys very graciously; mutual Assurances were given of an inviolable Fidelity: and the *Gauls* engaged to supply the *Carthaginians* with as many Men, Arms, and Provisions, as they should want. Upon these Assurances, *Hannibal* marched on, to join his Brother; and following the Course of the River, took the Road to *Placentia*,

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, CON-
suls.

Polybius, ibid.

*Liv. B. 21.
c. 47.*

*Polybius, B. 3.
c. 66.*

Placentia, where the *Consul* was encamped. *Scipio* believed himself safe there; Year of
thought of nothing but curing his own and his Soldiers Wounds; and was there- *R O M E*
fore extremely surprized to see *Hannibal* advance within Reach of his Entrench- *DXXXV.*
ments, form his Army, and offer him Battel. And it must be confessed, the *Car-* *P. CORNELIUS*
thaginian advanced with exceeding great Expedition. In two Days, after he had *SCIPIO, TIB.*
passed the *Po*, he came up with the Enemy. *Hannibal* had Reason to promise *SEMPRONIUS*
himself all imaginable Success, from his indefatigable Troops. But *Scipio* was a *LONGUS, Con-*
suls.
little too much afraid of them.

IN short, the *Consul* would not appear in the Plain, but fortify'd himself in his Entrenchments. *Hannibal* therefore, whose Army was not numerous enough to attack his Lines, went and encamped some Miles from the *Roman* Camp; and an unexpected Event doubled the Fears of the *Romans*, and increased the Confidence of their Enemies. There was in the *Roman* Army, a pretty considerable Number of those newly-subdued *Gauls*, who had been forced to serve in it, as Members or Allies of the *Roman* People; and these Troops had hitherto dissembled their Resentments. But when they received Advices, that their Nations had declared openly for the *Carthaginians*, they entered into a Plot to desert, and to make their Desertion prove fatal to the *Romans*.

THESE *Gauls*, to the Number of twenty thousand Foot, and about two hundred Horse, waited till all was quiet in the *Roman* Camp, and Sleep had closed all Eyes; and then, they entered into the Tents that were next to them, about three in the Morning, and cut the Throats of the sleeping *Romans*, forced their Way through the Guard, at one of the Gates of the Camp, and fled to *Hannibal*. He received them in a manner suitable to his Want of the Assistance of the *Gauls*; but the prudent General would not suffer the Traitors to come into his Camp. He made them Presents, and Promises, and sent them home to their Villages, to stir up their Countrymen to declare for him.

DURING these Transactions, the *Boii*, the most inveterate of the *Gauls* against *Rome*, and the Authors of the Revolt, came to *Hannibal's* Camp; and brought with them the three Commissioners of the two *Roman Colonies*, whom they had formerly taken, by Surprise. Their Design was to put them into *Hannibal's* Hands, *Polyb. B. 3.*
as a Proof of their zealous Adherence to his Interest: But the *Carthaginian* Gene- *c. 67.*
ral had too much Honour to countenance an unjust and infamous Action. However, he did not affront the *Gauls*; but left their three illustrious Captives in their Hands, for them to make use of them, as they proposed, to recover their Hostages. Thus *Hannibal*, by feigned or real Virtues, aimed at the Conquest of *Italy*.

§. XV. IN the mean time, *Scipio* had lost too many Men in the Slaughter the *Gauls* had made in his Camp, to continue long there. Besides, he was there surrounded on all Sides with Nations of *Gauls*, whose Revolt to the Enemy he had Reason to fear: And he therefore thought it necessary to seek some safer Post, where his Troops would not be so much intimidated by suspected Neighbours.

SCIPIO thought he might encamp near ⁴¹ the *Trebia*, a little River which runs into the *Po*, with more Safety than in the Neighbourhood of *Placentia*. He should there be placed in a Country full of Eminencies, which would cover his Entrenchments; and he could easily find Subsistence for his Army, in a Country which was in Friendship and Alliance with the *Romans*. The *Roman* Army therefore decamped, in order to pass the *Trebia*.

As soon as *Hannibal* was informed of the March of the *Consul*, he detached his *Numidian* Horse to pursue after these Fugitives, and harass them in their Retreat: But his Orders were not executed with due Expedition. The *Numidians*, greedy of Spoil, lost time in picking up the little Booty that was left in ⁴² the *Roman* Camp. Had *Hannibal's* Horse fallen in time upon the Rear-Guard of the *Roman* Army, in the fine Plains which lay on the Borders of the *Po*, they would probably have made a terrible Slaughter of them. But the Avarice of the *Numidians* lost them this new Advantage. They only took some Stragglers, on this side the *Trebia*, which the *Romans* had already passed, when the Cavalry appeared. So that

⁴¹ The River *Trebia* still retains its ancient Name, in that of *La Trebbia*. It rises in the *Apennines*, and discharges itself into the *Po*, near *Placentia*.

⁴² According to *Polybius*, the *Numidian* Cavalry set Fire to the *Roman* Camp, after they had pillaged it.

Year of the *Consul* had time enough to entrench himself in his new Post; and resolved not to leave it, till he was cured of his Wound, and till his Colleague *Sempronius*, whom he impatiently expected from *Sicily*, arrived with his Army. In the mean time, *Hannibal*, that he might not lose sight of the Enemy, came and encamped on this Side the *Trebia*, five Miles from the *Romans*.

R O M E
DXXXV.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TRIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, CON-
SULS.
Liv. B. 21.
c. 48.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 69.

THE *Carthaginians* promised themselves great Advantages from their first Success on the *Tessin*, and the Union of the *Gauls*, who continually flocked to their Army: But the Addition of these new Soldiers, made Provisions scarce in *Hannibal's* Camp. It was therefore necessary to provide for their Subsistence. At *Clastidium* ⁴³, a little City on the Confines of *Liguria*, the *Romans* had fixed their Magazine of Arms and Provisions, and had placed a pretty strong Garrison in it, under the Command of an Officer born at *Brundisium*, named ⁴⁴ *Dafius*. Before he attempted to seize the Place, the artful *Carthaginian* tried the Fidelity of the Governour, and offered him a Sum which dazzled his Eyes. The *Romans* had not yet coined any ⁴⁵ Gold-Money; all they had came from Abroad. *Hannibal* shewed the covetous *Brundisian* but four hundred Pieces of Gold; a moderate Price for so important a Conquest! and the Traitor was corrupted by it, and sold the Place. As for the Garrison, *Hannibal* spared their Lives, and only incorporated them among his Troops. A very necessary piece of Policy at first, for fear of terrifying the Cities which were inclined to surrender to him. Thus *Hannibal* made himself easy at his Enemy's Expence; and transferred the Want from his own Camp, to that of the *Romans*. By these first Steps, both the *Romans* and *Cisalpine Gauls* judged, that the foreign General was no less prudent than brave.

§. XVI. NEVERTHELESS, the Senate took Courage, upon the Arrival of the *Consul Sempronius*. Indeed the People of *Rome* were surprized at the Repulse the *Roman* Cavalry had met with on the Banks of the *Tessin*. But, said they, it is, after all, to be imputed to the Perfidiousness of the *Gauls*, whose Squadrons suffered themselves to be put into Disorder. Their Desertion is but too plain a Proof of their Deceitfulness. Nevertheless, our Legions are entire; and as long as that fine Body of Foot continues unhurt, nothing is to be despaired of. And this Confidence of the Citizens of *Rome*, was heightened by the Presence of the Troops *Sempronius* had brought from *Sicily*. The *Consul* had landed at *Ariminum*, after a long Voyage of forty Days, and had brought his *Legions* to *Rome*. The *Romans* were charmed with the Review of them; and did not doubt but all *Hannibal's* Measures would be disconcerted at the bare Sight of this formidable Army, which soon began their March, and came to *Scipio's* Camp, upon the Banks of the *Trebia*.

Livy, B. 21.
c. 52.

SEMPRONIUS gave his Troops some Days Rest; and was very assiduous about his Colleague, whose Wound was made worse, by his Removal from one Camp to the other. All their time was spent in Deliberations and Preparations. *Sempronius* enquired into the true State of Affairs; learnt a particular Account of the Action upon the *Tessin*; informed himself fully of *Hannibal's* Character and Strength, and of the Means that were there to be had for subsisting an Army, in a Country so far distant from *Rome*. By good Fortune, the *Gauls* of the Country had not yet declared for the *Carthaginian*. Their Fears had suspended it; and they waited to see the Success of the War, before they would absolutely determine to which Side to adhere. The *Romans* therefore made the best Use of their Uncertainty, and were content not to have them Enemies. But *Hannibal* was very uneasy to see them carry Provisions to the *Romans*: And in order to hasten their Determination, he sent a Detachment of two thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, partly *Numidians*, and partly *Gauls*, to ravage their Lands quite to the Banks of the *Po*. Then these Allies of *Rome*, though wavering, sent

⁴³ Near the *Po*, is a Town commonly called *Chiafeggio*, or *Chiafazzo*. Some call it *Claustrezo*, and *Schiatezzo*. There formerly stood the ancient City of *Clastidium*; if it was indeed a City. *Plutarch* speaks of it as a Town in *Cisalpine Gaul*. But *Livy*, B. 22. gives it the Title of a City, and places it in *Liguria*: either because it stood on the Frontiers of the two Provinces; or because it was afterwards dismembered from *Cisalpine Gaul*, and united to the Country of the *Ligures*.

⁴⁴ This Governour was, according to *Polybius*,

called *Publius*; which was probably his *Praenomen*. So that *Livy* called him by the Name of his Family.

⁴⁵ *Rome* did not coin any Gold, till sixty two Years after she had coined Silver. So that Gold Species did not begin to be current among the *Romans*, till the Year 547, according to *Pliny*, B. 33. c. 3. *Hannibal* had therefore brought the Gold Money, with which he dazzled the Eyes of the Governour of *Clastidium*, either from *Spain*, or *Carthage*.

to desire the *Consul* to guard them against the Violences of the *Carthaginians*. As for *Scipio*, he was not for hazarding any thing, in favour of an unsettled perfidious People, whose Treasons were to be dreaded: But *Sempronius* had more Confidence. He, ardently desirous of distinguishing himself in *Italy*, as he had done on the Coasts of *Africa* and *Sicily*, pretended that it was Prudence to assist this first Nation of the *Gauls*, which had sought the Protection of *Rome*. And in short, he, of his own Authority, ordered all the Cavalry in his Army, and a thousand Dart-men, which were a Part of the light-armed Foot, to pass the *Trebia*; and at first this Body of *Romans* had some Advantage over the Pillagers. They found them loaded with Booty, and little prepared for an Engagement, and made an easy Conquest of them: But they pursued their Advantage too far. They drove their Enemies fighting quite to the Gates of *Hannibal's* Camp: And there, being repulsed in their Turn, their Loss was almost as great as that of the *Carthaginians*. In the mean time, *Sempronius* was elated with this fine Action of his Cavalry. He despised that of his Colleague, which had suffered itself to be beaten on the Banks of the *Tessin*, and gloried in this little Success, with much Haughtiness. He was heard to say, That *Scipio's* Mind was more affected than his Body; That the Remembrance of his Wound gave him an Aversion to Battels; That his Languor ought not to affect two *Consular* Armies; That the Business at present was not to defend *Sicily* or *Spain*; but, That *Rome* itself was in Danger; *What*, added he, *would our Fathers, who carried on the War to the Gates of Carthage, have said, if they had seen two Consuls trembling in a Camp in the Heart of Italy?* Nay, *Sempronius* talked in this manner in his Colleague's Presence, and by his Bed-side. He made the General's Pavilion ring with these Clamours; not so much from a Love for the Publick, as a selfish Desire of Glory. He knew the Time for a new Election drew near. His Colleague was sick, and could not share with him the Honour of a Victory. To leave it to new *Consuls* to give Battel, was to lose a favourable Opportunity of gaining the finest Triumph. He was so sanguine of Success, that he had not the least Apprehension of being worsted.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, Con-
suls.

THIS strong Prepossession made *Sempronius* audacious. He ordered the two *Consular* Armies to get themselves ready for a Battel; and *Scipio* in vain endeavoured to divert him from so pernicious a Design. The latter in vain represented to him, That it was necessary to suffer this first Heat of the Affection of the *Gauls* for the Foreigner, to abate; That there were scarce any but new Levies in the *Roman* Army; and, That it was for the Service of the Publick, to ripen their Experience by a Year of Fatigues and Exercise. And these very Reasons made *Hannibal* extremely desirous of engaging, without Delay. It was a thing of the utmost Importance in him, to take Advantage of the Inaction of the most prudent, and most experienced of the two *Roman* Generals. Besides, he was persuaded that nothing was more prejudicial to him, than Dilatoriness. *I shall*, said he, *be no otherwise able to answer the Expectations of the Nations of Italy, and secure their Esteem, but by many repeated Advantages, and signal Exploits. Let my Inaction proceed from what it will, it will be imputed to Weakness, or Cowardice. It will be asked, what occasion was there for his being so much in haste to cross such vast Countries to bury himself in a Camp?*

Polyb. B. 3.

THESE were indeed judicious Reflections: And *Hannibal* was continually using all possible Means to bring on a general Action. With this View, he sent some *Gauls* into the *Roman* Camp, to discover the Inclinations of the *Consuls*, with regard to a Battel. These Spies mixed with their Countrymen who served in the *Roman* Army, without being discovered; and seeing the Motions of the *Romans*, and observing the Preparations they made for fighting the next Day, they gave *Hannibal* Information of it; at which he was exceedingly rejoiced. He had now nothing to do, but to take such proper Measures as might make the Action prove fatal to his Enemies.

Liv. B. 21.
c. 53.

THE Place designed for the Field of Battel, was an open Plain; which was so much exposed, that it seemed impossible to prepare an Ambuscade there. This was the vulgar Opinion; which the *Carthaginian* thought he might turn to the Disadvantage of the *Romans*. As smooth as any large Tract of Ground may seem to be, there is always some Covert or Thickets in it, where Soldiers may be laid

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 71.

Year of in Ambush, and concealed from an Enemy, who only suspects Hills or Woods.
R O M E But there was something more than Cavities and Bushes, in the Plain where the
 DXXXV. Battel was to be fought. A little winding Rivulet ran through it; both the
 P. CORNELIUS Banks of which were high, and covered with Weeds. And this was the Place
 SCIPIO, TIB. *Hannibal* pitched on for an Ambuscade. The *Romans* would not readily take
 SEMPRONIUS Umbrage at it. In their Wars with the *Gauls*, they had never been surprized by
 LONGUS, CON- these Enemies, who were so skilful in laying Ambushes, except in thick Forests.
 suls. So that a Rivulet and a few Reeds were not enough to give them any Apprehen-
 sions of Danger.

HANNIBAL had pitched on his Brother *Mago*, to put this Design in Ex-
 ecution; but he did not open it to him, till the Beginning of the Evening, af-
 ter a long Council of War had been held, upon the Business of the next Day.
 When all the Officers were gone out of his Tent, he detained his Brother, and
 ordered him to chuse an hundred Foot, and an hundred Horse, out of the whole
 Army, and not to bring them to him till after Six-a-clock that Evening. The
 Night was then closed; for the Battel was fought about the middle of *January*.
 When they came, *Hannibal* approved of the Choice; but was willing to increase
 the Number of these brave Men, and gave each Horseman and each Foot Soldier
 Leave to chuse himself any nine more of his Companions that he pleased. This
 made up the Body commanded by *Mago* two thousand Men, half Horse, and half
 Foot. Then *Hannibal* told them the Place where they were to lie in Ambush,
 the Turnings of the Rivulet, where they were to conceal their Horses and Arms,
 and the Moment they were to come out of their Ambuscade. After he had re-
 freshed them, he sent them away in the middle of the Night, assuring them that
 the Enemy were not used to this Sort of military Stratagems. And what *Han-
 nibal* said, was true. The *Romans* then owed their Victories almost entirely to
 Strength, Constancy, and Valour. Artifice had scarce had any Share in them.

BUT the *Carthaginian*, to this first Stratagem, added a second. He sent away a
 Detachment of *Numidians*, Men inured to Fatigue, with Orders to pass the *Tre-
 bia*; insult the Enemy in their Camp, thereby to bring *Sempronius* to the Bat-
 tel for which he had made Preparations the Day before; and to retreat very
 slowly before the *Roman* Cavalry. *Hannibal* gave them Hopes, that the eager
Consul would keep close at their Heels, pass the River, and enter the Plain. The
Numidians obeyed, and *Hannibal's* Predictions proved true in every Particular.
 The Courage, and ambitious Projects of *Sempronius* were his Ruin.

Livy, B. 21.
 c. 54.

IMMEDIATELY upon the Sight of a Body of the Enemy's Horse, the *Consul*,
 greedy of fighting, first sent against them some of his own Cavalry, who were
 grown proud since the late Battel, then his Dart-men, and then all his *Legions*.
 The *Romans* were too hasty in their Pursuit of the Enemy. They marched out
 to fight, before they had taken any Nourishment, in a cold and frosty Season,
 and in a Country which the Neighbourhood of the *Alpes* and *Apennines*, and
 the Conflux of several Rivers, made intolerable in Winter; without considering
 their Danger, or guarding against the Cold. The nearer they drew to the *Tre-
 bia*, the more sharp they found the Wind to blow; but their Eagerness to come
 up with the Enemy, who had just repassed the River on Horseback, was such, that
 the *Roman* Infantry leaped into the Water, without Hesitation.

THE Snow and Rain had swelled the River so that they were up to their Waist;
 and as soon as they came out of the River, they felt all the Severity of the Sea-
 son. These unfortunate Men were so wet, chilled, and benumbed with Cold,
 that they could scarce carry their Arms. Besides, they were oppressed with Hun-
 ger; having eaten nothing all the Day. Whilst *Hannibal*, on the other hand, had
 continued quiet in his Camp. He had refreshed his Soldiers at leisure; the great
 Fires he made before their Tents, guarded them against the Rigour of the Sea-
 son, and the Climate: and in order to keep them warm, he ordered them to
 march briskly against the Enemy, who were waiting for them, and starving with
 Cold, in the Plain.

Polybius, B. 3.
 c. 72.
 Livy, B. 21.
 c. 55.

HANNIBAL formed his Army in this Order: Eight thousand *Spaniards*,
 most of them of the *Baleares* Islands, armed with Slings, were his Advanced-
 Guard, and were ordered to begin the Attack. These were followed by twenty
 thousand Foot, as well *Gauls*, as *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and all drawn up in one
 Line.

Line, as to make a very large Front. His Cavalry, to the Number of ten thousand, most of them *Gauls*, were posted in the two Wings; and at the two Extremities of this great Body, the Elephants were ranged in good Order, as it were to cover the Flanks of the Army.

SEMPRONIUS's Army consisted of only eighteen thousand *Legionaries*, twenty thousand auxiliary ⁴⁶ Forces, four thousand Horse, and an Handful of *Cenomani*, who were the only *Gauls* that continued faithful to the *Romans*. The *Consul* drew up these Troops in the usual Order in which the *Romans* fought; left Spaces between the Lines, and the *Manipuli*; and kept the *Triarii*, for a *Corps-de-reserve*. As for his Cavalry, they were already engaged with the *Numidians*, whom they had followed from the *Roman* Camp. The latter first endeavoured to amuse them by a pretended Flight, which they suddenly changed into an Attack. This was their usual Way of fighting. But *Sempronius*, that he might not leave his Flanks exposed, brought back his Cavalry from the Engagement, supported them by a Body of Infantry, and at length posted them in the Wings of his Army. In this Order he advanced slowly towards the Enemy; his *Romans* gave great Shouts, the Trumpets sounded, and the Attack began.

THE light armed Infantry on both Sides opened this tragical Scene. On one hand, the *Baleares* threw Stones with their Slings; on the other, the Dart-men threw their little Javelins; and the Vigour of the one, and Faintness of the other, were very visible on the first Onset. But this Way of fighting did not last long. The *Roman* Dart-men retired within the Spaces, in their Lines; and the *Baleares* to the Wings of their Army. Then, the great Bodies of Infantry, which fought regularly, under their proper Colours, advanced with equal Pace, on both Sides, in order to come to a closer Dispute. The Cavalry moved as the Lines did, which they flanked, and came near enough to engage. But how great was the Difference between the *Consul*'s, and that of his Enemy, both as to Number and Condition! The *Consul*'s Men and Horses were fatigued, and fasting; *Hannibal*'s were well refreshed. So that the *Roman* Cavalry could not long hold out against that of the *Gauls*; they were routed, and left the Flanks of the *Consular* Army exposed. Then the *Numidians* took that Opportunity of attacking the unguarded Wings; which being hard pressed both in Front and Flank, at the same time, were soon disordered, and the Elephants which broke into the uncovered Battalions, both at the right and left, either trod the *Manipuli* under Foot, or dispersed them. And they would have made a terrible Slaughter of them, if the light-armed Infantry had not driven back these furious Animals, by a kind of Goads, with which they wounded them under their Tails, the only Place where their Skins were penetrable. In the mean time, the brave *Legionaries* still continued fighting, in the Center of the Lines, with little Disadvantage: and now the time was come, when *Mago* was ordered to appear, and bring his Troops out of their Ambuscade. By their Shouts, and sudden Attack, the *Romans* in the Center found they were surrounded; and Necessity and Despair doubled their Courage. They cut their Way through the Battalions of *Gauls* and *Africans* that opposed them, strewed the Ground with their dead Bodies, and did not put a stop to the Slaughter, till they were safe. What then could they do better, than retire in good Order to *Placentia*? Their Return to their Camp was obstructed by the *Trebia*, and the victorious Cavalry of the Enemy, who were ravaging the Country. Besides, the Cold was piercing, the Roads impassable, and the Troops of their Allies, which had suffered most in the two Wings, were past being relieved. These had in vain endeavoured to recover their Camp, many of them were drowned in the River, some were killed by the Enemy, as they were endeavouring to repass it; and the greatest Part of them were trodden under foot by the Elephants, and cut in pieces by the Cavalry of the *Gauls*. So that the Rout of the *Romans* was general; and a terrible Slaughter was made of them. A few only escaped to bring the News to *Scipio*, who continued sick in his Tent; and who prudently decamped without delay, and came to *Placentia*; where he found his Collegue, with the ten thousand *Legionaries*, whose Valour had preserved them in the Battel.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.

P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, CON-
suls.

⁴⁶ Polybins does not reckon in the *Roman* Army, above sixteen thousand *Legionaries*, supposing that each *Legion* consisted of only four thousand Foot.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.

P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, CON-
suls.

Polybius, B. 3.
c. 75.

HOWEVER, *Scipio* had at least this Comfort, amidst the general Calamity, that he had not been the Cause of it. His Counsels had been prudent; and he was the first *Roman* General, who taught his Republick, that *Hannibal* was not to be overcome, but by proper Delays. As for *Sempronius*, he found his chimerical Projects of Glory and Triumph vanished. Nevertheless, to prevent a Consternation in *Rome*, he sent Men thither, who spread Reports, that the Violence of the Cold, and the Hardships of the Season, had prevented his getting the Victory. But Accounts were soon brought of the true Situation of Affairs. It was known there, That *Hannibal* was Master of the *Consul's* Camp; That all the Nations of the *Gauls* had declared for him; That the *Roman* Forces were fled to the neighbouring *Colonies* for Refuge; That *Scipio* was retired to *Cremona*, for fear of ruining *Placentia*, by keeping too great a Number of Soldiers there; and lastly, That the *Roman* Army had no Provisions, but what was brought them by Sea, in Barks that came up the *Po*.

Livy, B. 21.
c. 57.

§.XVII. THIS News filled the Senate with Terror; and the People took it for granted, that *Rome* would soon be besieged by the Conqueror. *Alas*, say they, *he is at our Gates; and what Refuge have we left? One of our Consuls has been beaten on the Tessin, and the other on the Trebia. Where shall we have Generals or Forces, to oppose this Torrent of People, who pour down upon us from the Alps?*

BUT these Lamentations did not alleviate the Evil; whilst on the other hand, one Circumstance increased it. The Time for Elections was come. They were generally made at *Rome* some Months before the *Consuls* went out of their Office. It was necessary, that one of them should preside in the *Comitia*, or nominate a *Dictator* for that Purpose. Whereas now, both the *Consuls* were absent from *Rome*, and *Sempronius* only was well enough to return thither; but the Roads from *Placentia* to *Rome*, were much infested by *Gauls* and *Africans*, who dispersed themselves over the Country, and committed Rapines in it. And therefore the People of *Rome* were surprized to see him arrive, at the time appointed. Rashness had always been *Sempronius's* Character; and now it succeeded, to the Peoples Wish. He came safe to *Rome*, without either disguising himself to deceive the Enemy, or having any Guard. The Elections were made pretty peaceably; but Intrigue had a greater Share in the Choice of the new *Consuls*, than Reasons of State, and Regard to the present Distress. Among the Candidates, there was a Man, who was supported by the Faction of the People, and was the more agreeable to them, the more he was disliked by the Senate. This was the famous *C. Flaminius*, who had six Years ago signalized his first *Consulship*, by disobeying the Orders of the Republick, which had commanded him to abdicate, and by an open Contempt of the Gods, and *Auspices*. Tho' a Senator, *Flaminius* had lately declared himself an Enemy to the *Conscript Fathers*. In order to give them Vexation, he had entered into all the Intrigues of the *Tribunes of the People*, against the Nobility. He had very lately been the Promoter of a Law, contrary to the Interest of the *Patricians*, which from him was called *The Flaminian Law*. It was then customary for the Nobility, to fit out Ships, and trade for their own Advantage. But *Flaminius* took it into his head, to confine the Liberty of Commerce to the *Plebeians*; and to this end, he associated one of the *Tribunes of the People* to him, adopted him, made him bear his Name, and engaged him to get a Law passed, which forbade the Senators, or their Fathers, to possess more than one Bark each, and that only fit to bring Provisions from their Country-Houses. And as strange as it may appear, this Man, who had neither Religion nor Morals, and was more audacious than truly brave, was raised to the *Consulship*, in these difficult Times, by the Favour of the People, and their *Tribunes*. The Collegue they gave him, was a Man of Honour, but of moderate Abilities for War. His Name was *P. Servilius Geminus*. These two chose their Provinces by Lot; and it was the Fate of *Flaminius* to oppose *Hannibal*; and that of *Servilius*, to command the Army, which was to go into *Cisalpine Gaul*, to keep those People in Awe, who were well affected to the *Carthaginians*. In the same *Comitia*, two *Prætors* were chosen, one for the Citizens only, and the other to determine Disputes between Citizens and Foreigners. The former was *M. Æmilius Regillus*, the latter *M. Pomponius Matko*. Two foreign *Prætors* were also chosen at the same

same time, *T. Otacilius* for *Sicily*, and *A. Cornelius* for *Sardinia*. And lastly, Year of
in these Assemblies, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the then *Consul*, who was getting his *R O M E*
Wound cured at *Cremona*, was ordered to go with the Title of *Pro-Consul*, to *DXXXV.*
Spain, whither he had sent his Brother *Cn. Scipio*, to make War with *Asdrubal*.

As soon as the Republick had made these Regulations, and appointed her *Con-* *P. CORNELIUS*
suls, and other Generals, for the Year ensuing, *Sempronius*, whose *Consulship* was *SCIPIO, TIB.*
not yet expired, by some Months, returned to *Placentia*, where he had fixed his *SEMPRONIUS*
Quarters. He found *Hannibal* was continually in Action, notwithstanding the Ice, *LONGUS, Con-*
and other Inconveniencies of the Season. He had permitted his *Numidians* to plunder *suls.*
the flat Country; and his *Spaniards*, as well ⁴⁷ *Lusitanians* as ⁴⁸ *Celtiberians*, who
were more used to climb Mountains, to ravage the Villages, and Hamlets there.
And these Strangers, who knew not the Boundaries of the Districts in *Italy*, pillaged *Polybius, B. 3:*
all without Consideration; whence arose a Dislike the *Gauls* began to take to the *c. 78.*
Troops they had brought into their Country. But *Hannibal* perceived it, and
would not suffer his Soldiers to make any more Incursions, except in the *Roman*
Territory.

VERY near *Placentia*, there was a Village on the Banks of the *Po*, which the *Liv. B. 21:*
Romans had fortified, and made their Magazine of Corn, which was carried thi- *c. 57.*
ther in Boats, and the Garrison unloaded them there. The *Carthaginian* General
therefore thought the Attack of this Post of more Importance to his Troops than
the Pillage of the Cities of the *Gauls*; and Secrecy was the Soul of his Designs.
He came to the Fort in Person, in the middle of the Night, with some light Horse
and Infantry, to surprize the Magazine. The Centinels there were watchful and
alert; and the Garrison being awaked, made such Shouts, as were heard to the
neighbouring City. *Sempronius* was very good at these sudden Expeditions; and
he, without delaying a Moment, marched out his *Legions*, and ordered his Horse
to begin the Charge. In the Battel, *Hannibal* was wounded, which forced him
to withdraw his Troops; and this was the first Attempt, in which this great Com-
mander had failed, since his Entrance into *Italy*. But he soon repaired his Loss.
After he had rested some Days, without tarrying till his Wound was healed, he
set out for ⁴⁹ *Victumvise*, a little City of *Insubria*, which the *Romans* had for-
merly fortified, and made a Magazine of Arms during the War with the *Gauls*.
It was now a Refuge for the faithful *Insubres*, and other *Gauls* who were offended
at the Pillages of the *Africans*; and these People, excited by the Glory, the Gar-
rison of the Magazine near *Placentia* had acquired, took Arms, and marched to
meet the Enemy. They were a Body without a Head; a tumultuous Assembly,
which kept no Order in Battel; numerous indeed, but without Experience, or
Conduct. *Hannibal* was soon rid of them; a small Number of Soldiers was suf-
ficient to put them to the Rout; and the next Day the City surrendered. Then
Hannibal ordered the Inhabitants to lay down their Arms; and they obeyed. But
nevertheless, their Houses were delivered up to be plundered; and the barbarous
Africans committed such Brutalities and Cruelties there, as were never before
practised in *Italy*. These were *Hannibal's* Amusements during the Winter. The
Time was not yet come for him to take any Rest; neither the Season, nor the
Country, were yet delicious enough to soften him.

§. XVIII. In the mean time, the Senate put all things in Order at *Rome*, and
provided every thing necessary for the next Campaign. It may be said of the *Ro-*
mans in general, that they were never more active and careful, than when expo-
sed to the greatest Dangers. Despair and Discouragement never made them negli-
gent. Their first Care at present, was to send away Armies to *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, *Polyb. B. 3:*
under the Command of their proper *Prætors*: And for fear of the *Carthaginians* *c. 75.*
landing, strong Garrisons were sent to *Tarentum*, and to the Cities most exposed.

⁴⁷ Under the Name of *Lusitani*, were then com-
prehended not only the Nations who inhabited the
present Kingdom of *Portugal*, but those also who
inhabited *Estremadura*, and the Western Part of
Old Castille. These two Countries, with that which
lies between the *Durio*, and the *Minho*, made up
the ancient *Lusitania*.

⁴⁸ The *Celtiberi* came originally from *Gallia*
Celtica. They went into *Spain*, and settled in that

Part of *Arragon*, which is beyond the *Iberus*. Af-
terwards they possessed a Part of *New Castille*, and
of the Kingdom of *Valencia*. Nay, they extended
their Limits quite to old *Lusitania*, near *Estrema-*
dura.

⁴⁹ We have already spoken of this Place, which
the *Romans* had built during their War with the
Gauls.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, Con-
suls.

Sixty *Quinqueremes* were equipped to guard the Coast. The *Consuls* elect, each furnished themselves with the Provisions necessary for their respective Provinces. It was presumed, that *Ariminum* and *Hetruria* would be the Seats of the War; and therefore the greatest Convoys were sent to those Places. Auxiliaries were drawn together from all the Allies: *Hiero* alone furnished five hundred *Cretans*, and a thousand good Horsemen. And these Preparations were continued till Spring came on. As for *Hannibal*, he did not put off his Departure, till the Cold was entirely over. He was jealous of the *Cisalpine Gauls*, as soon as he discovered their Hatred to him, and was uneasy at residing among them. He knew the Genius of that People, who were already watching an Opportunity to surprise him, and rid themselves of him: and for fear of an Attempt against his Life, he invented the Use of false Hair of several Colours, which he changed several times a Day, to disguise himself. He had also several Sorts of Habits, which he used, to prevent his being known. But this was a Subjection which did not suit his Temper. Besides, it was time for him to change his Residence, and advance nearer to *Rome*. He had heard that *Hetruria* was a fruitful Country; and the *Gauls* were continually boasting of its Wealth, in order to get rid of a Guest, which was burthensome to them. And they likewise hoped to be able to get some Plunder by following him. *Hannibal* therefore resolved to pass the *Apennines*, at a time, when those Mountains are utterly impassable. Could he find any thing impossible, after he had climbed over the *Alpes*? He certainly was not apprized of the Tempests which the Wind raises on those steep Rocks, especially towards the End of Winter; and therefore undertook to get over them. But he was there suddenly overtaken with a Hurricane, which much fatigued his Troops. There arose so violent a Wind, mixed with Rain and Sleet, that his Soldiers, who had it in their Faces, lost their Breath. If they endeavoured to break the Wind, and continue their March, it whirled them about; and in short, they continually dropped their Arms out of their Hands.

THE General was forced to make his Troops halt, to let the Storm blow over, and they sought for Shelter. But the Rain grew more violent, and it thundered and lightened in a terrible manner. At length the Cloud dispersed; whereas the Wind became stronger: so that it became necessary to encamp. But the Soldiers in vain endeavoured to pitch their Tents. The Wind was so strong, that it overturned every thing, blew away the Canvas as fast as they spread it, and blew down the Stakes as fast as they were set up. It is said, that the *Carthaginian* Army had met with nothing like this, in passing the *Alpes*. So that they were obliged to return back, after two Days Fatigue and Distress. The Tempest, which, as it were, kept the Army invested among the Rocks, did not at all abate; many Men and Horses perished with Want; and seven of the small Number of Elephants *Hannibal* had left, after the Battel of the *Trebia*, were starved to Death, with Hunger and Cold. The Distress must have been very great, since it made *Hannibal* retire. He descended into the Plain, and came back to encamp, about ten Miles from *Placentia*. Yet still his natural Ability would not suffer him to take any Rest.

EARLY the next Morning, after he had encamped, he marched out of his Entrenchments with twelve thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse. But this Number did not intimidate *Sempronius*. He accepted the Challenge, drew up his Troops in the Plain, and fought the *Carthaginians*, three Miles from their Camp. The Victory at first inclined towards the *Romans*; the Engagement lasted till three Hours after Noon; and at length, *Sempronius* gained Ground, repulsed the Enemies quite to their Camp, and all the Advantage of the Battel would have been entirely on his Side, if he had known how to restrain his own Ardour, and that of his Troops. Too much Courage is often hurtful, when Men are engaged with an artful Enemy. But the *Consul* was the same Man in the Fields of *Placentia*, as he had been on the *Trebia*. He was so far intoxicated with the first glimmering of Success, as to resolve to attempt taking *Hannibal's* Camp. But he in vain fatigued his Soldiers in this rash Enterprize. He was forced to sound a Retreat, and return to the City; which was the critical Moment for which *Hannibal* waited. As soon as he saw the *Romans* retreating, he sent out Detachments, to the Right and Left, and marched up directly to the Enemy himself, at the Head of his Infantry. Then the Battel was renewed with such Fury, as threatened

a ter-

a terrible Slaughter, if the Night had not put an End to it. However, it may at least be said, that *Hannibal* had his Revenge, and that the Loss of the *Romans* was as great as that of the *Carthaginians*. Both Parties left in all nine hundred Men dead upon the Spot.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXV.

P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, TIB.
SEMPRONIUS
LONGUS, Con-
suls.

Polybius, B. 3.
c. 78.

§. XIX. ALL the Time that *Hannibal* was obliged to continue in his Camp, he spent in Deliberations. His Design of entering ⁵⁰ *Hetruria* was only postponed. He therefore enquired of Men acquainted with the Country, which Road he must take. And they told him of two; one was longer, but more easy; the other shorter, but more difficult. They said, That the latter led through marshy Grounds; That it would be necessary, if he took that Road, to march through Water, and Mud, that was scarce passable; and That he would often be stopped, by the Overflowings of the Lakes, Marshes, and Rivers. But *Hannibal* had a Taste for these dangerous Enterprizes, which were proper to raise Mens Admiration of a General, and to intimidate his Enemies. His Army was indeed affrighted at the Project; they imagined they should all be buried in the Waters, and swallowed up in Quick-sands. But *Hannibal* being assured the Bottom was sound, and that only the Superficies of the Earth was watery, he enquired no further, but begun his March in this Order. His *Spaniards* and *Africans* went first, with their Provisions and Baggage in the Middle of them, lest they should want Necessaries, in case they were obliged to halt. This was the only time that *Hannibal* took any Care about the Subsistence of his Army. When it was in an Enemy's Country, every Soldier provided for himself. After this Advance-Guard, followed the *Gauls*; and the Cavalry closed the March. The *Numidians* commanded by *Mago*, kept hovering about the Flanks of the *Gauls*, to excite them to work, and prevent their Desertion. In this fine Order they came to the marshy Grounds they expected. The farther any Part of *Italy* was from *Rome*, the less Care the Inhabitants took to make the Roads passable.

THE River ⁵¹ *Arnus* was overflowed, and the Inundation reached to a great Distance: And then the *Spaniards* and *Africans* went into the Water without Hesitation, through a Way which no Body had ever passed. They were used to this Sort of Fatigues, and nothing incommoded them. Though they walked half way up the Leg in Mud, they kept their Ranks, and marched on regularly, under their proper Colours. But the *Gauls* found that the Multitudes of Men and Beasts of Burden that went before them, increased the Difficulty of their March. Those that went first, had disturbed the Water, and broken the Road. The more the Way was beaten, the deeper was the Water. The Mud often made their Feet slip, and whoever fell down was drowned. But what could they do? The Cavalry would not suffer them to return back. In such Extremities as these, the Mind supports the Body, and Hopes support the Mind. Sometimes the weakest of them, quite worn out with Toil, went and expired on an Heap of Beasts of Burden, which were killed with Fatigue. But the most melancholy Circumstance was, that they must march four Days together, in Mire, or Water, without finding a dry Place, on which they could make any Rest. So that a Want of Sleep was their greatest Torment. Nevertheless, some sunk down with Fatigue, and in order to get a Moment's Sleep, lay down upon the Carcasses, or Bundles, of the Beasts of Burden which were drowned. *Hannibal* himself was not without his Share of the Inconveniencies of the Journey. Indeed, in order to get through the Water the more safely, he rode upon the only Elephant he had left; but his continual Watchings, and the unwholesome Qualities of a watery Air, brought a great Defluxion into his Head, which fell into his Eyes: And though he slept, and used all

⁵⁰ *Livy* observes here, that *Hannibal*, after the last Battel, took his Road through *Liguria*; and adds, that as he was upon the Road, the two *Quæstors*, *Caius Fulvius*, and *Lucius Geganus*, with several *Legionary Tribunes*, and some *Roman Knights*, whose Fathers were Senators, were delivered up into his Hands. The *Ligures*, says he,

surrendered these Prisoners to him, in Proof of their Fidelity and Attachment to the *Carthaginians*.

⁵¹ The *Arno* rises in the *Apennines*, near the Confines of *Romagna Florentina*; and falls into the *Tuscan Sea*, eight Miles below *Pisa*.

Year of Remedies, he lost one of them. When he was come out of the Marshes, he
 R O M E encamped in the Plains of *Hetruria*; where he was informed, that immedi-
 DXXXV. ately after his Departure, *Sempronius* had left *Placentia*, marched the *Roman*
 P. CORNELIUS Army to ⁵² *Lucca*, on the Confines of *Hetruria*, and there surrendered up
 SCIPIO, TIB. the Command of the Troops to the new Consul *Flaminius*. And then, *Han-*
 SEMPRONIUS *nibal* applied himself, as was necessary, to learn the Character of the General
 LONGUS, Con- with whom he was to contend.
 fuls.

⁵² The City of *Lucca* is sometimes placed in near the River *Auserus*, now the *Serchio*. It was
Liguria, and sometimes in *Hetruria*, because it succeßively both a *Colony* and *Municipium*.
 stood on the Frontiers of these two Provinces,



T H E
Roman History.
B O O K XXVII.

§. I. **F** LAMINIUS having obtained the *Consulship*, by the Favour of the People, contrary to the Inclinations of the Senate; he feared the Resentment of the *Conscript Fathers*, who were enraged against him, and had not Esteem enough for him to think him a proper Person to cope with the *Carthaginian Hero*. Past Experience having taught him to fear the future, he was apprehensive that his Enemies would, by their Artifices, disannul his Election. *They will make the Augurs speak the Language of their own Hatred*, said he; *and as they formerly did, will now make them find such Defects in the Auspices, which they interpret at Will, as shall render the Election invalid. And if therefore, I don't take Possession of the Command of the Army, before all the Ceremonies¹ usual at the Inauguration of Consuls are performed, my Continuance at Rome may prove fatal to me. I shall be detained here under Pretence of some sinister Presage; and my Glory will suffer by the Ill-will of those who envy me.* And these Reflections made him take a bold Step, for which he had no Precedent. He pretended to take a Journey, and, without performing the Ceremonies of Inauguration, came directly to the Province which had fallen to him by Lot. Before he left *Rome*, he had sent Orders to *Sempronius* his Predecessor, to march his *Legions* to *Ariminum*, which was to be the general *Rendezvous* of the Troops which were to act that Campaign: And he therefore was, contrary to Custom, invested in the *Consulship* at *Ariminum*, and not at *Rome*. It is said, that the Victim offered at his taking Possession of his Dignity, escaped out of the Sacrificer's Hands, after his Throat had been cut, and stained many of the Spectators with his Blood. But be that as it will, this Flight of the *Consul* elect, was new Matter of Discontent to the Senators. *What a strange Man*, said they, *is this Flaminius! He is not content with affronting the Senate, but is resolved to quarrel with the Gods too. He formerly despised their Auspices, and refused to obey them. Now he shuns the² Capitol, and the Altars of our Guardian-Gods, whose Presence would reproach him with Impiety. For fear of appearing before them, consulting the Senate, and going to pay his Homage to Jupiter Latialis, previously to his entering upon his Office, he is run away, like a private Soldier, without Fasces, Lictors, or any other Ensigns of*

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.

C. FLAMINI-
US, P. SERVI-
LIUS GEMI-
NUS, Consuls.

Liv. B. 21.

c. 63.

¹ Before the Magistrates elected by the *Centuries* entered upon their Offices, they were subject to the Determination of the *Auspices*, and the Interpretation, or rather Report, of the *Augurs*. And, according to ancient Custom, their Elections ought to have been confirmed, by a Decree passed in the *Comitia* by *Curie*, called *Lex Curiata*, without which they could not lawfully discharge any magisterial Office, either in *Rome*, or in the *Provinces*. The Consent of the assembled *Curie*, was even necessary for giving Commissions for commanding Armies in Chief, or in Subordination to others. *Cicero* says expressly, *Agrar. 2.* that without this, it was not lawful for a General, or inferior Commander, to exercise any Act of Jurisdiction in the Army. *Consuli, si legem Curiatam non habet, attingere rem militarem non licet.* See Vol. 1. p. 358. Note 43. Besides, the Departure of the *Consuls* was always preceded by the Celebration of the *Feria Latina*. They were

obliged to go to *The Hill of Alba*, to preside at the Ceremony of the Sacrifice. Now, as we have elsewhere observed, this Festival was not fixed to any certain Time. Sometimes the *Augurs* caused this Solemnity to be deferred, under Pretence that the *Auguries* were not favourable: And consequently, this was as it were a Suspension of the *Consular* Authority; at least as far as it related to the Command of Armies.

² The first Duty of the *Consul* was, to receive a kind of Investiture in his *Consulate*, from *Jupiter Capitolinus*. With this Design he went to the *Capitol*, attended by all Orders of Men in the State: and there, amidst the Prayers of all the Citizens for him, paid his Homage to this God, the Protector of the *Consular* Dignity; offered a solemn Sacrifice to him; and implored his Protection, against all the Enemies of *Rome*, and for the Prosperity of the Arms of the Republick.

his

Year of *his Dignity*. Is Ariminum a more proper Place than Rome for him to put on the *ROM E* Consular Robe? They therefore all voted for recalling him, and obliging him to perform the usual Ceremonies, before he entered upon his Office; and sent two Deputies 3 to him, to acquaint him with the Orders of the Senate. But *Flaminius* paid them no more Regard than he had done the Letters sent him in his first Consulship, requiring him to abdicate. He had caused himself to be acknowledged General, by the two *Legions*, the Command of which *Sempronius* had resigned to him, and he had just received two *Legions* more, which one of the *Prætors* had brought him. With these Forces, which were considerable, the audacious *Flaminius* crossed the *Apennines*, and came and encamped in *Hetruria*, under the Walls of *Aretium*.

C FLAMINI-
US, P. SERVI-
LIUS GEMI-
NIUS, Consuls.

BUT *Flaminius's* Colleague behaved himself much more regularly at Rome. *Servilius* entered upon his Office, on the Day appointed, viz. *The Ides of March*; and performed all the prescribed Ceremonies at his Inauguration. He went up to the *Capitol*, made the usual Procession to the Temple of *Jupiter Latialis*, and came to receive the Orders of the Senate, who complained much of his Colleague. *We thought to have had two Consuls*, said they, *whereas we have but one*. *What Title has Flaminius to command an Army? What Auspices has he had? With what Sacrifices was he initiated? On what Hill has he been inaugurated? Could a City in one of the Provinces supply the Place of the Capitol?* And Accounts having been brought to Rome from all Parts, of many inauspicious 4 Prodigies, which the publick Fears made Men invent, or at least magnify, and adopt as true: *Servi-*

3 The Name of the first of these Deputies was *Quintus Terentius*, and that of the second, *Marcus Antistius*.

4 The credulous *Livy* reckons it among other Prodigies, that in the Ox-Market a Cow run up to the third Floor of an House, and, affrighted at the Uproar the People made at this Sight, leaped down from thence. And he adds, that *The Lots of Care* appeared smaller than usual; a Presage which the ancient Pagans looked on as the Fore-runner of some Disaster, as we have elsewhere observed. Upon the Report of these Prodigies, the distempered Imaginations of a superstitious People formed new ones. By thus magnifying Objects, the most common Effects changed their Nature all on a sudden, and became Prodigies. Every one took Pleasure in deceiving himself, and increasing his Fears. And it is surprizing that *Livy* should, upon no better Testimony than that of these Pannicks, adopt as so many certain Truths, the many Tales with which he delights to stuff his Narrations. If we believe him, the Battel of the Lake *Thrasimenus* was preceded by several other fatal Prognosticks. The Figures of Ships, says he, were then seen in the Air. At *Lanuvium*, *Juno's* Javelin moved of itself. Multitudes of Men cloathed in white were seen in different Places, and were taken for Phantoms. In *Picenum*, it rained Stones. In *Cisalpine Gaul*, a Wolf stole a Centinel's Sword, and drew it. These popular Reports alarmed the Senate. The *Decemviri* were immediately ordered to consult the *Sybilline* Books. Upon their Report, publick Sacrifices were ordered to be offered up for nine Days together, according to the Rites of Paganism. All the City was purified, and the Citizens wholly taken up with appeasing the Anger of the Gods by Expiations. Victims of all Sorts were offered up to them. Several very rich Offerings were made at the Temple of *Juno*, in *Lanuvium*. They amounted to forty Pounds Weight of Gold. The *Roman* Ladies also bore their Parts in these Things. They erected an Image of Brass, in the Temple consecrated to *Juno*, on the Hill *Aventinus*. In the City of *Cære*, where the Prodigy of the Diminution of *The Lots* had happened, a *Læsternium* was appointed; that is, a solemn Feast in Honour to the Gods, in order to avert the Misfortunes with which Rome thought herself threatened. At *Algidum*, a little City in the

Country of the *Æqui*, the Inhabitants implored the Protection of *Fortune*, by publick Supplication. And the same Ceremony was performed in the Temple of *Hercules*. The Goddess of *Youth* was publicly exposed, for the Veneration of the People, and a religious Repast made for her. Victims were offered up, on the Altar of the *Genius*, or tutelary God, of Rome. And lastly, the *Prætor* made several Vows in the Name of the Citizens, with a Promise to perform them, in case the Republick should continue in the same Condition as at present, for the Space of ten Years. Nevertheless, the Prodigies multiplied soon after. In *Sicily*, some Arrows took Fire in the Soldiers Hands. In *Sardinia*, a Horseman's Cane, who was taking the Rounds to watch the Centinels, took Fire all on a sudden. On the Sea-Shore, the Sky seemed to be all in a Flame. Two Bucklers dropped Blood. Some Soldiers were killed with Lightning. At *Præneste* some burning Stones fell down from Heaven. The Disc of the Sun seemed less than ordinary; and he appeared as struggling with the Moon. At *Aspi* Bucklers were seen in the Air. Two Moons were seen at *Capena*. The Waters at *Cære* were turned into Blood. Those of a Spring consecrated to *Hercules* turned red. At *Antium*, the Reapers thought some Ears of Corn were bloody. At *Falerii* the Sky divided itself into two Parts, to make Way for a luminous Body of a vast Extent. The *Lots* lost much of their usual Bulk. On one of them, the People, to their great Surprize, found these Words written, *MARS TELUM SUUM CONCUTIT*; that is, *Mars shakes his Spear*. At Rome, the Statue of *Mars*, in *The Appian Way*, was thought to drop with Sweat. At *Capua*, the Air seemed to be on Fire in a very extraordinary Manner. The Moon seemed to fall down from Heaven in the midst of Storms. And to these Prodigies were added others of a new kind. The Hair of several Goats was metamorphosed into Wool. A Cock and Hen changed Sexes. Thus the *Romans* either turned natural Events into Prodigies, or suffered themselves to be imposed on by those, whose Interest it was to sport with their Credulity, by inventing false Miracles. It is probable, the Magistrates at Rome took Advantage of these publick Rumours, to engage the People to lend the Republick their Assistance, in these tempestuous times.

Junius, who was yet but *Consul* elect, made a Report of them to the Senate. 5 Sacrifices were ordered, publick Prayers offered up in all the Temples for three Days, and Presents made to some of the Gods. A Thunder bolt of Gold was made for *Jupiter*, of fifty Pounds Weight. The Ladies signalized their Piety, by laying a Tax upon themselves, in order to make a 6 Present to *Juno*, and defray the Expences of one of those religious Feasts, which were made in the Temples. And lastly, it was decreed, that the 7 *Saturnalia* should be a standing Festival. These Expeditions detained the *Consul*, and delayed his marching with his Troops to *Cisalpine Gaul*; where he was to make it his whole Business to amuse the *Gauls*, and cause a Diversion, by taking their Cities.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.
C. FLAMINI-
US, P. SERVI-
LIUS GEMI-
NUS, Consuls.



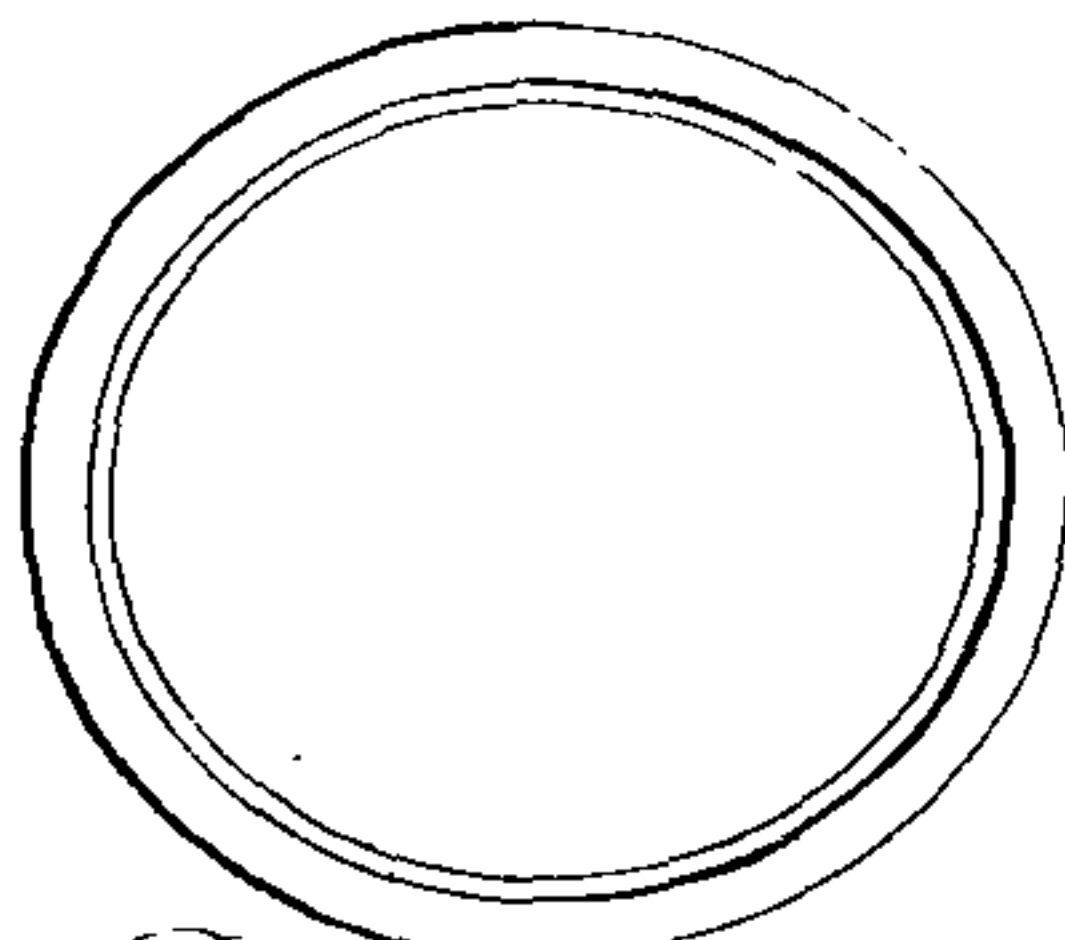
Silver



Silver



Silver



Vol. 1. Page 92. Note 119.

5 The *Decemviri* were ordered, says *Livy*, to consult the *Sybilline Books*, and determine what sort of Hymns the Gods would have sung to their Honour. And *Minerva* and *Juno*, adds he, divided between them the Vessels of massy Gold; which were dedicated to adorn their Temples.

6 These Presents were offered in the Temple of that *Juno* whom the *Romans* worshipped, with the Title of *Queen*. Several Sacrifices were ordered to be offered up to her at *Lanuvium*, where she was honoured with the Title of *Sospita*, or Salutory Goddess. And the freed Women taxed themselves to make a Present to the Goddess *Feronia*. The Medals above prove the Worship which the *Romans* paid to these three Goddesses. On the first is the Figure of *Juno*, with this Inscription, JUNO REGINA. The Title of *Queen* was given her by the Pagans, as the Wife of the King of the Gods. She may likewise be distinguished by the Peacock that stands by her, on the Medal: it is well known that this bird was consecrated to her. On the second Medal we find the Name of *Sospita*, together with the Appellations of MAXIMA and REGINA. This is what we are to understand by the initial Letters on the Medal. I. S. M. R. that is, JUNO, SOSPIA, MAXIMA, REGINA. The Worship of this Goddess was brought to *Rome* from *Lanuvium*. The Inhabitants of the latter erected a Statue to her Honour, the Head of which was covered with a Goat's Skin: and all the Monuments we have of her, represent her in that Dress. *Cicero*, *De Nat. Deorum*, B. 1. describes *Juno Sospita*, as she appears on the third Medal, that is, with a Goat's Skin over her Head, armed with a Javelin and a Buckler; and wearing shoes turned up at the Toes. *Tam hercle quam ibi illam nostram Sospitam, quam tu nunquam, ne in somniis quidem vides; nisi cum pelle caprina, cum lula, cum Scutulo, cum Calceis repandis.* As to

the Serpent which we see at the Goddess's Feet, *Propertius* tells us, Serpents were consecrated to *Juno of Lanuvium*. See what he says on this Subject, *Eleg. 8. B. 4.* According to this Author, the Inhabitants of *Lanuvium* persuaded themselves, on the Credit of an odd Tradition, that this Animal had this particular Instinct, that it would not receive Food from the Hands of incontinent Persons. So that young People who were suspected of Incontinence, were often forced to stand this Trial, to justify their Innocence. The Goat's Skin, with which she is coiffed, alludes to the Epithet *αἰγοφάγος*, which the *Lacedaemonians* gave her. They were the only People, according to *Pausanias*, who sacrificed a Goat to her. And he adds, that *Hercules* gave rise to this Custom. After he had received *Juno's* Assistance, in his Battel with *Hippocoon* and his Children, *Hercules* erected a Temple to this Goddess, and sacrificed a Goat to her, for want of other Victims. As to the *Feronia*, on the fourth Medal, we have spoken of her, B. 2. p. 92. of Vol. 1. Note 119. The Name of *Juno*, which some Inscriptions give her, was a Title of Honour, which the Pagans gave to some Divinities by Way of Distinction, as particularly to *Proserpine*. *Strabo*, speaking of the Temple of *Feronia*, situated at the Foot of Mount *Soracte*, B. 5. mentions a Fact, which in all probability must be false. He says, that those who were possessed with the Spirit of the Goddess, walked steadily on burning Coals.

7 *Livy* says it was then celebrated on the last Day of *December*; and adds, That the Senators ordered a Sacrifice in the Temple of *Saturn*, and That they themselves prepared a *Lectisternium* in Honour to that God. At the same time, publick Feasts were made to his Honour; and during the Festival, all the Streets of *Rome* rung with the Shouts of those, who cried out, *Saturnalia! Saturnalia!*

Year of R O M E DXXXVI. C. FLAMINIUS, P. SERVI- LIUS GEMI- NUS, Consuls. Polybius, B. 2. c. 76.

§. II. ON the other hand, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being now cured of his Wound, prepared to go and join his Brother *Cneius* in *Spain*: where the Success this brave Roman had against *Asdrubal* in the last Campaign, fell little short of the Victories *Hannibal* had gained in *Italy*. Soon after he had sailed from the Mouth of the *Rhone*, by his Brother's Orders, he landed at ⁸ *Emporium*, the Capital of the present *Lampourdan*; and his Descent was immediately followed with the Submission of many of the maritime Nations, on this Side the *Ebro*. These continued faithful to the *Romans*, after their Alliance, and waited only for the Arrival of a *Roman* Fleet to declare themselves: and all that resisted, were reduced by Force of Arms. From thence *Cneius* advanced towards the Mountains; and there, by gentle Methods, so far gained over the Nations, which were naturally barbarous and savage, that they lent him Troops.

WE have before observed, that *Hanno* was left by *Hannibal*, at his Departure from *Spain*, to govern all the Countries on this Side the *Ebro*, and keep in Awe the Nations bordering on the *Pyrenees*. This General therefore made haste to oppose the Progress of the *Roman*, and came and encamped near *Ciffa*, almost within reach of *Cneius's* Camp. Then the latter immediately fought him, before the Troops *Asdrubal* commanded beyond the *Iberus*, had joined *Hanno*; and the *Carthaginian* Army was beaten. It lost near six thousand Men, and the City of ⁹ *Ciffa* was taken. *Hanno*, and *Indibilis*, one of the Kings of these Cantons, were made Prisoners, their Camp plundered, and the *Roman* General was enriched by the Booty he found there. He seized the Baggage, and rich Goods, which *Hannibal's* Officers and Soldiers had laid up there before they left *Spain*; and this Victory gained *Cneius* great Reputation. Almost all that vast Country, from the *Pyrenees* to the *Ebro*, became subject to him.

As for *Asdrubal*, he did not know what Advantages *Cneius* had gained, when he passed the *Ebro*, with Design to make the first Opposition, either to the landing of the *Romans*, or their Enterprizes. His Army consisted of eight thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse; and it suddenly fell in with a small Body of *Romans*, whom *Scipio* had left in the Port, to guard his Fleet. These Soldiers mixed with the Seamen and Rowers, lived there in great Security, during the General's Absence; and *Asdrubal*, who found them dispersed over the Country, killed a good Number of them, forced the rest to retire to their Ships, and repassed the *Ebro*. *Scipio*, upon his Return, punished the subaltern Officers for their Negligence, and went into Winter-Quarters at ¹⁰ *Terragona*. The cold Weather was not quite over, when *Asdrubal* passed the *Ebro* a second time, drew off the ¹¹ *Ilergetæ* from the *Romans*, and laid waste the Lands of *Scipio's* Allies. But the latter amply revenged himself. He let his Soldiers live upon free Quarter ¹² in the Country of the *Ilergetæ*, and besieged ¹³ *Athanagia*, their Capital, and took it. Then he immediately entered the Territory of the ¹⁴ *Ausetani*, who were Friends to the *Carthaginians*, besieged their chief City, and their Neighbours in vain endeavoured to relieve it. *Cneius* beat the Succours they sent, killed near two thousand of these tumultuous Troops, and continued the Siege. But the Rigour of the Season alone, prolonged it for thirty Days; almost all that time, the Snow lay upon the Ground, four Foot high. However, it at least guarded the Machines

⁸ Several ancient Inscriptions prove the Antiquity of the City of *Emporium*. It is now called *Empurias*. There were two distinct Quarters in the same City. One, inhabited by some *Phocæans*, who settled there; the other, by the Natives. These two Parties were long at War, and did not unite, till after they had been subdued by the *Romans*.

⁹ This City, which *Polybius* calls *Ciffa*, is called *Sciffis* by *Livy*. We don't find any Footsteps of it in the old Geographers. Perhaps the two Historians meant *Setellsis*, which *Ptolomy* places in the Country of the *Lacetani*. Its Situation agrees well with that of *Solsona*. *Sanfon* places it near *Urgel*. He supposes, that the City here spoken of, was *Lyssa*, a City on the Banks of the *Sycoris*, or *Segro*, in the Place where, according to some, *Camaraça* now stands. But Father *Briet* conjectures, that it stood near the City, now called *Oliana*.

¹⁰ *Terragona* is a City in *Catalonia*, which was built by the *Romans*. Its Situation is well known.

¹¹ The *Ilergetæ* dwelt in the Neighbourhood of *Huesca*, *Saragossa*, *Lerida*, and *Balbastro*. Their Territory lay beyond the *Segro*.

¹² *Livy* adds, that *Scipio* forced the *Ilergetæ* to give Hostages, as Pledges of their Fidelity; and obliged them to pay a certain Sum of Money.

¹³ It is uncertain, whether old *Athanagia* was the same Place which is now called *Maureja*. Authors are divided in Opinion, whether it were that City, or any one of these four, *Tarrega*, *Sanbat*, *Cardonne*, and *Lerida*. Every one offers his own Conjectures, which prove nothing.

¹⁴ See what we have already said of the Country formerly inhabited by the *Ausetani*.

of the Besiegers, against the Fire of the Besieged; and at length, the Escape of one of their Heads, named *Amusitus*, who withdrew to *Asdrubal*, caused the Surrendry of the Place. The Besieged delivered it up to the *Romans*, and redeemed their Country from being plundered, with twenty ¹⁵ *Talents* of Silver *. This News from *Spain* comforted the Senate a little, under the Consideration of the prodigious Progress *Hannibal* had made in *Italy*: and *Publius Scipio* was immediately sent away with the Quality of *Pro-Consul*, to continue the War in *Spain*, in Concert with his Brother *Cneius*.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.
C. FLAMINI-
US, P. SERVI-
LIUS GEMI-
NUS, Consuls.
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§. III. BUT after all, the *Romans* were chiefly concerned about the Conduct of *Flaminius*, who was to act against *Hannibal* in *Hetruria*. The nearer he came to *Rome*, the more the Fears of the People there increased. This proud *Carthaginian* encamped a little on this Side the Marshes bordering upon the *Arnus*; and gave himself time to learn the Character of his Rival, who was posted near *Aretium*; and to inform himself of the Course of the Country, the Situations of Places, and the Roads fit for the March of an Army. As to the latter, he was told, That he would find a well-cultivated Territory beyond *Aretium*; and That the Fields between that City and *Fesulæ*, abounded with Corn and Cattel. And being informed that the *Consul* had more of that popular Eloquence, which is fit to impose on the Multitude, than Solidity of Understanding, more Presumption than true Valour; this convinced him, that he needed only to march that Way, in order to put an Adversary upon Action, who made his Happiness depend upon the Breath of the People. *Flaminius*, said he, *will never suffer it to be reported at Rome, that he has tamely permitted the Enemy to commit Devastations near him. His Fear of the Reproaches of the Senate, will be enough to make him take the Field, before the Arrival of his Colleague, who is to share the Conduct of the War with him. Upon the first Appearance I make of attacking him, he will draw out his Army; and in the Heat of a Battel, I will draw him after me, wherever I please.* Upon these Presumptions therefore, which *Hannibal* thought sure ones, because founded upon the Character of his Rival, the *Carthaginian* left ¹⁶ *Aretium* upon his Left, and advanced towards ¹⁷ *Fesulæ*. Wherever he came, he marked his Way with Rapine, Fire, and Sword; and took pleasure in giving *Flaminius* a Sight of the Flames, which consumed the Houses in the Plain, at a great distance from him.

Polybius, B. 2.
c. 80.

Livy, B. 22.
c. 3.

As for the *Consul*, had he followed his own Inclinations, he would have marched against the Enemy, the Moment he appeared. Rage and Indignation possessed his Soul. He was no longer Master of himself, when he saw *Hannibal* advance towards *Aretium*, take the Way to *Rome*, and leave the *Roman* Camp behind him, in order to penetrate into the Heart of *Hetruria*. *Flaminius* being a vain Man, he looked on this Conduct of the Enemy as a personal Insult; and imputed the Advices the Officers of his Army gave him, to Timorousness. Indeed, upon seeing what Steps *Hannibal* took, he held a general Council of War in his own Tent: and all the Officers were against giving Battel, and only for sending the Cavalry, and some light-armed Foot, to prevent the Devastation of the Fields. *It is dangerous*, said they, *to expose the Safety of our Country to the Hazard of a Battel, as long as our Forces are unequal to those of the Enemy. The Carthaginian Cavalry is formidable, especially in the open Field. Why should we not wait till a second Consular Army arrives? Rome will run less Danger, when her Troops are superior in Number.* But these Discourses did not please the impetuous *Flaminius*. He cried out, *Shall we then sit still, whilst the Enemy makes himself a Way to Rome with Fire and Sword? Shall not we march to the Relief of our Capital, till Hannibal has invested it? Shall we not go to defend it, till the Senate shall think fit to send for us; as they formerly did for Camillus?* Upon which words, he rushed out of the Council, and gave the Signals for marching, and for a Battel. And he was so intoxicated with Rage, and mounted his Horse in such a Hurry, that he fell off from him. This was thought an ill ¹⁸ Omen; and

Liv. B. 22.
c. 3.

¹⁵ These twenty *Talents*, in Weight, amounted to two thousand five hundred Pounds Weight of Silver, at the rate of an hundred and twenty five Pounds per Talent, as we have already observed.

¹⁶ We have already said enough of *Aretium*, in several Places.

¹⁷ *Fesulæ* does in a manner still retain its ancient Name, in that of *Fiesoli*.

¹⁸ *Cicero*, tho' a Pagan, could not help ridiculing the foolish Credulity of a superstitious People, who found out Mysteries in the most common Accidents. *Where is the Wonder*, says he, *that a Horse should start? Is it surprizing, that a Standard stuck in the Earth, should be too fast to be pulled up by a fearful Officer, who dreaded the Battel?*

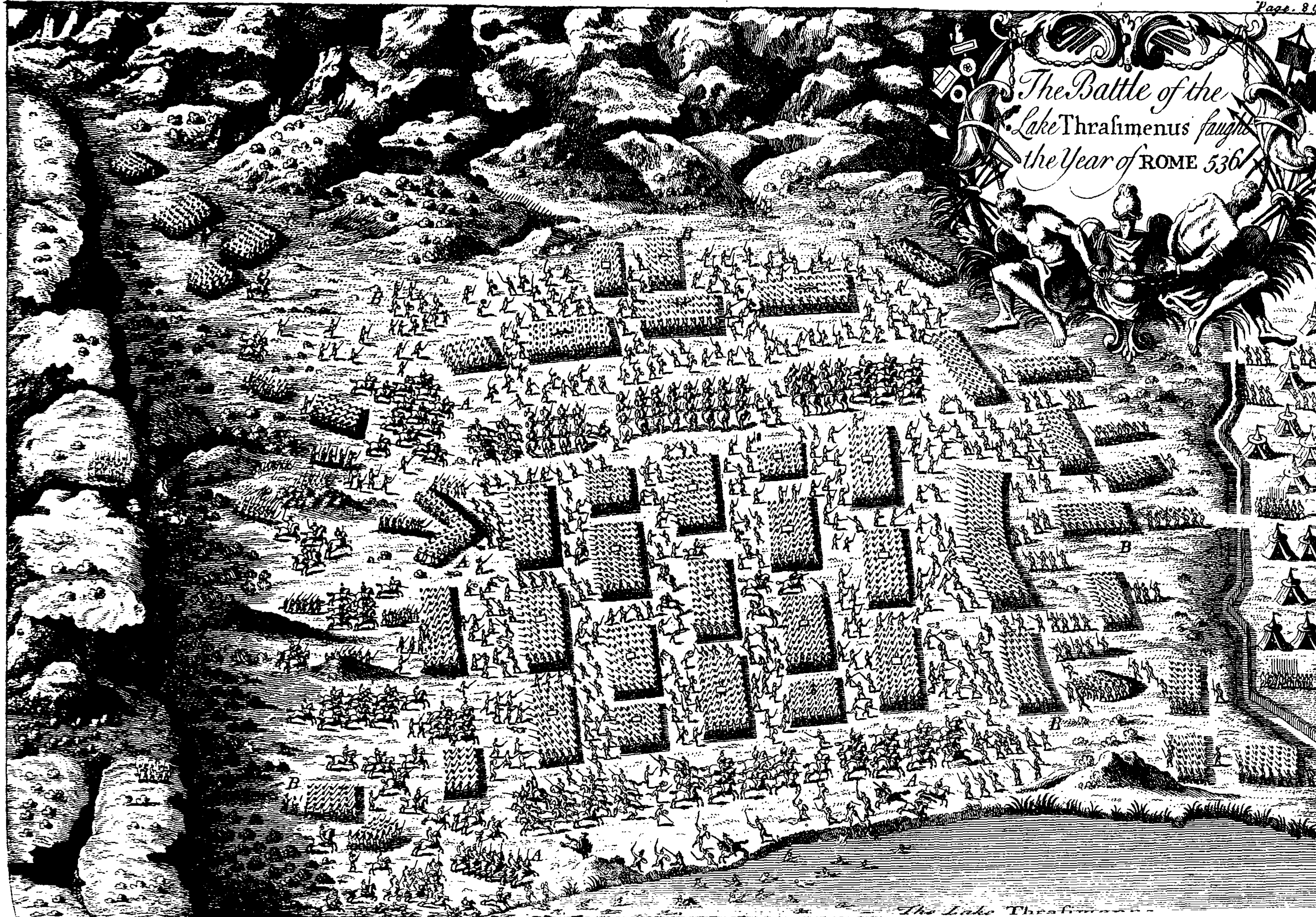
Year of he was told of another Prognostick, which perhaps was feigned, on purpose to
 R O M E keep him in his Camp. He was informed, that the *Roman Eagles* stuck so fast
 DXXXVI. in the Ground, that the Soldiers could not pull them out of it. But he replied;
 C. FLAMINI- *Very well; if you cannot do it with your Hands, make use of your Pickaxes and*
 US, P. SERVI- *Spades. What!* continued he to the Messenger, *have you again brought me Let-*
 LIUS GEMI- *ters from the Senate, to forbid me marching against the Enemy?* Notwithstanding
 NUS, Consul. the Murmurs of the Officers, *Flaminius* made them march. He depended on the
 Liv. *ibid.* Affection of his Soldiers; they were for the most part *Citizens of Rome*, of his
 Party; and these unhappy Victims knew not to what a Slaughter the *Consul* was
 leading them. They marched on with all the Confidence of Men sure of Victory.
 The General so filled their Minds with these vain Hopes, that the Peasants of
 the Country, and Servants of the Army, followed it for Plunder. They were al-
 most as numerous as the Soldiers; and these Wretches carried with them Chains
 and Cords to bind the *Carthaginians*, which were infallibly to fall into their
 Hands after the Defeat.

As for *Hannibal*, who was before the *Roman Army*, he drew *Flaminius* insen-
 sibly into the Ambuscade he laid for him. The Ravages he committed in the
 Plains of ¹⁹ *Cortona*, provoked the *Romans* to follow him. They marched with
 all speed, to overtake him; whilst the *Carthaginian* himself waited for them, in a
 Place where he could give Battel with Advantage. Adjoining to *Cortona*, there
 are some pretty high Mountains, near a great Lake, formerly called *Thrasime-*
nus, now *Lago di Perugia*. Between these Mountains and the Lake, is a large
 Valley, into which there is but a very narrow Passage. Through this Defile, *Han-*
nibal marched without Resistance, and encamped his *Spanish* and *African* Infantry
 in the Valley. As for his light-armed Infantry, which chiefly consisted of *Ba-*
leares armed with Slings, he posted them at the Foot of the Mountains, and drew
 them up in a long Line, on the right Side of the Valley. His Horse, and his
Gauls, lined the Hills that enclosed the Valley on the left Side, in such a manner,
 that the Head of the Cavalry, which was in the Woods, reached to the Mouth of
 the Pass, which was the only Way into the Valley. Had *Flaminius* been a more
 cautious Man, he would have sent Scouts before him, to discover the Situation of
 the Enemy, before he entered into a dangerous Pass: but a Man, warm with
 Vanity and Rage, is scarce capable of Reflection. He marched into the Defiles,
 without any other Concern, than that of pursuing an Enemy, which had insulted
 him in all his March. It was late when the *Roman* arrived in the Valley: so that
 he only had time to pitch his Camp there, on the Borders of the Lake ²⁰ *Thrasy-*
menus, before Night. As for *Hannibal*, he continued quiet in his Trenches, de-
 pending on the Disposition he had at his leisure made of his Troops the Day be-
 fore. He waited to see the Effects of it the next Day; whilst *Flaminius*, who
 saw nothing but *Hannibal's* Camp, was under no Apprehensions. He knew not,
 That his Adversary had seized all the Eminences; That the *Roman Army* was al-
 ready surrounded on all Sides, before it began the Fight; That all Passages out
 of the Valley were shut up; and That he had more reason to be afraid of what
 he did not see, than of any thing that he saw. So that *Flaminius* spent the Night
 in great Composure; and as soon as it was Day, marched his Troops out of his
 Camp. His first Line was already posted along the Lake, and all his Army was
 soon after formed, and advanced towards *Hannibal's* Camp: when all on a sud-
 den, the latter sounded a Charge, and sent Orders to his Troops that lay in Am-
 bush, to fall upon the *Romans*.

It happened, that in the Morning there arose a thick Fog from the Lake,
 which reached all over the neighbouring Mountains: So that the *Romans* were
 attacked in Front, in Flank, and in Rear, before they perceived their Aggressors.
 The Groans of dying Men were heard in the very Center of the *Consular Army*,
 without their perceiving whence the Mischief came: And then the *Legions*

¹⁹ *Cortona*, one of the most considerable Cities
 in *Etruria*, stood in the Country now called *The*
Florentin, a little below *The Lake of Perugia*, be-
 tween the River *Clanis*, and *The Marsh of Clu-*
sium. The Ancients, and among the rest *Virgil*,
 call it *Coritum*. See Vol. 2. B. 18. p. 282. Note 87.

²⁰ The Lake *Thrasimennus* is now called *The*
Lake of Perugia. It is also sometimes called *Lago*
di Castiglione, from its being near a City of that
 Name.



*The Battle of the
Lake Trasimene fought
the Year of ROME 536*

The Lake Trasimene

ere first sensible that they were surrounded by the Enemy. Fresh Troops fell on the *Romans*, from all Quarters, without their seeing any thing of the Enemy's Approaches, till they felt their Blows. The *Consul*, from his Post, heard his Soldiers Cries in different Places; but he could not be every where at once. And as he could not, for the Thickness of the Fog, see where the Danger was, he could only guess at it by the Noises he heard. He ran sometimes one way, and sometimes another, in great Perplexity; heard the confused Voices of his *Romans*, imploring the Assistance of their Gods; and said, *You must not depend on these idle Prayers, but your own Arms, for Victory. By your Valour, you may force your Way thro' your Enemies. The Danger ceases, the Moment Men cease to fear.*

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.
C. FLAMINI-
US, P. SERVI-
LIUS GEMI-
NUS, Consuls.

BUT these Words were scarce heard, in the midst of a Battel, where the Noise of the Arms and Clamours of the Combatants stifled the General's Voice. The Soldiers no longer kept their Ranks, or followed their Colours. Their Bucklers were become burdensome, instead of being serviceable to them; they no longer used them to ward off Blows, or defend themselves. Some fled, and were stopped by others who were flying as well as themselves. Others were going to the enemy, and were hindered by their confused Fellow-Soldiers. Some considered, that it was in vain to fly; That they were on every Side shut in by a Lake, Mountains, and narrow Passes, which were well guarded; and therefore resolved to pursue what Nature dictates to brave Men reduced to Despair, which was, to sell their Lives dear. They rallied, as it were by chance, and the Officers mixing with the Soldiers, without observing the usual Order of Battel, they fell on the enemy with such Eagerness and Fury, that they were not sensible of an ²¹ Earthquake, which happened at that Instant, and which overturned many Cities and Mountains in *Italy*. The Slaughter continued for three Hours, without Interruption. The Shock was terrible, but particularly round the *Consul*, who was guarded by a Company of the bravest Men in the Army, who were determined to deliver their General out of Danger, or die with him. In the mean time, a Trooper of the *Gauls*, an *Insubrian*, named *Ducarius*, who served in the *Carthaginian* Army, knew *Flaminius*, notwithstanding the Thickness of the Fog. He had seen him in his own Country, destroying it with Fire and Sword, six Years before; and he cried out to his Companions, *There is the Consul, who formerly did so much Mischief to our Cities and Fields! I will make him a Victim, to appease the Manes of my Countrymen!* At these Words, he spurred on his Horse; broke his Way thro' the *Romans*; cut off the Head of the *Consul's* Esquire, who advanced to ward off the Blow; and run his Lance thro' the unfortunate *Flaminius*, who fell down dead. The *Gaul* was preparing to strip the General; but some *Triarii* covered him with their Bodies, and Bucklers. Then all were exceedingly discouraged, and were actuated more by Fear than Despair. The Apprehensions of immediate Death made them seek Deliverance from it, where it was not to be found. Some leaped into the Lake, to swim thro' it, as if it had been a common River; and when tired, they returned to the Shore, and were killed by the *Carthaginian* Cavalry. Others leaped up to the Neck in Water, and were for the most part drowned, or fell into the Hands of the Enemy. Others found out new Ways of climbing over the Mountains. But a more numerous Company than the rest opened themselves a Way thro' the narrow Passes, sword in hand, killed all that opposed them, and at length escaped, to the Number of six thousand Men. They advanced forwards, still resolved to fight all the Enemies they met with, and at length gained an Eminence, where they could perceive what a terrible Slaughter had been made of the *Roman* Army in the Valley. The Sun had then dispersed the Fog: But it was now too late to prevent an entire Defeat. The only Method these brave Men could take, was to retire to a Town in *Hetruria*, and entrench themselves there. The victorious General immediately detached *Maharbal*, at the Head of all his Cavalry, and a great Body of Infantry, to go and invest the Fugitives in the Village to which they had retreated: And where they were exceedingly oppressed with Hunger. They therefore accepted the Promises *Maharbal* made them, that they should all be

²¹ The Earthquake was so violent, according to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Fabius*, that whole Cities were buried in their own Ruins. The Courses

of Rivers were turned by it; the Mountains opened, and shaken to their Foundations.

Year of sent back into their own Countries, without their Arms; but should have their
 R O M E Liberty as well as Lives. Upon these Terms, they suffered themselves to be
 DXXXVI. brought to *Hannibal's* Camp; and then the *Carthaginian* gave the first Instance
 P. SERVILIUS of that Faithlessness in Treaties, for which his Nation has been so much re-
 GEMINUS, proached. He would not perform *Maharbal's* Promises, under Pretence that he
 Consul. had not empowered him to make them. Nevertheless, he out of Policy divided
 these unhappy Captives into two Companies, one consisting of the *Romans*, and
 the other of the Allies of *Rome*. The former were loaded with Chains, and kept
 in Slavery: To the latter he spoke thus. *Don't believe, my Friends, that I have*
crossed so many Countries, to come and oppress all Italy. Rome is my only Object.
She has with Rigour subjected your Fathers to her Laws; and I am come to free
you from her Yoke. Begin now to taste that Liberty which I came so far to bring
you. Return to your Cantons, and there give an Account of your approaching De-
liverance, and the Sincerity of my Zeal for your Interest. This was not the first
 time *Hannibal* had made Use of this Artifice. His main Point in view, in all
 Places, was to draw off the Friends and Allies of the *Romans*, from them.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 7.

AFTER this complete Victory the Conqueror ordered the dead to be numbered;
 and found that he had lost only fifteen hundred Men, and among them thirty Offi-
 cers, for whom he solemnized Obsequies worthy of their Valour. But fifteen
 thousand of the *Romans* were left dead upon the Place, and ²² only ten thousand,
 who were dispersed about *Hetruria*, for the most part wounded and dying, had
 taken the Way to their Capital. *Hannibal* ordered *Flaminius's* Body to be sought
 for, that it might be buried; but it was not to be found. And whilst the *Cartha-*
ginian was deliberating which Way he should go, *Rome* was in the utmost Sorrow
 and Consternation.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 85.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 8.

S. IV. THE *Prætor Pomponius*, who did not think that this melancholy News
 could long be concealed, mounted *The Tribune of Harangues* about Sun-set. The
 Assembly was never more numerous; and the Ladies, contrary to Custom, mixed
 with the Men, and came into the *Comitia*. The *Prætor's* Speech was very suc-
 cinct, and served only to magnify the Misfortune, in the Opinion of his Auditors.
The Enemy, said he, *has gained a terrible Victory over us.* And this said, he re-
 tired. Then, what Cries and Shrieks were there, especially among the Women! So
 plain an Acknowledgment of a great Calamity had not for a great while been made
 to the People of *Rome*. Mothers, and Wives, trembled for their Children, and Huf-
 bands; and Relations for Relations. An innumerable Multitude of People, chiefly
 Women, came to the Gate of the City, either to receive those who returned, or
 to learn some News of those who did not appear. At Night all retired to their
 Houses, to rejoice at their Happiness, or lament their Losses. Two Mothers, among
 the rest, were so transported, one at the Gate of the City, to see her Son return;
 and the other at home, to find her Son there, whom she did not expect, that they
 both died with Joy. But most of the *Romans* were in an inexpressible Dejection.
 Only the Senators preserved their Steadiness, in this universal Consternation. The
Prætors had assembled them; and continually kept them deliberating, for three
 Days together, from Sun-rising to Sun-set; and before they came to any fixed
 Resolution, the News was brought of a second Defeat.

THE *Consul Servilius*, whose Province it was to keep the *Gauls* in Awe, was at
Ariminum, when he heard that his Collegue was just going to give Battel. He
 would therefore willingly have joined his Army to that of his Collegue, but the
 Length of the Way diverted him from it. All he could do, was to send him four
 thousand Horse, under the Command of the *Pro-Prætor Centenius*; and this Re-
 inforcement came too late. The Battel was already lost.

AND when *Hannibal* understood that a Body of *Roman* Horse was come, after the
 Action, he immediately sent *Maharbal*, one of his Generals, with all his Squa-
 drons, and a Body of Infantry, to fight the *Pro-Prætor*, who was not equal to him
 in Strength. Near two thousand of the *Romans* were killed upon the Spot; and
 the rest escaped to a little Hill, on which they were invested; and were obliged
 the next Day to surrender themselves up to the Conqueror, who treated them as
 he had done the other Prisoners taken in the Battel of the Lake *Thrasymenus*. This

²² *Plutarch* says, the Number of the Prisoners was ten thousand. *Livy* and *Valerius Maximus* say
 it was but six thousand.

A new Calamity therefore much increased the Fright of the Senate. Some indeed despised it, as a trifling Misfortune, after so great Losses. Others thought the Republick like a sick Man, whom the least Increase of his Distemper reduces to the utmost Danger: And in this perilous State they all judged that Rules might well be neglected. Without waiting therefore for the surviving *Consul's* nominating a *Dictator*, and without Loss of Time, the People prevented his Answer, and created one of their own Authority. Indeed, they had so much Regard to their ancient Customs, that they only gave him the Name of *Pro-Dictator*: And it is certain, that if ever the Republick wanted an absolute Governour, it was now. The General they pitched upon, was the famous *Fabius Maximus*, surnamed *Verrucosus*. He had been already dignified with the *Consulship*, *Dictatorship*, and a Triumph; and would now have saved his Country, if his wise Counsels had been followed. *Fabius* was a Man of Temper, who coolly considered the Steps his Enemy took, and made his Advantage of his Faults, without running any hazard himself. He had always thought that *Hannibal's* Fires were Fires of Straw, and would soon be extinguished, if they were not continually supplied with new Fuel. And in a word, he was as cool in his Conduct, as *Sempronius* and *Flaminius* had been warm and impetuous. The People also, contrary to Custom, chose the *Dictator's* General of Horse, who was one *M. Minucius Rufus*. The *Dictators* generally chose their Generals of Horse themselves. But the present one being a Favourite of the People, and a great Zealot of the *Plebeian* Faction, *Fabius* was obliged to consent to their placing him in this important Post, contrary to his Inclination, for fear of displeasing the Multitude. And now under the new Governour, the Worship of the Gods, which *Flaminius* had brought into Neglect by his Impiety, was again encouraged. Not that *Fabius* was superstitious; but he thought the having Recourse to the Assistance of the Gods, was necessary to recover the Courage of the dejected *Romans*; and he looked on the Hopes of their Protection, as a proper Means to rouse the People from their Stupefaction. The *Dictator* therefore acquainted the Senate, that it was necessary to apply to the Tutelary God of *Rome*, to know the Cause of the publick Calamities. The Senate passed a Decree, commanding the *Decemviri* to consult the ²³ *Sybilline* Books, those mysterious Oracles, to which the *Romans* never had Recourse, but in Times of Distress, and when the Citizens were affrighted by Prodigies. And upon the Report of the Guardians of these ancient Monuments, it was concluded, that the present Misfortunes were owing to the Non-Performance of a Vow, which ²⁴ *Aulus Cornelius* had made to *Mars*. It was therefore decreed, that the same Vow should be repeated; which was, to sacrifice all the ²⁵ Animals that should be born in one Spring. And to this were added

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.
P. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consul.

*Polyb. B. 3.
c. 87.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 8.*

*Plut. Life of
Fabius.*

Ibid.

*Liv. B. 22.
c. 9.*

²³ It is probable these *Decemviri* made these pretended Oracles say what they pleased. At least it is not to be doubted that they often interpreted the several Rapsodies of the *Sybilline* Books arbitrarily, and at a Venture. They made their Report of them to the Senate; and in the Difficulties which arose from the Obscurity of these broken and incoherent Fragments, Recourse was had to the Tribunal of the *Pontifices*, who authoritatively fixed the Sense of the Text, which perhaps had a quite contrary Meaning. If we believe *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Fabius*, these Books contained a great Number of Prophecies, which bore a great deal of Relation to the Misfortunes which oppressed the Republick at this time. But the *Decemviri* took great Care to prevent the Publication of them. Religion, or rather Policy, would not suffer them to be divulged.

²⁴ The Government of *Sardinia* was fallen to *Aulus Cornelius Mammula*, as *Prætor*. Just before he set out for the Island, he, by the Advice of the *Pontifices*, and in the Name of the Republick, made a solemn Vow, to sacrifice to the Gods, all the Animals which should be born in one Spring, provided the Republick suffered no Losses, but *Fortune* favoured her Enterprizes against *Hannibal*. But this Vow, says *Livy*, *B. 22.* was not pronounced with all the religious Ceremonies that were necessary; and therefore the *Decemviri* thought it necessary to make another Vow, in a Form exactly agreeable to

the Laws settled in the Ritual of the *Pontifices*. As for that which was made by *Cornelius Mammula*, the *Roman* Historian says, *B. 34.* that it was not performed till twenty one Years afterwards, in the *Consulship* of *Marcus Valerius Flaccus*, and *Marcus Porcius Cato*, when the Republick was recovered from that low Condition to which the second *Punic* War had reduced her.

²⁵ The Pagans gave the Sacrifices which were promised in this solemn Vow, the Name of *Ver Sacrum*. This Custom was brought into *Italy* from *Greece*. *Nonnius*, *Festus*, and *Livy*, *B. 34.* tell us, that by this Expression of *Ver Sacrum*, the Ancients meant all the Cattel that was born between *The Calends of March*, and the first Day of *May*. And the *Romans* were the only People who did not think themselves obliged, by this Vow, to sacrifice the new-born Infants. At least, the *Roman* Historians have not told us, that they ever practised this barbarous Custom. *Strabo*, *B. 5.* and *Festus*, say that several Nations comprehended in this Vow, all the Children of both Sexes. They indeed dreaded imbruing their Hands in the Blood of these innocent Victims. In order to discharge the Vow, it was a Rule among them, that all the Children that were born in *A Sacred Spring*, should be kept till they arrived at Man's Estate, and then be transported into foreign Countries. They thought that the Fathers and Mothers had no Right over Persons which were the Property

Year of added several other Vows: 1. That *The Great Games* ²⁶ should be celebrated in Honour to *Jupiter*. 2. That a Temple should be built to *Venus* ²⁷ *Erycina* DXXXVI. 3. That a second Temple should ²⁸ be erected to *Mens*, or the Goddess of Coun-
 sel.

P. SERVILIUS
 GEMINUS,
 Consul.

Property of the Gods. *Sed cum credule videretur*, says *Festus*, *pueros ac puellas innocentes interficere perductos in adultam etatem velabant, atque ita extra fines nos exigebant*. They were veiled, as Victims which had been devoted to the Gods, even before they were born. They were led beyond the Frontiers of their Country, and were then left to seek their Fortune; and they divided themselves into different Colonies, and went and founded new Cities for themselves. This was what the *Mamertini* did, according to *Festus*, when they discharged the Vow they had made to sacrifice all that should be born in *A Sacred Spring*. They comprehended the Children then born, in the Vow. But in order to reconcile their natural Duties with what they thought their Duty to the Gods, in consequence of their Vow, they chose, agreeably to the Answer of the Oracle, to banish for ever (as soon as they should arrive at the Age of *Puberty*) these unfortunate People, who were thus devoted to Death. This was the Origin of the *Picentini*. *Pliny*, speaking of them, says they descended from a Colony of *Sabines*, who were banished their native Country, in discharge of the Vow of *A Sacred Spring*. They went and settled in another Part of *Italy*. The *Sabines*, says *Nonnius*, had made this Vow, to appease the Anger of the Gods, and obtain their Protection against the *Umbri*, who had destroyed their Country with Fire and Sword. It is in this Sense, according to St. *Jerom's* Remark on the Year 1596 of *Eusebius*, that he says that the *Lacedæmonians* built the City of *Heraclea*, near *Eubæa*, and peopled it, by sending thither a *Ver Sacrum* *Lacedæmonis, Ver Sacrum Heracleam destinantes, urbem condunt*. The *Greeks* gave these Colonies the Name of *ἄγροι ἱεροί*, which answers to that of *Ver Sacrum*. What *Dion. Hal.* says, *Antiq. B. 1.* will give us new Light to understand the *Ver Sacrum*, as it was observed by the *Greeks*, as well as the *Italians*. It was a received Custom among the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, says that Author, to clear their Cities of their superfluous Inhabitants. They had no other Remedy in Times of Scarcity and Calamity. To this End, they assembled a certain Number of People, consecrated them to some God, and furnished them with Arms. When the Day of their Departure came, those who were left in the Country made a pompous Sacrifice. If in the time this Separation was made, they had experienced the Favour and Assistance of the Gods, they conducted the consecrated Company from home with Honour, and wished them all imaginable Prosperity. If, on the contrary, they still felt some Effects of the Anger of Heaven, they indeed observed the same Ceremonies; but in the midst of these Solemnities, they expressed the most lively Grief, by the most mournful Farewells, and made Excuses to those whom the Misfortunes of the Times obliged them to send away. Then these unfortunate People, who were condemned to leave their native Country, immediately banished all Thoughts of it. They were wholly bent upon obtaining, by Consent or Force, a safe Retreat among other Nations; and the God to whose Protection they had been committed, inclined the People to favour them. He often procured them, adds the *Greek Historian*, safe Settlements, contrary to their Expectations; and thereby comforted them under their Losses. The *Aborigines*, according to him, observed the same Custom. As their Country was not able to maintain its Inhabitants, which were grown exceeding numerous, they consecrated to some God all the male Children that should be born in one Year. But Humanity would not suffer them to stain the Altars with the Blood of so many Inno-

cents; and they therefore only determined that they should settle a Colony in another Place, as soon as they came to Man's Estate.

²⁶ See what we have said of *The Great Games*, Vol. 1. p. 7. Note 36 p. 116. Note 54. p. 581. Note 54 and Vol. 2 p. 77. Note 49. These Games were at first nothing but Tournaments in the *Circus*; afterwards the Shews of the Theater, that is, *The Scenic Games*, were added to them. Thus, says *Plutarch* in this Place, the Dictator *Fabius* vowed *Theatrical Games* to *Jupiter*. As these were part of the Solemnity, they were sometimes called *The Great Games*, and *The Roman Games*. This Appellation of *The Great Games*, was not so appropriated to *The Games of the Circus*, as never to be given to *The Games of the Theater*, which were celebrated with great Pomp. *Plutarch* adds, that the Sum allowed for the Celebration of this Festival was three hundred thirty three thousand *Sesterces*, three hundred thirty three *Denarii*, and one third: Which, according to him, amounted, in *Greek Money*, to eighty three thousand five hundred eighty three *Drachmæ*, and two *Oboli*, each of which was the sixth Part of a *Drachma*. This Reduction of the *Roman Money* by *Plutarch*, shews the Value of *Denarii* and *Sesterces*. We have already observed, that the *Sesterce* was the fourth Part of a *Drachma*; and that the *Drachma* was worth near ten *Sols French*. So that the eighty three thousand five hundred eighty three *Drachmæ*, and two *Oboli*, * were equal to the Sum of forty one thousand seven hundred ninety one *Livres*, thirteen *Sols*, and four *Deniers*. But *Livy* abates much of the Sum mentioned by *Plutarch*. He reduces it to three hundred thirty three thousand, three hundred thirty three *Asses*, and one third: Which, at the Rate of one *Sou*, per *Ass*, amounts to † but sixteen thousand six hundred sixty six *Livres*, thirteen *Sols*, and four *Deniers*, *French*: or in *Greek Money*, to thirty three thousand three hundred thirty three *Drachmæ*, and two *Oboli*. Indeed the two Authors agree in the Number of Pieces of Money, but they disagree as to the Species. According to the *Greek Historian*, they were *Sesterces* and *Drachmæ*; according to *Livy*, the whole Sum was in *Asses*. It is evident therefore, that one of them must be mistaken; whatever *Budæus* may say to the contrary, who has taken much Pains to reconcile the two Texts. Nevertheless, we will not pronounce in favour of either; but shall only observe, that it seems most natural to adhere to *Livy*. It is probable he followed the old Way of reckoning by *Asses*; and that *Plutarch* took this Copper Money for *Sesterces*. The latter enquires, with relation to this Sum, why it was all reckoned by Three's; and he finds a Mystery in it. He follows the Opinion of the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, who gave the Number of Three the Preference to all other Numbers, as thinking it the most perfect. But this Discussion is foreign to our Purpose; and we leave it to others. Those who are curious to pursue it, may consult *Bungus, de Mysterio numerorum*, and the ancient and modern Calculators who have written on this Subject.

²⁷ We have already spoken of *Venus Erycina*. *Aneas* had erected a Temple, or an Altar, to this Goddess, according to *Dion. Hal.* at the Foot of Mount *Eryx*. From thence her Worship was brought to *Italy*, and particularly to *Rome*. The Temple *Fabius* vowed to build was placed on the *Capitol*. Two others were built in Honour to *Venus*, under the Title of *Erycina*, near the Gate *Collina*.

²⁸ This Temple dedicated to the Goddess *Mens*, or *Good Counsel*, stood near that which the *Romans* consecrated to *Venus Erycina*, in Discharge of the Vow

* 2699 l. o. s.
 10 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. Ar-
 but not.

† 1076 l. 7 s.
 8 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. Ar-
 but not.

4. That sacred Feasts should be made, and the Chief of the Gods invited to them. And 5. That publick Prayers should be ordered to be offered up in all the Temples. But *Fabius*, who was to command the Army, pronounced only that Vow; which related to the building a Temple to *Venus Erycina*. It appeared by the *Sybilline* Books, that it was not lawful for any but the supreme Magistrate in Rome to make this Vow. The *Prætors* were to make the rest; and they applied themselves to *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, who declared in the Name of the *Pontifical* College, That the Vow of sacrificing all the Animals born in a Spring, could not be made, without the Consent of the People. The *Prætors* therefore offered a Petition to them, in their *Comitia*, in these Words. Give Orders, Romans, if you please, that in case the War with the Carthaginians, and Cisalpine Gauls, be happily ended in five Years, all the Pigs, Lambs, Kids, and Calves, that shall be born in a Spring, from the Day the Senate shall fix, shall be sacrificed to Jupiter; Provided nevertheless, That these Animals are not first consecrated to any other God: That they shall be slain on the Day, and in the Manner, the Sacrificer shall think fit: That if any one of these Animals die before the Sacrifice, he still shall be deemed prophane, and his Death not imputed to any body as an Impiety: That if any Person wounds or kills any of them ignorantly, it shall not be charged upon him as a Crime: That if any of these Animals be stolen, it shall not be deemed a Crime in the People in general, or the Person from whom it is stolen: and That if any of them be ignorantly sacrificed, on a Day prohibited; or be sacrificed by Night, or Day, by a Slave, or by a Freedman; or after the time the Senate and People have ordered it to be done, and have offered their Sacrifices, all shall be deemed regular, and the People

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
VERRUCOSVS,
Pro-Dictator.
*Plut. in Verb.
Ver. Sacrum.*

*Livy, B. 22.
c. 10.*

*Livy, B. 22.
c. 10.*

*Livy, B. 22.
c. 10.*

THIS Request the People granted; and then the next thing was to draw up the Forms of these Vows; which three *Prætors* made, each Man one, in the Name of the Republick. *M. Æmilius* vowed to celebrate The Great Games to Jupiter; *T. Otacilius* promised to build a Temple to the Goddess of Counsel, or *Mens*; and *Cornelius Mammula* vowed to sacrifice all the Animals, which should be born, in the Spring, five Years after. And lastly, the *Decemviri* were commanded to order sacred 29 Feasts to be made for the Gods. By these means, the Romans recovered their Courage. They were fond of believing, that their Losses were not so much the Effect of their Want of Bravery, as of the Vengeance of the Gods. And indeed 30 the Roman Legions would have been as invincible as formerly, had they been commanded by a General as prudent and artful as *Hannibal*. *Fabius* seemed a very proper Person to oppose him. But before the *Pro-Dictator* took the Field, he condescended to receive his Instructions from the Senate, and desired, that they would determine, what Troops should serve under him. They therefore ordered the *Pro-Dictator* to take the Command of the *Consul Servilius*'s Army, and to raise as many more Troops in the City, and among the Allies, as he thought fit. The rest they left to his Discretion, and his Zeal for the Service of his Country. He added but two Legions to the Army *Servilius* commanded in Cisalpine Gaul; and after he had first paid so much Deference to the Senate, the *Pro-Dictator* assumed all the Distinctions which were due to his Rank, and at first appeared in publick, attended by twenty four *Lictors*, with their Axes and Fasces. *Fabius* was then in the Vigour of his Age; had all the Majesty of a Sovereign in his Air; and that he might not lose it, at the Head of his Army, he obtained leave of the Senate, to appear there 31 on Horseback. This was a Privilege few

*Livy, B. 27,
and 33.*

*Plut. Life of
Fabius.*

Now *Titus Otacilius* had made. The Romans intended and realized this new Sort of Divinity, in the Time when the Republick could not act with so much Prudence and Caution, against so dangerous an Enemy as *Hannibal*.

29 The *Decemviri* prepared six Beds of State, and ordered six religious Repasts; the first, in Honour to Jupiter and Juno; the second, to Neptune and Minerva; and the four others, according to *Livy*, to Mars and Venus, Apollo and Diana, Vulcan and Vesta, and Mercury and Ceres. All Orders of Men in the Republick, and all the Country-people, crowded to the Temples for the three Days

of the Solemnity lasted. Mothers carried their Children to them, to implore the Protection of the Gods.

30 *Livy* adds, that a Vow was made of a Sacrifice of three hundred Oxen to Jupiter, and other Victims to other Gods.

31 The Laws forbade *Dictators* ever appearing on Horseback in Armies; either, says *Plutarch*, because the Infantry was the greatest Strength of the Romans; or in order to put the General under a Necessity of being always at the Head of the Battalions. It is most probable, that the People reserved to themselves the Right of granting this Distinction

Year of of his Predecessors had enjoyed. In order to honour the Infantry, and at the
 R O M E same time humble those Magistrates, who had almost a regal Authority, it had
 DXXXVI. been decreed, That *Dictators* should always fight on Foot. But this Law was
 Q FABIVS abrogated, or suspended, in favour of *Fabius*. The first Orders he gave, were to
 MAXIMUS the People in the Country, to retire from their Villages into Places of Safety;
 VERRUCOSUS, after they had first burnt their Houses, and destroyed their Farms themselves. This
 Pro-Dictator. was to distress the Enemy, by a Want of Subsistence. Then he began his March,
 Liv. B. 22. appointed *Tibur* ³² for the general *Rendezvous* of his Troops, and advanced, by
 c. 11. *The* ³³ *Flaminian Way*, towards ³⁴ *Ocriculum*, a City, situated on the Banks of
 the *Tiber*. There the *Consul Servilius's* Army came to him. One of *Fabius's* Of-
 ficers was sent to him, to order that General to come and pay his Homage to the
Dictator, without *Fasces*, or Guard. The *Consul* obeyed; appeared before *Fabius*,
 as a private Man; and ordered the Command of his Troops to be surrendered to
 him, by *Fulvius Flaccus*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals. Then the *Pro-Dictator*
 appeared in the utmost Splendor, to the Admiration of the People; whose Hopes
 revived at the Sight of four ³⁵ *Legions*, commanded by him, and at the Remem-
 brance of his Prudence and Experience. That *Servilius* might not be left without
 an Employment, the *Pro-Dictator* ordered him to have an Eye upon all Ports, and
 maritime Cities in *Italy*, in order to prevent the Descents of the *Carthaginians*.
 News was just brought, that a *Roman* Squadron, loaded with Men and Provisions
 for *Spain*, had lately been taken by some *Carthaginian* Galleys, off Cape ³⁶ *Cosa*,
 in *Hetruria*.

S. V. *FABIUS* regulated his March by that of *Hannibal*; who, notwith-
 standing his Victory on the Borders of the Lake *Thrasimenus*, did not think it yet
 time to go directly to *Rome*. The Forces of the Republick were not yet weakened
 enough, for him to attempt the Siege of the Capital: and he therefore went
 through *Umbria* and *Picenum*, and fell upon the Territory of *Adria*, a considerable
 City, on the Shore of *The Adriatick Sea*. This is a fertile Country, and the
 Polybius, B. 3. Fruits it produces are both wholesome and delicious. *Hannibal* here refreshed his
 c. 87. Troops, after the Fatigue and Labour of passing through so many marshy Coun-
 tries. He found that his Soldiers were quite exhausted with Fatigues, and bad
 Food. All the time they were in *Cisalpine Gaul*, they had spent the Nights in
 the open Air, and generally in the midst of Dust and Ordure, which had bred
 a sort of Contagion, both among the Men and Cattel. Almost the whole Army
 was infected with a kind of *Farcy*; which was imputed to bad Food. But in the
 Neighbourhood of *Adria*, the *Carthaginians* found good Provisions, and especially
 excellent old Wines, with which they rubbed themselves, and their Horses; and
 of which they drank plentifully, and thereby greatly recovered their Strength and
 Courage. And then the *Africans*, who were but ill-accounted, armed themselves
 after the *Roman* manner. They had found Swords, Lances, and Bucklers enough,
 among the Spoils of the Vanquished, to supply the Places of their old ones: and
Hannibal, who had not seen the Sea before, since his entring *Italy*, embraced the
 Opportunity offered him, to send an Account of his Success to *Carthage*. He

tion to the *Dictator*; in order to make him
 sensible, that the supreme Magistracy did not ab-
 solutely free him from all Dependence. It be-
 longed only to them to grant this Privilege. If
Fabius addressed himself to the Senate to obtain it,
 as *Plutarch* relates; the same Author adds at the
 same time, that he could not use it, without the
 Consent of the People. *Livy* observes, B. 23. speak-
 ing of the *Dictator Junius*, that the People only
 had a Right to grant him this Privilege. *Latoque*,
ut solet, ad Populum, ut equum ascendere liceret.

³² *Tibur* is now known by the Name of *Tivoli*,
 a City formerly famous for the Sweetness of its
 Climate. It stands on the Banks of the *Anio*, or
 the *Teverone*.

³³ See what we have said above of *The Flami-
 nian Way*. It began at the Gate *Flumentana*, crossed
Tuscany and *Umbria*, and ended at *Ariminum*. *Strabo*
 ascribes the paving of this Way to the Son of the
Consul Flaminius, who was killed at the Battel of
 the Lake *Thrasimenus*; perhaps because this Way was

carried on from *Aretium* to *Rimini*, under the Di-
 rection of the Son.

³⁴ *Ocriculum* was a City of *Umbria*, situated near
 the *Tyber*, and on the Confines of the Territories
 of the *Sabines*. The *Italians* now call it *Otricoli*.

³⁵ According to *Livy*, several Bodies of Troops
 were raised, besides the four *Legions* of which the
Dictator's Army consisted. A good Number of
Freedmen took Arms in Defence of the Republick,
 tho' ordinarily speaking, only Persons of free Con-
 dition were admitted into the *Roman* Soldiery. All
 those of the *Freedmen* who were under thirty five
 Years of Age, were chosen out to serve on Board
 the Fleet. The rest were appointed to guard *Rome*,
 and defend the State against the Attacks of *Han-
 nibal*.

³⁶ We have spoken of the City of *Cosa*, or as
 some write it, *Cusso*, Vol. 2. p. 489. Note 36. We
 have also spoken of its Promontory in the same
 Place. It jetted out into the Sea between *Civita
 Vecchia*, and *The Promontory of Argentiers*.

gave the Senate a Relation of all his Victories, and his Progress; which being exceeding welcome to his Countrymen, they resolved to send him Provisions, and all necessary Reinforcements. In the mean time, the long Continuance of the *Carthaginian* Army in the Confines of *Adria*, made *Fabius* conclude, that *Hannibal* would certainly march into *Apulia*: and in order therefore to come up with him, the *Pro-Dictator* changed his Rout, and crossing through the middle of *Sabinia*, came from *Præneste* to *The 37 Latin Way*. Never did Army march with more Order or Precaution. He tarried very little in any Place; but did not advance forwards, till after all the Roads had been examined with the utmost Care. And at length, after *Hannibal* had ravaged the Territories of *Asculum* and *Adria*, he crossed the Countries of the ³⁸ *Marrucini*, and ³⁹ *Frentani*; and, as *Fabius* had conjectured, entered *Apulia*. There was on the Confines of this Province, near the ⁴⁰ *Pentri*, a City named ⁴¹ *Æcæ*, almost at the Foot of a long Chain of Mountains; and there *Fabius* encamped about six Miles from *Hannibal*. His near Approach therefore to the Enemy, drew upon him the impatient *Carthaginian*, who wanted to try the Rival, *Rome* had sent against him. *Hannibal* formed his Army almost within reach of the *Roman* Camp, in order to draw the *Pro-Dictator* to a Battel; but no body stirred in the *Roman* Entrenchments. The *Carthaginian* Soldiers in vain reproached the *Pro-Dictator's* Troops, that the *Roman* Valour was lost; and *Hannibal* returned to his Camp more pensive than usual. He found that *Rome* had learnt Prudence by her past Misfortunes. *She sends, says he, no more Sempronius's, or Flaminius's against me. She has at last found a General, whose Prudence will do her more Service, than the Strength of her Army.*

INDEED, in the present State of Affairs, nothing could do the *Romans* more Service, than Delays. *Fabius* had to do with a General, who had been always victorious in *Spain*, had gained three Battels in *Italy*, and whose whole Hopes depended on Victory. *Hannibal* was in the midst of a foreign Country; and if a stop was put to his Conquests, he must infallibly fall into Contempt, and be distressed for Want of Provisions. For *Fabius* to wear him away gradually by Delays, follow him Step by Step, harass him without Intermission, and never come to a decisive Action, was a sure Way to destroy his Enemy, without running any Hazard himself. The *Romans* were in no Danger of wanting Men or Provisions, in the middle of their own Country; but the *Carthaginian* had no Way of subsisting, but by Pillage; and as his Men dropped off, he had but small Opportunities to recruit. The two Generals were sensible of their mutual Advantages and Disadvantages: and therefore the one made it his Business to attempt every thing; the other, to hazard nothing. Their Conduct was equally prudent; but *Fabius* had the Prejudices of the Multitude against him, who never see into the bottom of Things. He had therefore a new kind of Victory to gain over his Soldiers, and even over his Officers. Prudence and Caution are Restraints: and he was forced to bear the Reproach of being timorous, rather than actually be imprudent.

§. VI. BUT *Fabius* overlooked those transient Invectives, which the Event removed. He followed his own Way. *Hannibal* often insulted him; and often burnt the Houses, and ravaged the Lands, of the Allies of the *Romans*, before his Eyes. He often changed his Camp, and disappeared on a sudden. He frequently laid Ambuscades for the *Pro-Dictator*, in narrow Passes, and Valleys. But all was in vain against a penetrating and cautious General. *Fabius* abandoned the Plains and Valleys to the *Carthaginian*, who starved himself, by laying them waste. The *Pro-Dictator* still kept his Troops on Eminencies, and the Enemy in Sight. He never suffered his Soldiers to stir out of his Camp, but when it was absolutely necessary. If they wanted Wood or Forrage, the Convoy was always numerous;

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
VERRUCOSVS,
Pro-Dictator.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 12.
Polybius, B. 3.
c. 89.

³⁷ *The Latin Way* began at the Gate of that Name, and led to *Latium*.

³⁸ The Country of the *Marrucini*, originally *Marfi*, comprehended what is now called the Territory of *Chieti*, in *The Hither Abruzzo*.

³⁹ The *Frentani* inhabited that Part of *Italy*, which is at present a Part of *The Hither Abruzzo*, and of the *Capitanata*. We have spoken of them, as well

as of the *Marciani*, in the preceding Volumes.

⁴⁰ The *Pentri* possessed a Canton of *Samnium* near *Bovianum*, which was its Capital. See Vol. 2.

⁴¹ *Æcæ* was a City of *Apulia*. *Polybius* calls it *Ægæ*. It stood on the Confines of *Samnium* and *Hirpinia*, at the Foot of the *Apennines*. In some Editions of *Livy*, we read *Aucæ*, and in others we find the City of *Arpi* put instead of *Æcæ*.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
VERRUCOSVS,
Pro-Dictator.

and his Cavalry, as well as light-armed Foot, were always in a readiness to defend the Forragers, in case they were attacked. Sometimes they took some Companies of *Carthaginians* Prisoners, who were more rash in their Forragings: And in order to keep his Troops in Exercise, the *Pro-Dictator* sometimes gave them leave to come to slight Skirmishes; but always upon safe Grounds, and with Orders to retire upon the first Signal. So that he attempted nothing considerable, but amused his Troops, by giving some Exercise to their Valour. *Hannibal* was exceedingly distressed, by these Proceedings of *Fabius*; and *Fabius* had the continual Murmurs of *Minucius*, his General of Horse, to struggle with. This Man was of no Consequence, but ambitious, jealous, and weary of being the second Officer in an Army, which he hoped to have commanded in chief; and his *Pro-rectors* increased his Hopes. He was a Favourite of the People; and therefore thought he could obtain the first Post, by the same Interest which had got him the second. But the only Way of compassing this, was to defame their General. *Minucius* therefore represented the *Pro-Dictator*, as a Man of seeming Prudence, but a real Coward at the bottom; and contended, that to act with Vigour, was a more proper Method to disconcert *Hannibal's* Measures, than Dilatoriness, which the *Carthaginian* knew how to turn to his own Advantage. Thus a Subaltern made use of the pernicious Act of defaming his General, in order to raise himself upon the Ruins of his commanding Officer's Reputation.

Polybius, B. 3.
c. 90.

BUT these defamatory Discourses could not make a Man of *Fabius's* Solidity alter his Conduct. He still continued following the *Carthaginian* Army, without hazarding a general Action; and was never above one, or at the most two Leagues from it. As for *Hannibal*, not being able to subsist his Troops in one Country, he often removed from Place to Place; and from *Apulia*, came over the *Apennines*, into ⁴² *Samnium*.

Livy, B. 22.
c. 13.

THIS fine Country had long enjoyed Peace, and the Plenty that attends it: So that, with all his Pillages and Devastations, *Hannibal* could not easily exhaust the Magazines of the *Samnites*. He made Incursions into the Territory of *Beneventum*; but the *Roman Colony*, settled there, did not stir upon it. However, the *Carthaginian* thought he should certainly bring the *Pro-Dictator* to a Battel, by a very important Attempt; and therefore laid Siege to ⁴³ *Telesia*, a City of *Samnium*, situated at the Foot of the *Apennines*. But *Fabius* let him take it. Neither the Hostilities he committed on the Allies of *Rome*, nor the sacking of their Towns, nor even the Ruin of a small Number of Cities, could draw *Fabius* into the Plain. It was therefore necessary to make use of a stronger Bait, to bring him to an Action.

Polybius, B. 3.
c. 91.

§. VII. *CAMPANIA* is the finest Country in the World, and at the same time the most impenetrable. On one Side it is bounded by the Sea, which affords it very convenient Ports for Commerce; and *Naples* was then the only Mart it had, to which all foreign Riches were brought. On the Land-side, it is bounded with high Mountains; and there are but three Ways into it, all through narrow Defiles, which are difficult to pass. This great Plain, or Valley, is both the most delightful, and the most fruitful Spot of Ground in the World. Almost in the Center of it, there stood the City of ⁴⁴ *Capua*, in a very different Situation from that of the City, now called by that Name. It was on the *Vulturnus*, and is said to have raised a Dispute among the Gods, whether it was not the most delightful Place in the Universe. The *Carthaginian* therefore chose next to penetrate into *Campania*, after he had ravaged *Samnium*. Three *Campanian* Horsemen, whom he had in his Service, brought him to this Resolution. They had been taken Prisoners, at the Battel of the Lake *Thrasimenus*, and had chosen rather to follow him, than return home, when he released the Allies of the *Romans*. Depending on the Honesty of these three *Campani*, he immediately hearkned to their Advice; who assured him, that if he entered *Campania*, he

Livy, B. 22.
c. 13.

⁴² Some Editions of *Livy* run, *ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit*; as if *Hannibal* went from *Hirpinia* to *Samnium*. In others we find it *ex Arpinis*, and in some *ex Arpi*, signifying that the *Carthaginian* General went from *Arpi*, a City in *Apulia*, to *Samnium*. Both these Readings agree very well with *Hannibal's* Rout.

⁴³ *Telesia*, now *Telesè*, stood in *Terra di Lavoro*, at a little distance from the *Sabbato*.

⁴⁴ See what we have said of the Situation of *Capua*, and the Fruitfulness of its Territory, Vol. 2. p. 134. Note 4.

might easily make himself Master of *Capua*. But then, he made some Difficulty of believing them. Besides that their Authority could not be of any great Weight with him, he had not found that any one Nation, or City, in Alliance with the *Romans*, had fallen off from the Republick. So strong were the Impressions of the Majesty of the *Roman* People, and the Mildness of their Government, on all Minds! However, *Hannibal* thought that the Sight of *Campania's* being exposed defenceless to be plundered, would be enough to give the *Campani* a Dislike to the *Romans*; or at least to force the *Pro-Dictator* to defend it: And he therefore entered it, thro' the Pass called ⁴⁵ *Eribanus*, with all Confidence and Courage; but without considering beforehand how he should get out of it.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
VERRUCOSVS,
Pro-Dictator.

*Polyb. B. 3.
c. 92.*

FABIUS was surprized at the bold Attempt of the *Carthaginian*; and was thereby confirmed in his Resolution, not to run the Hazard of engaging an Enemy who began to take desperate Measures, out of which nothing but Victory could extricate him. But *Minucius*, on the contrary, told the Soldiers, that now was the Time to fatten *Campania* with *Carthaginian* Blood: And the *Romans* were so earnest to fight the Enemy, that *Fabius* himself was forced to speak the same Language, for fear of irritating his Troops. He pretended to be as impatient to come to a Battel as *Minucius* was; and marched with much greater Expedition than usual. He came in great Haste to the Foot of Mount ⁴⁶ *Falernus*, between ⁴⁷ *Cale* and *Sinuessa*, before he returned to his old Conduct. But then, he encamped only on Eminencies, as before; and marched by the Enemy, at a due Distance, so as that they could not attack him, but to their own Disadvantage. And in short, he avoided a Battel with more Care than *Hannibal* sought it. In the mean time, the *Carthaginian* Army ravaged the flat Country, as far as *Sinuessa*, and destroyed the Fruits, and rich Harvests, of the *Falernian* Fields. *Fabius* saw this from the Top of Mount ⁴⁸ *Massicus*, without stirring; and never fell down upon the Pillagers, but at proper Seasons, and with small Detachments, when their Avarice had carried them too far. Till at length, the Indignity they suffered by this lamentable Ravage, and the Inaction of the *Pro-Dictator*, highly provoked the Army. Both Officers and Soldiers inclined to Sedition; and heard with Pleasure the violent Declamations of *Minucius* against his General. *Has the Pro-Dictator*, said he, *brought us hither, only to be Spectators of this terrible Desolation? Shall we have no Pity on these fine Colonies which Rome has planted in this delightful Country? It is not the Samnites, but an African, whom we have by our Dilatoriness and Cowardice suffered to come hither, from the farthest Part of the World,*

*Livy, B. 22;
c. 14.*

*Livy, B. 22;
c. 14.*

⁴⁵ *Plutarch's* Account of *Hannibal's* March into *Campania*, is this. Being resolved to get at a Distance from *Fabius*, and to bring his Army to Places where it could conveniently subsist, he first ordered his Guides, after Supper, to lead him to the Territory of *Casinum*. But the *Carthaginian*, who spoke *Latin* but very indifferently, pronounced the Word *Casinum* in such a manner, that they understood him of *Casilinum*. The Guides therefore led his Troops into the narrow Passes which divide *Campania* from the Country of the *Samnites*, near *Casilinum*, a City watered by the River *Lothronus*, which the *Romans* called the *Vulturnus*. It is a country surrounded with Mountains, which are divided by a Valley that reaches quite to the Sea. The Water of the River which there discharges itself into it, makes great Marshes thereabouts, and throws up very high Banks of Sand, which all terminate in a very dangerous Road for Shipping. *Hannibal* did no sooner spread his Army in the Valley, but *Fabius* seized the Streights with a Body of four thousand Men, and posted the rest of his Troops on the Eminencies. From thence his Slingers, Dart-men, and some chosen Battalions, fell on the Rear-Guard of the *Carthaginians*, put it into Disorder, and killed eight hundred Men. *Hannibal*, enraged to see himself shut in on all Sides, with little hopes of being able to return back again, threw all the Blame upon his Guides, and in his Passion immediately condemned all those Wretches to be crucified. *Plutarch's* Account agrees very well with that of *Livy*, only with this Difference, that the latter makes

Hannibal vent all his Rage on only one of his Guides. He ordered him to be first beaten with Rods, says *Livy*, and then crucified, for an Example of Terror to others. The *Latin* Historian has also given us an exact Account of the Circumstances of *Hannibal's* Rout, and all the Places he went through in his Way. He turned, says he, from the Road which leads to *Campania*, and marched through the Fields of *Allife*, *Cale*, and *Calatia*, and from thence came to *The Plains of Stellate*. All this Territory, adds *Livy*, is surrounded with Mountains and Rivers. It reached from Mount *Callicula*, which *Polybius* calls Mount *Eribanus*, between the *Vulturnus* and the *Savo*, or the *Vulturno* and the *Savone*, above *Carinola*, to the Place the Natives now call *Torre di Francolise*.

⁴⁶ Mount *Falernus*, is now called *Monte Dragone*. See *Vol. 2.*

⁴⁷ *Cale*, a City of *Campania*, now called *Calvi*, is a different Place from that which was formerly called *Calenum*, and which stood in the Place where *Carinola* now stands. The Ancients boast much of the exquisite Wines which the latter produced. The City of *Sinuessa* stood at the Foot of Mount *Massicus*. It was called *Sinope*, till it became a *Roman* Colony, in the Year of *Rome* 458. It was famous for its medicinal Waters. According to *Pliny*, they made Women fruitful, and cured Madmen. They are now known by the Name of *Bagni*.

⁴⁸ Mount *Massicus* is the same which the Ancients called Mount *Falernus*, from the neighbouring Fields which bore that Name.

Year of *that commits his Ravages here. Our Fathers thought it a Disgrace for the Car-*
 R O M E *thaginian Fleets to approach these Coasts; and shall we suffer them to be covered*
 DXXXVI. *with Moors and Numidians? What do we do here, on the Ridges of these Moun-*
 Q. FABIVS *tains? We hear our Allies implore our Assistance, oftener than they invoke the Gods;*
 MAXIMVS, *we see the Flame and Smoke of their Houses and Fields, and yet continue basking,*
 VERRUCOSVS, *like Sheep, on Hills and inaccessible Places, and hide our Army in Woods and Clouds.*
 Pro-Dictator. *O Rome! had Camillus defended thee with such timorous Dilatoriness, thou hadst*
 Liv. B. 22. *been yet in the Hands of the Gauls. Did our Ancestors rescue thee out of their*
 c. 14. *Power, only that thou mightest become a Prey to Hannibal? In how different a*
Manner did our first Deliverer, and present General, defend our Country! Camillus
attacked the Gauls the very Day he was nominated Dictator, and the next defeated
them, near Gabii. Activity has been the Character of all our Great Generals. By
daring Actions only has Rome increased her Power and Strength, and not by those
slothful Methods, which Cowards call cautious.

Ibid.

Plut. Life of Fabius. *Thus spake the rash General of Horse; who infected the Soldiers with his Dis-*
affection; and they jested upon Fabius, after this manner: Our General, said they,
is really the Pedagogue of Hannibal. He does nothing but watch him, and follow
him up and down, and wait upon him. Minucius also joined in rallying him, and
insolently said, Our Mountains are a fine Amphitheater for us; from which we are
Spectators of the Sports of the Gladiators ruining of the Country below us; without
any Danger to our selves. We have a noble Leader, for fear we should endan-
ger our Lives, he hides us in the Clouds. All these Reflections were told to
the wise Fabius; and some endeavoured thereby to excite him to give Battel,
in order to take off the Reproaches of Fearfulness, with which his Enemies
endeavoured to stain his Character. But he replied, I should be more cowardly
than they make me, if, thro' Fear of idle Railleries and Reproaches, I should aban-
don my own Reason. It is no inglorious thing to have Fear for the Safety of one's
Country. That Man is not fit to rule others, who shall be startled, and give Ground
upon the Noise of Rumours and Calumnies. For in so doing, he subjects himself
and Government to the Frenzy of those whom he ought to command.

Ibid.

NEVERTHELESS, had it been in the Power of the Army, they would, without
 Hesitation, have chosen *Minucius* for their Head. All, even the Speculators at
 Rome, blamed the Slowness and Delays of *Fabius*. This the General knew, but
 was not moved at it. His Conduct was still the same, during the whole Summer.
 It was probably now, that the *Roman* General treated with the *Carthaginian*, about
 an Exchange of Prisoners; and they agreed to give Man for Man, and to pay so
 much *per Head*, for those which either should have more than the other. And
 there appearing to be two hundred and forty seven *Roman* Prisoners more than
Carthaginian, the Treaty was sent to the Senate, for them to pay the Ransom of
 these unfortunate People, out of the publick Treasury.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 15.

S. VIII. AND now *Fabius*, by his Delays, forced *Hannibal* at length to leave *Campa-*
nia. The latter considered, that it would be dangerous for him to spend the Winter
 there. After all, said he, *this delightful Country abounds more with Fruits and*
Wine, than with Corn and Forage. Its Hills are planted with excellent Vineyards,
and its Mountains with Olives; but the Plain, which is already laid waste, will
not subsist a great Army. The Difficulties into which *Fabius* had brought him,
 made him, in spite of his Inclinations to the contrary, esteem a General, who
 was despised at Rome, and by his own Soldiers. *Fabius* had his Eye every where.
 He was not ignorant of the Resolution his Adversary had taken; and suspecting
 that he would return back the same Way he came, *Fabius* guarded these Passes
 with a small Body of *Romans*, whom he posted on Mount ⁴⁹ *Callicula*, and in
⁵⁰ *Casilinum*; and then returned to his Camp upon the Hills. Nevertheless, he
 sent away a Detachment of four hundred Horse of the Allies, to watch the En-
 my; but with Orders not to fight, and to keep out of the Enemy's sight.

HOSTILIUS MANCINUS, a young Officer, full of Fire and Valour, and
 a zealous Partizan of *Minucius*, commanded this Detachment; and he marched
 at first with Precaution. But afterwards, seeing the *Numidians* dispersed about the
 Villages, to plunder, he took hold of an Opportunity that offered, to kill a small

⁴⁹ We have already said enough of Mount Cal-
 licula.

⁵⁰ *Casilinum* stood on the Banks of the *Tulme-*
nus, near *Capua*.

Number of them. But this was too much; and his Ardour for fighting was increased by his first Success. Some small Squadrons of *Numidian* Horse appeared before him, and by a feigned Flight drew him after them, almost to the Enemy's Camp. Then *Carthalo*, the General of the *Carthaginian* Horse, marched out from thence, put the *Romans* to flight before they were within Reach of the Darts, and pursued them five Miles, without stopping. Upon this, *Mancinus*, who despaired of being able to escape, made Head against the Enemy, tho' superior to him in Number: And he was immediately surrounded and killed, and the choicest of his Men with him. A melancholy Example of the ill Consequence of military Disobedience; and a wholesome Lesson for the audacious *Minucius*, if he would have profited by it!

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
VERRUCOSVS,
Pro-Dictator.

As for *Fabius*, this little Loss only made him the more circumspect. He joined the Troops *Minucius* commanded to his own, and advanced towards ⁵¹ *Terracina*, to hinder *Hannibal* from entering *Latium*, and marching from thence into the Territory of *Rome*. He seized all the narrow Passes between the Sea and the City, and thereby stopped up all the Avenues whereby the Enemy could come at *The* ⁵² *Appian Way*. *Hannibal* was but two Miles from the *Romans*, and had drawn up his Army on a Spot of Ground between the two Camps. But the *Pro-Dictator* only drew up his Men behind his Trenches, in an advantageous Part. Nevertheless, the *Carthaginian* had the Boldness to skirmish with his light Horse, which begun a brisk Attack, and then instantly fled, in order to draw the *Romans* after them. But the *Roman* Army did not stir; so that the Action was not great, and turned more to the Advantage of the *Romans* than *Carthaginians*. The latter lost eight hundred Men; and *Fabius* lost but two hundred; so that he thereby made himself amends for the Loss of *Mancinus*. As for *Hannibal*, he was not so much concerned at this Blow, as embarrassed how to compass his Retreat. He despaired of being able to open the Passage of *Terracina*, and gain *Casilinum*; and yet it nearly concerned him to find some safe Place, wherein to deposite the rich Booty he had brought from *Campania*, *Samnium*, and the other ravaged Provinces. His Soldiers were loaded with Spoil, and the Season was so far advanced, that it became necessary to find out some convenient Place for Winter-Quarters.

*Polyb. B. 3.
c. 92.*

FABIUS, on the other hand, did his utmost to keep the *Carthaginian* Army shut up in the Fields of *Falernum*, and waste it there. The Design was great, and worthy of him; and this would have crowned all his Delays with Honour. *Hannibal* was sensible of it, and sought to extricate ⁵³ himself; and he resolved to return into *Samnium*, by the same Defile, called *Eribanus*, thro' which he came to the Banks of the *Vulturnus*. *Fabius* concluded, by the Enemy's March, that that was his Design; and he prevented the *Carthaginian*, and came before him, and encamped on Mount *Callicula*, which commands the Pass *Eribanus*. There the *Pro-Dictator* had nothing to do, but to chuse his Posts, hide his Troops in all the Avenues, and stop up all the Passages. Since his Soldiers were so desirous of fighting, he had now found a proper Place to give Battel in, without running too much Hazard. An universal Chearfulness appeared throughout the whole *Roman* Army: They flattered themselves that they should, in one Day, reap the Fruits of all the Robberies *Hannibal* had been committing for several Months. They even hoped, to be able to drive every *Carthaginian* out of *Italy*. And indeed, the *African*, at his Arrival there, was uneasy, and in doubt what Measures to take. He saw that *Fabius* made use of the same Artifices against him, which he had first practised in *Italy*, and which the *Romans* had learnt of him. Nevertheless, he invented a masterly Stratagem, which it was very difficult for the *Pro-Dictator* to foresee, or guard against.

*Liv. B. 22.
c. 15.*

HANNIBAL encamped at the Foot of Mount *Callicula*: and chose the middle of the next Night, as a proper time to put a Trick upon the Enemy, and open the Passage they shut up. He ordered *Asdrubal* to pick out of the Cattel taken in the Country, two thousand of the strongest and most nimble Oxen; to tie Faggots of Vine-branches, or other Wood, to their Horns; and to have them,

⁵¹ We have spoken of *Terracina* already, p. 147. Note 21.

⁵² In order to shut in *Hannibal*, *Fabius* placed a Guard at the Pass which led to *The Appian Way*, and from thence to the Territory of the Republic.

⁵³ *Hannibal* found himself brought between the Rocks of *Formia*, and the Marshes of *Linternia*, a City situated on a River of that Name, between *Naples* and *Sinuessæ*. It is now called *Torre di Patria*. The neighbouring Marshes are called, in the Language of the Country, *Lago di Patria*.

and

Year of
ROM E
DXXXVI.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
VERRUCOSVS,
Pro-Dictator.

and their Herdsmen, ready without the Camp. All the Army rested very quietly, and after Supper, *Hannibal* ordered the Cow-herds to bring their Cattel in good Order, to a Hill where the *Romans* were laid in Ambush for him. Upon a Signal given by the General, the Wood fastened to the Horns of these Animals was set on Fire, the Herdsmen drove them on quietly, and were supported by some Battalions, armed with little Javelins, after the *Roman* Manner; whilst *Hannibal* kept his Army in a Readiness to take Advantage of the Success of his Stratagem. Then the Light of the Fires which the Oxen carried on their Heads, shined to a great Distance; it was seen at the Top of the Mountain, and the *Romans* thought that all *Hannibal's* Army was marching by Torch-light. Nevertheless, the *Pro-Dictator* still kept his Troops close in his Camp. He depended on the Soldiers he had laid in Ambush in the Pass; and was apprehensive of what might be the Consequence of a nocturnal Engagement. As for the *Romans* in Ambush, they were not yet marched out of it. But when the Oxen felt the Fire on their Horns and Heads, it was no longer possible to keep them in their Ranks: They ran like mad Beasts, over the Mountains and Hills, shaking their Heads, and thereby increasing the Light of the Fire, which burnt them. Then the *Romans* in Ambush thought themselves surrounded on all Sides; abandoned their Posts in all Haste, and by Favour of the Darkness climbed up the Paths where they saw least Light, gained the Top of the Mountain, and returned to their Camp. Some, who retired in good Order, under their proper Colours, fell in with a *Carthaginian* Battalion, and had a slight Skirmish, which some of the rambling Oxen put an End to. Then *Hannibal*, seeing the Pass open, seized the Entrance into it, and marched all his Army through it. The main Body of the Infantry marched first; after them the Cavalry; then the Baggage and Carts loaded with Spoil; and the March was closed with the *Spanish* Troops, and *Gauls*. Thus did the industrious *Hannibal* recover the false Step he had taken; and when he had gained the Plain he encamped near ⁵⁴ *Allifæ*.

NEVERTHELESS, *Fabius's* light-armed Infantry attacked the Rear of the *Carthaginian* Army, in its Retreat, at break of Day; and the *Romans* who fought from the upper Ground, were thereby so much the stronger, that the *Gauls* in the *Carthaginian* Army must infallibly have been cut off, if they had not been relieved by the *Spaniards*. These, who were used to climb Rocks, and stand firm on the Brinks of Precipices, marched against the Enemy upon the first Orders; and they put an End to the Dispute, with very little Loss on their own Side, after they had slain a thousand *Romans*.

§. IX. THEN the *Dictator* had a great deal to struggle with from the Murmurs of his Soldiers, who rallied him for having been over-reached by the *Carthaginian*: But still he pursued his Point. He marched directly after *Hannibal*, and encamped on the Eminencies near *Allifæ*. The Enemy's Army pillaged *Samnium* a second time, and made a Feint of taking the Road to *Rome*; but turned about, and went into the Country of the ⁵⁵ *Peligni*. Still *Fabius* followed, and harrassed them, without coming to a Battel. He marched along by them, when they entered *Apulia*; followed them to ⁵⁶ *Geronium*, a dismantled ⁵⁷ and deserted City; and did not leave them, till they came to the Territory of ⁵⁸ *Larinum*. There *Fabius* received a Letter from the Senate, which recalled him to *Rome*, under Pretence of assisting at a solemn Sacrifice, which required his Presence. And then the Virtue of this Great Man was put to a severe Trial. He was not ignorant of the Discontents of the People, and the Prejudices which had been infused into the Commons, to his

⁵⁴ The City of *Allifæ*, on the Confines of *Samnium* and *Campania*, near the *Vulturnus*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, still retains its first Name, See Vol. 2.

⁵⁵ The *Peligni* possessed that Part of *The Hither Abruzzo*, which is round *Sulmona*, or *Sermone*, between the Rivers of *Pescara*, and *Sangro*. See Vol. 2. B. 16. p. 145. Note 17.

⁵⁶ This is the Name *Antoninus's Itinerary* gives this City of *Apulia* *Daunia*. In most Editions of *Livy* it is called *Gerio*. In the MSS. we read *Geronium*, and *Gerenium*. *Polybius* places it two hundred *Stadia*, or twenty five Miles from *Luceria*. *Cluver* thinks it was not far from the City now

called *Tragonara*, on the right Bank of the *Frento*, or the *Fortore*, in the *Capatinata*. But this is no more than fifteen Miles from *Luceria*. So that the Situation of *Geronium* seems to suit better with that of *S. Martino*.

⁵⁷ *Polybius* says *Geronium* was besieged by *Hannibal*, taken by Force, and its Inhabitants massacred, but almost all the Houses spared to make Magazines.

⁵⁸ *Larinum*, in the Country of the *Frentani*, is now called *Larina*. *Cicero*, in his *Oration* for *Cluentius*, gives this ancient City the Title of a *Municipium*.

Disadvantage. The *Comitium* every Day rung with the violent Declamations the Year of
Tribunes of the People made against him. One *Metilius* was the most furious of R O M E
 his Enemies, not out of any personal Hatred to the *Dictator*, but in order to DXXXVI.
 give some Advantage to the General of Horse, who was his Relation, and Friend. Q FABIVS
 and to complete the Misfortune, the Senate had imbibed the false Prejudices of MAXIMVS
 the People. It may well seem strange; but *Hannibal* found Means, by his Arti- VERRUCOSVS,
 ces, to render *Fabius's* Fidelity suspected by his Countrymen. As he passed Pro-Dictator.
 through the Lands of the *Dictator*, the *Carthaginian* had placed Guards there,
 and those alone were spared, in the universal Devastation. This artful Manage-
 ment of the Enemy, together with *Fabius's* Inaction, made the People strongly
 suspect a private Correspondence between *Hannibal* and him. On this account,
 the *Conscript Fathers* refused to send him the Money ⁵⁹ he demanded, for the
 Redemption of the two hundred forty seven Prisoners, which were to be paid for,
 after *Hannibal* had returned them. It was made a Crime, that he had of his own
 Head treated with the *Carthaginian*, and obtained the Liberty of Cowards, who
 had suffered themselves to be taken. But this Ingratitude of the Senate, served
 only to shew the *Dictator's* Virtue in a more glorious Light. Being destitute of
 Money, and afraid to break his Word, *Fabius* sent his Son to sell his Lands, to
 pay the Sum stipulated. Several of the redeemed Soldiers would have paid him
 their own Ransoms; but he absolutely refused to receive them. Such was the
 Disposition of the People at this time, towards the wisest, the most virtuous, and
 the most faithful *Roman*, that ever lived. And they took this Opportunity to
 recall him to *Rome*.

UPON his leaving the Army, the *Dictator* very earnestly recommended the
 Care of his Troops to his General of Horse; and seemed rather to intreat than
 advise him. *To enable us, said he, to cope with the great Commander we are to*
engage with, we have more need of Consideration, than Confidence. I have hitherto
thought my slow Way of proceeding preferable to the Rashness of Sempronius and
Flaminius. Let us not lose any Advantage by too much Precipitation. The Cam-
aign will soon be ended, and we shall tire out Hannibal, with forcing him to run
before us from Province to Province. It is doing a great deal for a sickly State,
not to wear itself out with Medicines, and exhaust itself with frequent Bleedings.
Hannibal has unlearned the Art of conquering, or at least has lost the Habit of it.
How great would be the Misfortune, if you should bring him to it again! I there-
fore intreat you, and since I must assume the Dictator, I command you, not to give
Battel during my Absence. But Minucius promised nothing; being fully resolved *Polybius, B. 3.*
 not to obey the General's Orders, if he had an Opportunity of fighting; and he went *c. 94.*
 in search of the Enemy, and drew near to *Hannibal*, who encamped near *Lari-*
num. *Minucius* posted himself upon an Eminence, called ⁶¹ *Calela*, and there en-
 renched himself. As soon as *Hannibal* saw the *Roman* Army draw near him,
 which was no longer commanded by the troublesome *Pro-Dictator*, he sent away
 the third Part of his Army for Corn. With the rest of it, he came and posted him-
 self on a Hill over-against the *Roman* Camp, in order to keep the Enemy in Awe,
 and protect his Reapers. Just in the midst of the Space between the two Camps,
 there was an Hill, which *Hannibal* ordered two thousand Foot to seize in the
 Night: and the next Morning *Minucius* sent a larger Body of *Romans*, to dis-
 lodge the *Carthaginians* from this Post. The Battel was bloody; but at length the

⁵⁹ The two Generals agreed on two hundred and
 fifty *Drachmae* * per Head for the Redemption of the
 Prisoners, according to *Plutarch*; or two Pounds
 and a half of Silver, according to *Livy*. *Argenti*
pondo bina & semelibras praestaret. But without com-
 paring the Greek Pound with the *Roman*, it is suffi-
 cient at present to observe, that *Plutarch* expresses
 the same Sum of Money after the manner of the
 Greeks, as *Livy* does, according to the Way of
 reckoning then in Use among the *Romans*. Whence
 it follows, that an hundred *Drachmae*, or the Greek
Mina, was equal to the *Pondo*, or Pound of Sil-
 ver, among the *Romans*. So that by comparing the
 two Authors, we have a fixed Rule for exactly
 settling the Value of all the Sums of ancient Mo-

ney, as well Greek as *Roman*. All that remains is
 to know, whether *Plutarch* was not mistaken, in
 making an hundred *Attick Drachmae* equal in Weight
 to the Pound in use in old *Rome*, which we shall
 examine into in another Place.

⁶⁰ The Pretence made use of for recalling *Fa-*
bius to *Rome*, was a solemn Sacrifice. The Priests
 had declared, That it belonged to the *Pro-Dictator*
 to preside at this religious Ceremony.

⁶¹ *Polybius* is the only Author who calls this
 Hill *Calela*. All he tells us of it, is, that it stood
 in the Territory of *Larinum*, a City of the *Fren-*
tani, on the Frontiers of *Apulia*. It is now called
Larina, and belongs to The County of *Molise*.

Year of *R O M E* DXXXVI. *Q FABIVS MAXIMVS VERRUCOSVS, Pro-Dictator.* *Legionaries* made themselves Masters of it: and this first Success was a Snare to the vain *Minucius*. He ventured to come and encamp on this Hill, and thereby drew very near to the Enemy. Then the Nearness of the two Camps obliged *Hannibal* for some time not to suffer his Troops to stir to any Distance; but at length the Season advanced. Provisions of Corn and Forrage must be laid in for the Winter; and his great Concern was, how to provide for his Cavalry, in which his whole Strength consisted. He therefore permitted his Horse to go a great Way out a forraging; and sent his Infantry to convoy the Corn to the Camp: and this Opportunity *Minucius* seized to molest him. He ordered his *Romans* to march out of their Entrenchments, drew them up in Battalia in the Plain, divided his Cavalry, and light-armed Infantry, into several small Bodies; and sent them to attack the *Carthaginian* Forragers and Reapers. Their Orders were, to spare no body, and not to lose time in making Prisoners.

It must be granted, that *Hannibal* was taken at a Disadvantage. The Troops he had left in the Camp, were too few in Number, to march out against the *Legionaries* drawn up in Battalia; the main Body of his Army was dispersed in the Fields. The *Romans* fell on his Soldiers, when busy at work, and loaded with Spoil, and cut them in pieces, without giving any Quarter. In the mean time, *Minucius* insulted the *Carthaginian*, and was very near besieging his Camp. Yet *Hannibal* did not stir; and bore the Bravadoes of the General of Horse. But at length *Asdrubal* appeared with a Body of four thousand *Carthaginians*, which he had rallied in the Country: and with this Reinforcement, *Hannibal* marched out of his Entrenchments, and drew up the Troops he had, in Order of Battle. Then *Minucius* retreated in good Order, much exalted with the Advantage he had gained in the Plains, and near the Enemy's Camp. The next Day *Hannibal* dislodged, and returned to his old Camp at *Geronium*, where he had left most of his Effects, his Magazines, and all his Booty ⁶².

S. X. THE

⁶² *Livy* differs a little from *Polybius*, in his Account of the Action between the *Roman* Troops commanded by *Minucius*, and those of *Hannibal*. According to the *Latin* Historian, the *Carthaginian* General was encamped within sight of *Geronium*, where he had placed his Magazine. From thence two thirds of his Army made Excursions, and foraged in the Neighbourhood. The other third Part of his Troops was reserved to guard the Camp, and relieve the Forragers, in case they were attacked. The *Roman* Legions commanded by *Minucius*, in the Absence of the *Pro-Dictator*, were then in the Territory of *Larinum*. They had, by the General's Orders, left the Eminences, and extended themselves in the Plain. Nevertheless, *Minucius* sought an Opportunity to signalize himself against *Hannibal*; and he had his Choice, either to fall on the *Carthaginian* Troops, which were dispersed in the Fields, with his main Army; or to take Advantage of the Absence of the Forragers, to attack *Hannibal's* Entrenchments. In the mean time, *Hannibal* sent out one third Part of his Troops to forrage, and at the same time decamped, and advanced two Miles beyond *Geronium*, in sight of the *Roman* Army. He posted himself on an Eminence, from whence he could see *Minucius's* Motions; and observing another Eminence from thence, which commanded the *Roman* Camp, he resolved to make himself Master of it. But he did not think it proper to attempt this by Day. It was to be feared, that he would be prevented by *Minucius's* Troops, who were nearer the Hill than himself; and he therefore deferred it till Night. A Body of *Numidian* Horse was ordered on this Expedition; and they, by favour of the Darkness, possessed themselves of this Post, which was defenceless. The next Day, the *Romans* saw the small Body of *African* Horse on the Eminence; and they drove them from it, and took Possession of it themselves. The two Camps were so very near one another, that there was but a very little Space between them; and that was almost wholly covered with a Part of

the *Roman* Army. Then *Minucius* resolved to fill off his Troops behind his Camp, and charge the *Carthaginian* Forragers, which was done with Success. The *Romans* soon put these Troops to a Rout, which were already scattered abroad, and more intent upon saving their Booty, than defending themselves. The Forragers were very closely pursued by the *Romans*; and a great Slaughter was made of them; so that few escaped. *Hannibal* was grieved to see Part of his Army routed. But he durst not send Succours to them, for fear of leaving his Camp defenceless, and exposed to the Mercy of the *Romans*. Tho' a Witness of this sad Sight, he had no other Remedy to secure himself, but to return to his first Camp at *Geronium*, with the two thirds of his Troops which had not yet been broken. But some Authors, whom *Livy* mentions, say, That *Hannibal* made a brisk Sally on the *Romans*; That upon the first Onset, he was vigorously driven back to his Camp; That he returned a second time to the Charge with such Success, that he staggered *Minucius's* Troops; and That the Arrival of *Numerius Decimus*, the *Samnite*, renewed the Battle. He was the most considerable Man in his Nation, not only for his Nobility, but his great Wealth. The *Pro-Dictator* *Fabius* had given him the Command of a Body of eight thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, with Orders to lead them to *Minucius's* Camp. At the sight of these new Troops, which first appeared behind *Hannibal*, each of the two Generals thought it a new Reinforcement for himself, which was come very seasonably in the present Juncture; and this was enough to renew the Fight. But *Hannibal* was soon undeceived. *Numerius* marched towards the *Roman* Army; and then, either doubting whether these fresh Troops were not commanded by *Fabius* himself, or esteeming, that under the Appearance of a new Reinforcement, some Snare was laid for him, *Hannibal* founded a Retreat. And lastly, if the Authors before quoted are to be credited, *Minucius* pursued the *Carthaginians* with the utmost Vigour; and with

§. X. THE News of the Advantage *Minucius* had gained over *Hannibal*, was already publick in *Rome*, when *Fabius* arrived there. The Friends of the General of Horse, and the Enemies of the *Pro-Dictator*, magnified it exceedingly: and new Circumstances were added to it. Great Care was taken, that the *Pro-Dictator* should be told, what an Ascendant his General of Horse had gained over the Enemy, since his Departure from the Army: and *Fabius* answered with his usual Moderation, that he did not envy the Glory of his Subaltern; but that there was reason to fear, it would end to the Prejudice of the Publick. Then these Words were exaggerated by *Metilius* the Tribune of the People, who assembled them, and harangued them in this manner. *It is surprizing, that Fabius should not be content with restraining Minucius's Valour in the Camp; but should come hither likewise, to obstruct his Glory. Is it not easy to see the Motives of his affected Delays? He would reign alone, and for a long time. After the Defeat of Flaminius, how watchful was he to remove the Consul Servilius a great way from him, under Pretext of giving him the Command of a Fleet; and to send the two Prætors, one to Sicily, and the other to Sardinia? What Occasion had these Provinces for two Warriors, who might have done us great Service in other Places? With the same View, he fetters his General of Horse. Nor is this all; the perfidious Patrician strikes at the Authority of the People. The Republican State is disagreeable to the Nobility; they would have a King, and that King is Hannibal. The Dictator prolongs the War by Agreement with him; in order to give him time to receive a new Army from Africa, sufficient to enslave Rome and Italy. Nay, one Part of the Project is already executed. How many Regions have been left defenceless to the Enemy? All is laid waste, except Fabius's Lands. Yet have our Officers or Soldiers wanted Valour? Minucius has desired a Battel; and the Legions have demanded one. Yet their Courage has been cramped, and they have been confined to their Entrenchments upon the Tops of Mountains. And what has happened since? As soon as they had their Liberty, they again shewed themselves Romans! What Ardor for fighting! What Earnestness for Victory! What Glory has Minucius acquired? Where are the Times of our Fathers! Where is that manly Vigour, which our Governors formerly exerted? Would not our Forefathers have deposed a cowardly, or suspected General? For my part indeed, I am for acting more moderately: I am only for dividing the Command between Fabius and Minucius.*

As soon as *Metilius* had ended, the *Pro-Dictator* harangued the People in his Turn; but he thought it beneath him to make an ⁶³ Apology. His Birth, his Manners, and his past Conduct, were sufficient Answers for his Fidelity. *Fabius*, said he, cannot be suspected by his Country. And then, with an Air of Grandeur and Intrepidity suitable to his Rank, he added only these few Words. *Let us make haste, Romans, to finish these religious Ceremonies, which detain me too long from the Army. I have a refractory Man to chastise; and the Breach of military Discipline to punish. I forbid Minucius to give Battel; but he has disobeyed my Orders; and I must make an Example of him.* Upon these Words, the People continued in a profound Silence, which shewed their Fear. *Minucius* was their Idol: and the Commons were afraid he would undergo the Fate of young *Torquatus*. The whole Assembly concluded, that *Fabius's* Resentment must be very great, since he, who was a Man of so much Temper, openly shewed it, in the Presence of the Protectors of the Offender. But what means were there to prevent the Severity of a Man invested with a legal and uncontrollable Authority in his Camp! All were therefore inclined to follow *Metilius's* Advice, and give the General of

his new Body of Troops took by Force the same Day, two Fortresses, which adhered to the *Carthaginian*. Yet they grant, the Loss was equal on both Sides; and that each Party had ten thousand Men killed on the Spot.

⁶³ According to *Livy*, the Senate itself seemed to be prepossessed against *Fabius*. The *Pro-Dictator* vain ascribed past Misfortunes to the Ignorance or Rashness of the *Consuls* that had gone before him. The Senators would scarce vouchsafe to hear his Remonstrances. Nevertheless he had the Resolution to declare, he would punish *Minucius* for his

Disobedience. *I will soon make him to know, said he, that I don't bear the Title of Dictator in vain. And I hope that in the end it will be acknowledged, that a good General does not govern himself by the Humours of the Multitude. He ought to have Expedients against the Capriciousness of Fortune, always at hand, in his own Prudence and Wisdom. As for me, I think it more glorious to have preserved a whole Army for the Republick, in these unfortunate Times, than it would have been to have destroyed Millions of Enemies.*

Horse

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.
Q FABIVS
MAXIMVS
VERRUCOSVS,
Pro-Dictator.
Plut. Life of
Fabius.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 25.

Plut. Life of
Fabius.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 25.

Plut. Life of
Fabius.

Year of Horse an equal Authority with the *Pro-Dictator*. But in order to pass the *Tribune's* Motion into a Law, it was necessary that it should be seconded, by one of his Collegues; and it was some Days, before the Commons could prevail on any other *Tribune* to do it. During this Interval, the *Dictator* hastened the Day of the Sacrifice, at which he was to assist; and then presided in the *Campus Martius*, where a new *Consul* was chosen, in the room of *Flaminius*, who was killed in the Battel of the Lake *Thrasimenus*. The Person elected was *Attilius Regulus*, who was now promoted to this Office, a second time; but was not to enter upon it, till after the *Dictator's* six Months were expired. After this, *Fabius* left *Rome*, that he might not be present at the Affront which was going to be offered him, by putting *Minucius* upon an equal Foot with him, and took the Road to the Camp.

R O M E
DXXXVI.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
VERRUCOSVS,
Pro-Dictator.

THE *Dictator* was no sooner out of Sight, but a Man, determined to purchase the Favour of the People at any rate, fell in with *Minucius's* Faction, and joined in the Iniquity of the Commons. He was the only Colleague *Minucius* had, who would promote his Fortune at the Expence of his Honour. He was a Man of the meanest Extraction, who had by his Fawnings obtained the *Prætorship* the last Year. His Name was *Terentius Varro*, a Butcher's Son. After having served in his Father's Shop, who grew rich by his Business, he applied himself to pleading Causes, as an Introduction to *Plebeian* Offices; and he had by degrees risen to the *Prætorship* and *Tribuneship*, and was now aspiring at the *Consulship*. A Man of this Stamp, made no great Difficulty of sacrificing the ancient Customs of the Republick, and the Prerogatives of the *Dictatorship*, to his Ambition. He seconded *Metilius*; got the Law passed, for establishing an Equality between the General of Horse, and the *Dictator*; and reaped the Fruits of this strange Innovation. The Law passed the *Comitia*, and the Senate, out of an unaccountable Prejudice against *Fabius*, were mean-spirited enough to confirm it.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
VERRUCOSVS,
M. MINUCIVS
RUFVS, Dic-
tators.

BOTH the Friends and Enemies of the *Dictator*, in the City, and in the Army, looked on this Step, as an Affront to this illustrious *Patrician*; and *Fabius* himself was the only Man, who seemed unconcerned at it. He was not yet arrived at the Camp, when he received Orders, to give his Subaltern an equal Share of his Command: and he bore the Hatred of the People, the Senate, and the Army, without any Emotion, continued his Rout, and returned to the Camp. He had this Comfort at least, that by dividing his Authority, the Republick could not deprive him of his Abilities, or convey to his Partner the necessary Talents, to overcome *Hannibal*. As for *Minucius*, his Arrogance had already been insupportable; and now, this new Declaration of the People in his Favour, made him insolent. He was heard to say, that it was as glorious for him to overcome *Fabius*, as to have conquered *Hannibal*. He boasted of having shaken the dreaded Power of the *Dictatorship*; and represented himself publickly, as the only Man, who was thought capable of subduing the *Carthaginians*.

FULL of these Sentiments, he spoke to *Fabius* of dividing the Command, in the first Conference he had with him. He first proposed that each should take his Turn, and govern the whole Army his Day, or Week. But *Fabius* did not approve of this Proposal. It was much better to save a Part of the *Roman* Forces, than to expose them all to the Hazard of the Battels *Minucius* would doubtless rashly give: And therefore the *Pro-Dictator* chose to surrender up to the General of Horse half his Army, rather than command the whole by Turns. I will at least, said he, continue to govern my Part of it with Prudence, and not run the risque of losing the Whole. And the Affair was settled to *Fabius's* Satisfaction. One half of the Troops served under *Minucius*, and the other under *Fabius*. This was no uncommon thing among the *Romans*; whenever two *Consuls* took the Field together, they commanded separate Armies. The second and third *Legions* fell to *Fabius*, the first and fourth to *Minucius*; and the Cavalry and Auxiliaries were equally divided between the two Generals. This was the first time that two *Dictators* governed the Republick together, with equal Power. This was a monstrous Innovation, very prejudicial to the State, which was introduced by the Intrigues of one single Man! Nor was this all. *Minucius* would not be content, without encamping separately; and *Fabius* let him go on. By which means, the *Carthaginian* General, who was not ignorant of any thing that had

had happened, had two Advantages over his Enemies. The most able of his Adversaries had lost half his Forces; and the most rash was at full Liberty to undertake any thing, without Consideration. *Hannibal* feared the one; and promised himself a sure Conquest over the other.

§. XI. AFTER *Fabius's* great Army was divided into two Camps, the two Generals acted upon different Maxims, and pursued different Measures. Nevertheless, they did not remove so far from one another, as to give *Hannibal* an Opportunity of attacking them separately. They encamped at a due Distance; *Fabius* on the Hills, and *Minutius* a little below him, almost in the Plain. As for *Hannibal*, he posted himself over-against *Minucius*. He depended upon catching him, and hoped to be able to draw him soon into the Snare. To this End, he chose a Place, in all Circumstances very like to that where the General of Horse had gained a slight Advantage over him, during the *Pro-Dictator's* Absence.

BETWEEN *Minucius's* Camp, and that of the *Carthaginian*, there was an Eminence large enough at the Top for a convenient Camp. *Hannibal* might very well have neglected it, and did not seize it with Design to continue there; but his Intent in doing it before the new General's Face, was to give him Umbrage, and draw him to a Battel. And being persuaded, that *Minucius* would not tamely suffer him to take Possession of this Eminence, he formed an Ambuscade, which was the more difficult to be discovered, because the Plain, which was to be the Field of Battel, was not covered with Woods, or Bushes. But there were Cuts and Hollows in it, where Men might easily be hid. *Hannibal* therefore placed five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse⁶⁴ in them; who spent the Night there, and were divided into Plottoons of about two hundred Men each, according to the Bigness of the Cuts and Hollows.

THESE Preparations being made, *Hannibal* sent away a Detachment to take Possession of the Eminence, at Day-break. It was not yet light enough for any one to see the Troops which were in Ambush. Besides, *Minucius* was so wholly intent upon the Eminence, where the Enemy had just lodged themselves, that he minded nothing else. The first Body of the *Carthaginians* which came from their Camp, did not at all terrify the *Roman*; it was but small. There was therefore a great Contention among *Minucius's* Troops, who should go and drive back these audacious Men. His Camp rung with joyful Acclamations: and the General himself cried *To Arms*; and with a vain presumptuous Air threatened the Enemy before he came to engage them. He first sent out light-armed Infantry, and ordered his Cavalry to follow them, in very close Order. *Hannibal*, who saw these Motions of the Enemy, sent his Troops, which had already seized the Eminence, several Succours; sometimes of Horse, and sometimes of Foot; and at last, he marched out himself, with all his Troops. This *Minucius* expected; and then, as in the former Battel, he drew up his *Legions* in Battalia.

THE Attack was begun by the light-armed Infantry of the *Romans*, who did their utmost to dislodge the *Carthaginians*, already Masters of the Eminence. But the Enemy, who fought from the upper Ground, had all the Advantage, and forced his Body of Foot to retire towards the Cavalry which supported them. Then these repulsed Foot, filled their Horse with Terror, and caused some Confusion among them: Which was much increased when the *Carthaginian* Squadrons fell upon the *Roman* Cavalry, and made them sensible of their Superiority, as usual. The *Roman* Squadrons were put into Disorder, and dispersed, and had no Refuge, but in the Spaces between the *Legions*, which still made a good Appearance; and were certainly able to have disputed the Victory, if *Hannibal's* Stratagem had not gained him Success. They long made Head against the *Carthaginian* Infantry, with a Valour which, in the Beginning at least, rendered the Success of the Battel doubtful. But at length, *Hannibal* took his time, and gave the Signal for the Troops in Ambush to attack these formidable *Legions*, in Flank and Rear: And then the Courage of the *Romans* was changed into Despair. The Distance was no longer equal; and Flight was dangerous. *Minucius* saw nothing but signs of Dejection, in his Officers Faces; nothing but what tended to a Rout, in the Motions of his Soldiers. The Sight of the *Numidians*, who covered the Plain,

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
VERRUCOSVS,
M. MINVCIVS
RVPVS, Dicta-
tors.
Polyb. B. 3.
c. 101.
Livy, B. 22.
c. 28.

Livy. B. 22.
c. 28.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 102.

Plut. Life of
Fabius.

⁶⁴ *Livy, B. 22.* makes both Horse and Foot to have been but five thousand Men.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
VERRUCOSVS,
M. MINUCIVS
RUFVS, Dicta-
tors.

and were ready to cut them in pieces, upon the least Disorder, was what alone made them keep their Ranks. Nevertheless, they still continued to fight, tho' in a languishing manner; and the Enemy made a terrible Slaughter of them. A General who had less Virtue than *Fabius*, would have been pleased to see his Roman in Danger, and punished for his Insults. Had *Minucius* been entirely defeated, it would have been a Justification of the *Pro-Dictator*; but his Love for his Country gained the Ascendant over his private Resentments. Nor was the wise Roman was not actuated by a sudden Start of Compassion, at the Sight of the terrible Slaughter that was made of his Countrymen: But he acted upon settled Principles, and fixed Resolutions. *Fabius*, who was afraid least any Misfortune should befall his merciless Enemy, kept himself in a Readiness to succour him. Tho' he could have seen his Rival conquer, without Disquietude; he could not foresee his Misfortune without preparing to extricate him out of it.

HOWEVER, *Fabius* was long a mere Spectator of the Battel from the Top of the Mountain; and was not in haste to succour him, as long as he had any Remedy left. But when he saw that his Affairs were desperate, he struck his Hand upon his Thigh, and sighing said, *O ye Gods! why would Minucius suffer himself to be caught by the Bait of the African? He is run into Destruction sooner than I expected, though not so soon as he would have done. But this is a Reproach which is to be made him at a proper Season. At the present, I must think of nothing but extricating him out of his Danger, and shew the Roman People what I am.* This said, he rushed down like a Torrent upon the Plain, which was already covered with dead Bodies. He first attacked the Enemy on the Side where *Minucius* was most pressed, fell upon the Troop that came out of the Ambuscade, killed all that resisted him, and put the rest into Disorder. Then *Minucius's Manipuli* rallied, and took Courage. Both the Roman Armies united into one Body, and were ready to renew the Fight; but *Hannibal* was too prudent to hazard a second Action with fresh Troops, commanded by so able a General as *Fabius*. He sounded a Retreat, and retired to his Camp, little satisfied with an Engagement, in which the Advantages had been so equally divided. He was heard to say, as he marched along, *I have indeed beaten Minucius; but Fabius has beaten me. I always foresaw, that that Cloud which continually appeared upon the Mountains, foreboded no Good to me; and now it has, at last, broke upon my Head.* Thus one single Man, by his Temper, and well-conducted Delays at one time, and Expedition at another, gradually repaired the Affairs of his Republick. *Hannibal* would not long have been formidable to her, if the Roman Laws would have suffered *Fabius* to carry on this War to its Conclusion. But to return to the two Roman Generals.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 29.

Plut. Life of
Fabius.

§. XII. *MINUCIUS* and *Fabius* returned, each to his Camp; and then the Roman Virtue shone forth in both, in its full Lustre. The *Pro-Dictator* did not let drop one single Word, that savoured of Contempt for *Minucius*, or of Ostentation, after so glorious an Action. And, The General of Horse did Justice on himself, and to the Character of the Great *Fabius*. He was no longer a rash and proud Man, puffed up with vain Hopes, as before; but gained a greater Conquest over his own Passions, than he promised himself over *Hannibal*. He assembled his Troops, and harangued them thus: *I have acted out of Character, dear Fellow-Soldiers; and instead of being a Subaltern, was very fond of being Commander in Chief. But now I remember what I have often heard, and too often forgotten. The first and chief Accomplishment of a Man, is to know how to command; the next, to know how to obey, and execute. But to be able to do neither, argues a weak Genius, and a depraved Heart. Experience has convinced me, that I was not born to command an Army; and Adversity now teaches me, that Obedience ought to be my Province. I therefore return to my Station, which I presumptuously left. My Presumption led me to soar above my Strength; Prudence ought to correct those Sallies. I therefore confine my self to the middle Way of Obedience, and Execution; under a Head who is capable of making a proper Use of a devoted Subaltern. Come, dear Fellow-Soldiers, come, let us go and offer our Services to the Pro-Dictator, and put ourselves again wholly under his Conduct. Let Him command alone; since He alone is fit to be the Soul of so great a Body! When I come to his Camp, I will join my Troops to his; or rather, will put them again under his Command; and give him the Name of Father. And you ought to give his Soldiers, who delivered you, the Title of Patrons.*

Liv. B. 22.

c. 30.

Plut. Life of
Fabius.

this means, if we could not have the Glory of conquering the Enemy, we shall have the greater Honour of conquering Ourselves.

THIS said, *Minucius* immediately performed his Promise. He marched his *Legions* towards *Fabius's* Camp, and they were conducted to the General's Quarters. *Minucius's Tribunes, Centurions, and Ensigns*, ranged themselves round *Fabius's* Tent; and as soon as it was opened, *Minucius* advanced towards his Benefactor, ordered his Standards to be laid at his Feet, saluted him *Father*, and those about him gave the Officers, who surrounded *Fabius* the Title of *Patrons*. And then the General of Horse spoke thus. *I presume, illustrious Dictator, to give you the Appellation that best expresses my Veneration, and my Gratitude. I owe you my Life; and my Army is indebted to you for its Preservation. You have this Day gained a double Victory; one over the Carthaginians, and the other over Minucius. The first by your Valour; the second by your Prudence and Generosity of Soul. By the one you have saved us; by the other, you have opened my Eyes. You have likewise conquered Yourself, to my Shame indeed, but to the Advantage of the Republick. What remains then, but that I, by my Refusal to accept it, disannul the Law which gives me an equal Authority with you? May the Return I make to you, of the full Powers I received, tend to the Advantage of the Republick! I shall be very happy, if you please to continue me in the Office of General of Horse, which I had before our Separation. And I have this farther Request to make to you, that you would continue the Officers of my Army in their Posts, since it is my Rashness alone that has brought Dishonour upon them.*

So modest, so submissive, and so equitable a Proceeding, made full Amends for *Minucius's* Faults; and the *Pro-Dictator* embraced him tenderly, and granted him all he asked. The two Armies were satisfied; the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers, mutually regaled one another; and the Day, which begun with so much Terror, ended with great Joy and Cheerfulness, in *Fabius's* Camp. The News of the Victory, and of the Re-union of the two Generals, was brought to *Rome* at the same time; both People and Senate were affected with it; and the *Pro-Dictator's* Reputation acquired new Lustre. He was the Topick of all Conversations. His Delays were no longer ascribed to a Want of Courage; but perceived to be the Effects of a Superiority of Understanding. Nay, it may even be said, that *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginian* Army did *Fabius* more Justice, than his Republick herself. *We have at last, said they, met with Romans who answer the Idea we had of them in Spain. When we first came, we thought that Fame had magnified the Merit of their Officers and Legions. But we are now undeceived. They have learnt how to make War, according to military Laws; and yet understand better how to conduct a Campaign, than to give Battel. Hannibal* had now no Hopes left, but in a Change of Generals. He expected, that the domestick Factions of the *Romans* would lead them to send other *Sempronii*, or *Flaminii*, against him, whose Defeat would make him Master of *Italy*. He therefore continued unactive, all the rest of the time that *Fabius* continued in Office. The *Carthaginians* threw up Lines, between the Camp of the *Romans*, and the Eminence which had been disputed; and continued well entrenched, with design to spend the Winter there. Indeed the sixth Month of the *Dictatorship*, in which *Fabius* conducted himself so prudently, soon after expired. He returned to *Rome*; and delivered up the Army into the Hands of *Servilius*, the *Consul* for the Year, whose Authority revived, and of *Attilius Regulus*, who had been chosen in the room of the deceased *Flaminius*. And during the short Interval that these two *Consuls* commanded the Troops, they conformed themselves to *Fabius's* Conduct. The Season was advanced; *Hannibal* did not disturb them; and they watched him from the Tops of the Mountains, on which they encamped.

§. XIII. Thus *Fabius* had just gained the Republick a little time to breathe. If she was not entirely victorious in *Italy*, she at least was not overcome. But in *Spain*, the two *Scipio's* had made a surprizing Progress against the *Carthaginians*. We have observed, that *Cneius* had begun to make War with *Asdrubal* in *Spain*, the last Year; and had gained considerable Advantages over him: And he, expecting his Brother *Publius*, whom the Republick sent thither in Quality of *Pro-Consul*, had continued the War with very great Success. In the beginning of the Spring, *Asdrubal* had ordered forty Gallies to sail out of the Port of *New-Carthage*, under the

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
VERRUCOSVS,
Pro-Dictator.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 105.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.
CN. SERVILI-
VS GEMINVS,
M. APTILIVS
REGVLVS,
Consuls.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 95.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 19.

Year of the Command of *Hamilcar*; designing thereby to make himself Master of the Sea about the Mouth of the *Ebro*. And *Asdrubal* himself took the same Route by Land, as the Fleet did by Sea, keeping along the Coast, in sight of his Ships. *Cneius Scipio*, who was not ignorant of the March of the *Carthaginians*, was at first desirous of meeting, and fighting them, by Land; but he was diverted from it, by the News he received of the superior Forces of the *Carthaginian*, and the prodigious Levies he had made, during the Winter. This made him resolve upon a less dangerous Attempt; which was to attack the Fleet which *Hamilcar* commanded. For this Purpose *Cneius* fitted out thirty five of his Gallies, and put on board them all the Soldiers he had, which were fit for Sea-Service. After two Days sail from *Terragona*, he cast Anchor in a Road about two Miles from the Mouth of the *Ebro*. From thence he sent two Barks of *Marseilles*, to observe the Situation of the Enemy: (For so much Justice must be done the *Marseillois*, as to allow that they always, but especially in *Hannibal's* War, continued steady to the Interest of the *Romans*;) And they brought him word, That *Hamilcar's* Fleet lay at Anchor, at the Entrance into the *Ebro*; and, That the Land-Army commanded by *Asdrubal* was encamped on the Banks of that River.

ROM E
DXXXVI.
CN. SERVILI-
US GEMINUS,
M. ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

THEN *Cneius* hoisted all his Sails without Delay, and making the best Use of his Oars, came and fell on the Enemy, thinking to surprize and attack them un-awares. But the *Spaniards* had, in all Ages, erected Towers on the Sea-shore, at certain Distances, to watch the Pirates, and to serve for Retreats for the Inhabitants of the Coast, in case of an Alarm; and from the Top of these Towers, the *Roman* Fleet was seen, and Notice given of it to the *Carthaginian* General. Nevertheless, a Promontory which run out far into the Sea, concealed the Approach of the Enemy from them; and upon the Banks of the River, they could not yet hear the Noise of the Oars, or the Shouts of the Soldiers. However, the *Carthaginian* gathered together his Men, who were dispersed about the Shore, and who expected nothing less than so sudden an Engagement; and the unexpected Arrival of *Cneius* roused *Asdrubal* from his Lethargy. He, in a great Hurry, ordered his Sailors and Marines all on board, to their respective Posts; and the Cavalry, Sword in hand, forced the most sluggish to quicken their Pace; so that the Embarkation had all the Air of a precipitate Flight. The Soldiers and Marines leaped in Confusion upon the Ladders, at the same time, and hindered one another. Some hung to the Cables, by which the Anchors were fastened, in order to climb up to their Posts by them; others cut the Cables, in order to draw up the Gallies in Line of Battel the sooner. The Soldiers hindered the Sailors from working; and the Sailors so crowded the Soldiers, that they could not exercise their Arms. All was in Disorder, in the *Carthaginian* Fleet.

*Polyb. B. 3.
c. 96.*

IN the mean time, *Cneius* advanced in good Order. The *Carthaginian* Ships sailed out of the Mouth of the River in Confusion, met the Enemy, and began the Fight with great Fury; but it soon abated. They immediately gave way, and retreated. The Army *Asdrubal* had on the Shore was a sure Refuge to the Marines, if they fled; so that, not being animated to fight by Despair, they the more readily tried to gain the Shore. Five of their Gallies had been already taken, with all their Crews; four others, after losing their Oars, had been boarded, and the Soldiers in them killed; and the rest made all Haste to Land, came within Reach of *Asdrubal's* Troops, abandoned their Ships, and leaped a Shore. The *Romans* pursued the Fugitives, seized the *Carthaginian* Gallies in sight of the Land-Forces, and carried off all those which had not been stranded, in Triumph.

*Livy, B. 22.
c. 20.*

THIS Victory filled the *Romans* with Joy and Confidence. It made them Masters of all the *Spanish* Seas. Of the forty Ships, of which *Asdrubal's* Fleet consisted, they had taken twenty five; and, after an Action in which they had neither been in any Danger, nor suffered any Loss, had reduced *Hannibal's* Brother to his Land-Forces. By this Victory *Cneius* made the *Roman* Name formidable to the *Spaniards*, and immediately reaped the Fruits of it. He cruised along the Coast; made a Descent near ⁶⁵ *Honosca*; took the City upon the first Attack, and sacked

⁶⁵ *Gronovius* is of Opinion, that instead of *Honosca*, we ought to read *Osea*, in *Livy*. But he did not consider, that this last City, now called *Huesca*, and near *Sarragossa*, was in the Country of the

Ilergeta, far from the Sea-shore. We ought therefore to keep to the old Reading, *Honosca*, which was a maritime City beyond the *Iberus*, in the Country of the *Edetani*. It is thought to be the same as *Valencia*.

; and from thence went and laid waste the Country about *New Carthage*. The Roman Troops plundered and burnt all in their Way, quite up to the Gates of this Capital of the *Carthaginian* Empire, in *Spain*. Then returning the same Way, *Cneius* made a Descent in the Territory of ⁶⁶ *Loguntica*. There finding a Magazine of a sort of ⁶⁷ Broom, or Bulrush, which grows scarce any where but in *Spain*, and is used for Cables, and which *Asdrubal* had got together for the Use of his Fleet; the *Romans* carried as much of it on Board, as they thought fit, and burnt the rest.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.
Cn. SERVILI-
US GEMINUS,
M. ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

NOR did they confine their Incurfions and Descents to the Continent; they turned to the neighbouring Islands. ⁶⁸ *Ebusa*, now *Ivica*, fell a Prey to the Conquerors. *Cneius* endeavoured for two Days together to take the Capital; but it appearing to be of too little Importance to detain him there; the *Roman* contented himself with ravaging the Island, and gained more Spoil there, than on the Coasts of the Continent. Near *Ebusa*, *Cneius* received the Deputies of the *Baleares*. These Islanders desired an Alliance with *Rome*; and a Peace was granted them. From thence the *Roman* Galleys returned to the Port of *Terragona*, from whence they first came; and then their General was wholly bent on bringing all the Country on this Side the *Ebro*, into Subjection to the Republick. He now ventured to trust to his Land-Forces. *Asdrubal*, who could not find Subsistence for his great Army, without a Fleet, had indeed left the *Ebro*, and retired to *Lusitania*, on the Shore of the Ocean.

§. XIV. As soon as *Cneius* was ready to march, Ambassadors came to him from all the Nations, between the *Ebro*, and the *Pyrenees*. An hundred Cities, the Heads of so many petty Nations, surrendered to him; and to secure their Fidelity, *Cneius* took Hostages of them. From thence he advanced towards ⁶⁹ *Castulon*, near the present Kingdom of *Toledo*. This was then a strong City, and perhaps gave Name to the two *Castilles*: And *Cneius*, being advantageously posted in the Defiles of *Castulon*, there entered into a Peace with the Countries he had newly conquered. But as soon as he had left this Camp, to advance towards the Sea, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, two Brothers devoted to the *Carthaginians*, and who formerly had had a little Sovereignty in the Country of the *Ilergetæ*, stirred up their old Subjects, and came in a tumultuous manner to ravage the Lands of the Allies of *Rome*. Nevertheless, *Cneius* did not vouchsafe to go in Person to punish those Rebels; he only sent three thousand Men, which were enough to chastize the mutineers: and some of them were killed, others made Prisoners, and the rest dispersed. But at length, the Affair became of more Importance than had been expected. *Asdrubal* left *Lusitania*, and hastened to assist *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*; which brought on a new Scene of Action. The *Celtiberi* entered in Arms, into the *Carthaginian* Province, at the Request of *Cneius*, who had granted them an Alliance with the *Roman* People; and they soon took three Cities from the *Carthaginians*; so that the Diversion had its designed Effect. *Asdrubal* led all his forces against the *Celtiberi*; but these brave *Spaniards*, in two pitched Battels, in which *Asdrubal* was present, killed five thousand of his Men, made four thousand prisoners, and took from him a great Number of Colours. This was the State to which *Cneius* had brought the Affairs of the *Romans*, in *Spain*, when his Brother *Publius Scipio* arrived, to command there, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*. It

Liv. B. 22.
c. 21.

Valencia, the Capital of the Kingdom of that Name. It stood at the Mouth of the *Durio*, which is now called by the Natives, the *Guadalaviar*.

⁶⁶ *Loguntica* stood on the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Valencia*, in the Country of the *Contestani*, between the Mouth of the River *Sucro*, vulgarly the *Jucar*, and the Cape *Ferraria*, called by the *Spaniards*, *Cabo Martin*, a little above *Denia*. It is at present only a Village, which is called *Oliva*. It is near the City of *Valencia*.

⁶⁷ The Canton between *Orospeda* and *Idubeda*, bounded with that sort of Broom, which the *Spaniards* call *Espardillas*. For this reason, the Antients give the Canton the Name of *Spartarius Cam- pus*: And hence came the Epithet of *Spartaria*, which they gave *New Carthage*. This Country compre-

hended Part of the Kingdom of *Murcia*, and that Part of *New Castille* which was nearest to the Kingdom of *Valencia*.

⁶⁸ The ancient Geographers give the Name of *Pityusa* to two Islands in the *Spanish* Sea. The greatest, which they call *Ebussus*, or *Ebyssus*, and sometimes *Ebosia*, or *Eboissa*, is the Island which is now called *Ivica*. It lies over-against Cape *Ferraria*, or *Denia*. The smallest of the two *Pityusæ* is now called *Formentera*. It formerly had the Name of *Ophiusa*, or *Colubraria*, because it bred a great many Serpents. And indeed it was entirely deserted.

⁶⁹ The City of *Castulon* is now but a small Town on the Confines of *New Castille* and *Andalusia*. It is called *Castona la Vieja*.

Year of may be said, that *Cneius* had, in a manner, gained the same Superiority over the
 R O M E *Carthaginians*, in *Spain*; as *Hannibal* had gained over the *Romans*, in *Italy*.

DXXXVI.

CN. SERVILI-
 US GEMINUS,
 M. ATTILIUS
 REGULUS,
 Consuls.

Polybius, B. 3.
 c. 97.

§. XV. As soon as the *Pro-Consul's* Fleet appeared off *Terragona*, all the Eastern Parts of *Spain* were in hopes of being soon delivered from the *Carthaginian* Yoke. The Reinforcement the Republick had sent thither, was considerable. She had embarked eight thousand *Roman* Troops, on Board a Fleet of twenty Galleys; and had loaded a great Number of Boats, of all Sizes, with Stores of all sorts. The Senate thought that *Spain* was not to be neglected; notwithstanding the Devastations *Hannibal* committed in *Italy*. To carry the War thither, and maintain it there, was to divide the Forces of *Carthage*, who, jealous of her Conquests in *Spain*, would continually send new Succours thither. The true Way to get *Hannibal* left to himself, was to turn the Arms and Riches of *Africa*, to a Country which she was more concerned in Interest to defend, and preserve. With these Views, the Senate had sent away *P. Cornelius Scipio*, without Delay; expecting, that when he had joined his Brother, he would make the *Carthaginians* suffer as much in *Spain*, as the *Romans* suffered by *Hannibal* in *Italy*. And the two Brothers thought it proper to make use of Valour and Insinuation, at the same time; the one to draw off the *Spaniards* from the *Carthaginians*; the other to weaken *Asdrubal*, and enervate his Republick. The Sea and Land-Armies, which the two *Scipios* then commanded in *Spain*, put it in their Power to undertake any thing. With a Fleet of sixty Galleys, they maintained, for some time at least, the Empire of the Seas; and with these numerous Troops, they were not afraid, as formerly, to pass the *Ebro*, and penetrate into the Heart of the *Carthaginian* Provinces.

ALL the Countries beyond the River, were terrified at this new Inundation of *Romans*; who marched in good Order, towards the Country of the *Saguntins*, in order to put in Execution a Project, which was enough to gain over the neighbouring Nations to them, and draw them off from the *Carthaginians*. The Scheme was this.

Polybius, B. 3.
 c. 98.
Liv. B. 22.
 c. 22.

BEFORE *Hannibal* set out for *Italy*, he was desirous of securing the Fidelity of the Nations he had subdued; and as Pledges of it, had ordered the greatest Lords in every Country to deliver up their Children to him. Accordingly, the Children of the greatest Nobility in *Spain* were put into the Hands of the *Carthaginian* General; who assigned them the City and Citadel of *Saguntum*, for their Place of Abode, where they should have nothing to wish for, but to see their Parents and Relations. This shews that the *Carthaginians* had raised *Saguntum* out of its Ashes: and a strong Garrison now defended the new Walls of the City, and the Hostages in it. *Bostar*, the *Carthaginian* who commanded there, was not unfairful to his Country; but was a Man of more Simplicity, and less Cunning, than the generality of his Countrymen; and one of the Officers of his Garrison named *Abelox*, undertook to deceive the Governor. This Subaltern was a *Spaniard* of a good Family, whom the Success of the *Carthaginians* against the *Romans* had formerly engaged, to accept a Post in the Army of the prevailing Party. But now things were much altered since the Arrival of the *Pro-Consul*; and new Hopes gave the *Spaniard* new Inclinations. He resolved to go over to the *Romans*; but he considered, that a Deserter, how well soever born, makes but an indifferent Figure, unless he can gain himself Weight by his important Services to his new Friends. And *Abelox* was very sensible, that nothing could more ingratiate him with the *Roman* Generals, than to put into their Hands the finest Youth of *Spain*, since the *Spanish* Lords were scarce kept to the *Carthaginians* by any other Tie, than their Affection for their Children. Being therefore full of these Reflections, he sought means to put his Design in Execution. But it was dangerous and rash to attempt taking the young Hostages from their Guard by Force; and he thought it would be easier to put a Trick upon the credulous *Bostar*. *Abelox* was a great Favourite with him; and he thought the Governor, a Man likely to fall into the Snare he laid for him.

THE *Spaniard* came to the Camp of the *Carthaginian* who then covered *Saguntum*, for fear the *Pro-Consul* should besiege it; and taking his Dupe aside, *Abelox* addressed himself to him thus. You are not ignorant, my Lord, how far the Boldness of the *Romans* has carried them. The *Scipios* have passed the *Ebro*, and penetrated into the Heart of *Spain*. You, who were appointed to guard the Passage

of that River, have prudently covered Saguntum, to defend it. Yet Asdrubal continues a great way off, engaged in an unsuccessful War against the faithless Celtiberi. Is not this enough to make all the rest of Spain rise up against us? These People have been kept in Subjection, merely by their Fears of the Carthaginians, during the Absence of the Romans. The Presence of the Scipio's therefore, their Victories, the Arrival of the Pro-Consul, and the Increase of their Forces, make fatal Impressions on the Minds of the People. All our Allies incline to a Revolt. Their Fear no longer restrains them: Let then their Gratitude and Affection do it. What we cannot perform by the Terror of our Arms, let us accomplish by our Favours. Carthage here detains all the Flower of the Spanish Youth, in an honourable Captivity; and who knows, but the Deliverance of so many illustrious Hostages, is the Point the Pro-Consul has in view, in coming to Saguntum? If he should take them from you by Force or Artifice, and restore them to their Parents, how many Nations would declare for Rome? Prevent therefore, my Lord, the artful Designs of the Romans. Restore these Children to their Parents, and thereby secure Saguntum. All Men are naturally affected with great Obligations; and the Spaniards value themselves upon their Gratitude. You will find Peasants sent in to you from all Parts; and you will promote your own Interest, at the same time that you procure the publick Good. As for me, my Lord, I offer you to be the Guide of these young Hostages, and the Instrument of your Liberalities. I am known among the Spanish Nations, and will make you known among them. I will extol your Favours; settle the Affections of the Wavering; destroy the Hopes of the Roman; and maintain the Dominion of Carthage.

BOSTAR was covetous and inconsiderate, and he fell into the Snare. The silly Carthaginian consented to the Restitution of the Hostages, and gave Orders at Saguntum, that they should be put into the Hands of Abelo. The cunning Spaniard having thus secured Bostar's Consent, waited for the Night, to steal privately to the Pro-Consul's Camp, which was not far off; and there he first applied himself to the Officers of his Nation, who served in the Roman Army, and was by them introduced to Scipio. He represented to the General, the Advantages Rome would gain, by surrendering up the young Hostages to their Relations; offered to put all these fine Children into his Hands; and told him what Assurances he had of Success. The Pro Consul, and Abelo, agreed on the Time and Place, for the Delivery of the Nobles, which was appointed to be done the Night following: and the Spaniard was assured, that a Detachment of Romans should be laid in Ambush, to surprize both the Youth, and their Leader. Scipio made him great Promises; and he returned in all haste, in order to appear before the Carthaginian Governor in the Morning. Abelo spent all the Day in Bostar's Tent, consulting with him the proper Means of conducting the Hostages safely to their own Countries; and determined rather to go with them in the Night, than in the Day, for fear so valuable a Charge should fall into the Hands of the Romans, who would know how to turn it to their own Advantage. In the Night therefore, this fine Squadron of young Nobles, set out under the Conduct of Abelo, and came to the Ambuscade, which was prepared for them. What Joy then was it for the Romans, to see themselves Masters of so many sure Pledges of the Friendship of the Spaniards! In short, Scipio made the best Use of the Spoils of Bostar, and sent back the Hostages to their Relations, in the Name of his Republick: and they received them with more Pleasure, than they would have done from the Carthaginian. So that the Romans were now stronger than the Carthaginians, in Spain. The first Action of the Pro-Consul beyond the Ebro, was the doing a signal Favour; and they could not reproach him, as they might the Carthaginians, with Violences and Robberies. Abelo was congratulated on his having changed Sides. All were inclined to imitate his Example; and some had then taken Arms in Favour of the Romans, if the Season had not obliged all Troops to repair to their Winter-Quarters.

§. XVI. This welcome News was brought to Rome from Spain, whilst Hannibal, partly compelled by the Season, and carefully watched by the Consuls, 70 Servilius

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.
CN. SERVILI-
US GEMINUS,
M. ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

70 Whilst Fabius was saving the Republick in Italy, and the two Scipio's were gaining considerable Advantages in Spain, the Consul Servilius, says

Livy, cruised round the Islands of Sardinia and Corsica with a Fleet of an hundred and twenty Gallies: and after he had taken Hostages, to secure the Fidelity

Year of and *Attilius*, was spending the Winter in his Camp, after six Month's Inaction. *R O M E* In the State to which the Affairs of *Rome* were reduced, by the Battel of the Lake DXXXVI. *Thrasimenus*, it was a great deal for her to have curbed the Insolence of so dangerous an Enemy. *Hannibal* continued near *Geronium*, and there suffered all the Inconveniencies of Scarcity, and of the Season; and was already resolved to return into *Cisalpine Gaul*, if he found the next Year's *Consuls* determined to follow the prudent and deliberate Measures of the *Dictator Fabius*. All the Hopes *Hannibal* then had, was to find another *Sempronius*, or *Flaminius*, promoted at the next Election of *Consuls*: and *Rome* was the only Scene of Business, during this Interval of Tranquillity. Preparations were there made for the next Campaign; Ambassadors were ordered to go to foreign Nations; and Deputies came from the Cities in Alliance with the *Romans*. *Naples* particularly signalized her Affection. She sent the Republick a rich Present, which was forty *Vases* of Gold, of great Weight. *We know*, said the Envoys, *that the Treasury of Rome is daily exhausted; and it is but just, that we should relieve the Wants of the Capital, which is the Strength and Support of the State. The Neapolitans thought, that these valuable Ornaments of their Temples, and the Riches of some particular Persons, could not be more usefully employed, than in the Defence of Italy. Accept them then, Romans, not so much for their intrinsic Value, as a Proof of our inviolable Attachment to you.* But though the *Romans* were much pleased with the Liberality of this faithful City; yet, either out of Magnanimity, or to dissemble their Indigence, they would accept of only the smallest of these *Vases*, and returned the rest to the *Neapolitans*.

CN. SERVILI-
US GEMINUS,
M. ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

BUT at the same time, the Republick, still haughty, ⁷¹ tho' vigorously attacked, did not neglect to demand the Tributes of foreign Nations which she had formerly subdued. It may be remembered, that King *Pineus* had been confined to a small Part of his Kingdom of *Illyricum*; and that *Demetrius* his Guardian, and the Regent of his Dominions, had been forced by the *Romans*, to take Refuge with King *Philip* in *Macedon*. *Pineus* was a tributary King; *Demetrius*, a faithless Friend. The Senate therefore, with as much Haughtiness in Adversity, as in Prosperity, sent to *Pineus*, to make him pay the annual Tribute, and force him to give them Hostages, in case he refused it; and they likewise sent Ambassadors to *Macedon*; to demand the treacherous *Demetrius*, of *Philip*. By this means, *Rome* shewed foreign Nations, that she was always the same, and that a transient Storm had not diminished her Grandeur. Nay, the Republick did more. To shew that her Finances were not exhausted, she dedicated great Sums to religious Uses. The *Prætor Manlius*, in a War with the *Gauls*, had, in order to appease a Sedition, made a Vow to build a Temple to *Concord*; yet neither the Place, nor the Funds, had been assigned for it. But now, two Men were nominated to inspect the Work; which was built within the Compass of the *Capitol*. Thus *Rome* bore adverse Fortune with Dignity, and with Constancy.

delity of the Islanders, he sailed for *Africa*. In his Passage he fell upon the Island of *Meninx*, and only ravaged it. The Island of *Cercina*, (now *Cercare*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Tunis*) would have undergone the same Fate, if it had not redeemed itself from being burnt and plundered; which cost the Islanders ten Talents of Silver. Then *Servilius* made a Descent on the Coasts of *Africa*. The *Roman* Soldiers, out of a Greediness for Booty, dispersed themselves in the Fields, as if they had had no Enemy to fear, and very imprudently separated from one another, that they might plunder with the more Ease. But they fell unawares into an Ambuscade. Being therefore surprized by the People of the Country, they had no Way to escape, but by returning to their Fleet with Precipitation. And they unfortunately knew not the Way to it. So that most of them were killed by the *Africans*, who fell upon them, and pursued them with the utmost Fury. A thousand *Romans* lost their Lives, and among the rest, the *Quæstor*, *Sempronius Blasus*. Those who escaped, got on Board their Ships in all haste. Soon after, the *Africans* came in Crowds to the Sea-shore;

and upon Sight of these Multitudes of armed Men, *Servilius* immediately weighed Anchor. He sailed for *Sicily*, and landed in the Port of *Lilybæum*. There he delivered up his Fleet to the *Prætor*, *Titus Otacilius*, who ordered his Lieutenant *Publius Sura*, to conduct it to *Rome*. As for *Servilius*, he went to take upon him again, with his Colleague *Marcus Atilius*, the Command of the Land-Forces, which were acting against *Hannibal*.

⁷¹ *Livy* tells us, that the *Romans* at the same time discovered the Plots of a *Carthaginian* Spy, who had got into the City, and abused the Confidence of some, and the Credulity of others. The Magistrates caused him to be seized, and in Punishment for his Perfidiousness, cut off both his Hands, and sent him thus maimed to *Carthage*. Then, adds the *Roman* Historian, several Slaves had formed a Plot against the Republick, in the *Campus Martius*. One of those who were in the Plot, impeached the rest; and twenty five of them were condemned to be crucified. The Republick ordered the Informer twenty thousand *Asses* of Brass, * and gave him his Liberty.

* 647. 111. 8d.
Arbutnot.

T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XXVIII.

S. I. **R**OME and Carthage, the two Rival Republicks for Glory and Power, were now wholly employed; the one in repairing the Losses of *Asdrubal* in Spain; the other in retarding the Progress of *Hannibal* in Italy. The *Carthaginian* Senate, tho' divided into two Factions, (one headed by *Hanno*, the other Partizans of *Hannibal* and his Family,) agreed to send Supplies of Men, Ships, and Ammunition, to *Asdrubal*. By the naval Victory *Cneius Scipio* had gained, he had deprived the *Carthaginians* of that Empire in the Spanish Seas, which they had always arrogated to themselves: And to recover it, seventy Ships were sent from the Ports of *Africa*, with Troops; and the Fleet sailed for *Sardinia*. It appeared off *Pisa*, in *Hetruria*, in order to learn some News of *Hannibal*, and to confer with him; but a Roman Fleet of an hundred *Quinqueremes*, which came out of the Port of *Pisa*, chased the Enemy's Fleet a great way, and obliged it to return to *Carthage*; where it waited for a fair Wind to sail for Spain.

ON the other hand, *Rome* was busy in endeavouring to find out such Men for *Consuls*, as were capable of walking in the Steps of the late *Pro-Dictator*; or even of attempting something more, against an Enemy which was now harrassed out with the prudent Delays of *Fabius*. In order to have the Election regularly made, it was necessary, either that one of the *Consuls*, or a *Dictator*, or a Governour of the Republick during an *Interregnum*, should preside in an Assembly of the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, in the *Campus Martius*. The *Prætor Æmilius*, who then governed *Rome*, wrote therefore to the *Consuls*, desiring that one of them would return to the City, as soon as conveniently he could; and telling them, that he would appoint what time they pleased for the Election. Which is a Proof, That there was yet no time fixed at *Rome* for the great Elections; and, That they were made sooner or later, as Exigencies of State required. But *Servilius* and *Attilius* thought their Presence too necessary in the Camp, to leave it. *Hannibal* was a cunning Enemy, who was to be narrowly watched; and who knew how to take Advantage of the Absence, or smallest Mistakes, of his Adversaries. The *Consuls* therefore answered the *Prætor*, That they gave the Senate leave to appoint such an *Interregnum* as was usual, and to give the *Presidentship* at the Election, to him, in whose five-Days-Government it fell.

BUT the Project of an *Interregnum* did not please the *Conscript Fathers*. They chose to have one of the *Consuls* nominate a *Dictator*, whose Authority should be confined to the presiding in the *Comitia*. *Lucius Veturius Philo* was therefore promoted to the *Dictatorship*; and he chose *M. Pomponius Matho*, for his General of Horse. *Veturius* had been *Consul* three Years before; and *Pomponius* had obtained the Honours of a Triumph, in his *Consulship*, in the Year of *Rome* 520. They were both Men of Integrity, and respected; but they appear to have had a Regard to the People; and it seemed probable, that under their Administration, the Elections would be carried on by Cabal and Intrigue. It is therefore probable that the Senators, with Party-Views, made the *Augurs* find some Defect in point of Religion, in the Nomination of the *Dictator*. But be that as it will, *Veturius* was but fourteen Days in Office; after which he was forced to abdicate, to make way for an *Interregnum*. The two Heads that were chosen, to govern the Republick

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.
INTERREG-
NUM.

publick successively, for five Days each, were *Cn. Claudius*, and *Cornelius Asina*. Under the latter the *Centuries* were assembled, and the People proceeded to the Elections.

It is the Fate of a Republican State, to have Faction often prevail, to the Injury of the Republick, and Partiality and Affection triumph over Merit, even in the most dangerous Times. Among the Candidates for the *Consulship*, there was a Man taken out of the Dregs of the People, who had scarce any other Recommendation, but his Hatred to the Nobility, his violent Declamations against them, and particularly his extravagant Fury against the illustrious *Fabius*. This was the worthless *Terentius Varro*, who from a Butcher, was first become an Orator, then *Tribune of the People*, and now aspired at being General of the *Roman Armies*, that he might cope with *Hannibal*. However, the *Patricians* did not forget themselves on an Occasion wherein both the Interest of their Party, and that of the Publick, was concerned. Besides that they thought *Varro* unqualified to vie with the greatest General in the World; they were apprehensive that his Example would be followed by Crowds of worthless Men, who would make their Rage against the Nobility, a Step to rise to the highest Dignities.

THEY therefore set up such Competitors against *Terentius*, as could not but prejudice the People strongly in their Favour, by their Birth and Merit. Among the old *Patricians*, *Cornelius Merenda*, *Manlius Volso*, and *Æmilius Lepidus*, stood for the *Consulship*. Among the *Plebeians* appeared *Attilius Serranus*, and *Ælius Patus*, both Men of Families ennobled by Offices: The former was actually *Pontifex*, the latter *Augur*. And the *Comitia* would doubtless have given the Preference to these dignified and venerable Men, if the Election had not been carried by Intrigue.

THERE was among the *Tribunes of the People*, a Relation of *Terentius Varro*, a bold and eloquent Man, and capable of seducing the Multitude. His Name was *Bæbius Herennius*. He undertook to place his Relation at the Head of the Republick; and he spared no Investives against the Senate, or Calumnies against the Nobility. In the Harangues which preceded the holding the *Comitia*, he accused the Senate and Nobility of *Rome* of having brought *Hannibal* into *Italy*; affirmed, That they had persuaded him to settle there; and That he subsisted there only by their Intrigues. *Nothing was more easy*, added the Villain, *than to have driven Hannibal out of our Dominions, if we had not suffered him to settle at our Gates, by an affected Slowness and Inaction*. *Fabius commanded four Legions; which were more than enough to have exterminated the Carthaginians. That plainly appeared, by the Superiority Minucius gained over their General, during the short Stay of the Pro-Dictator at Rome. A General of Horse, then Commander in Chief, made Hannibal know, that he was not invincible. Fabius returned to the Camp; and Minucius had but two Legions under his Command. Then Hannibal immediately regained the Ascendant. How very artful and designing was the Dictator, not to suffer his Collegue to have the Command of the whole Army, even for one Day? Did not this shew that he designed to prolong the War? If he succoured his Collegue, in order to gain himself the Name of Father, and Patron; the Pro-Dictator soon betrayed himself, and discovered his Artifices. It was easy to see, that during the whole Campaign he was more fearful of being victorious, than of being conquered. And what else have the Consuls done, who succeeded him? Don't their Inaction, and continual avoiding a Battel, after the Example of Fabius, discover their secret Designs? They might have finished the War; and yet obstinately prolonged it. This is a Contrivance agreed on between all our Patrician Generals. No; we shall never see Hannibal conquered, and routed, till we have a true Plebeian at the Head of our Armies. I don't speak of those Plebeians, who only were so by Extraction, and who have been incorporated among the Nobility, by the Offices their Fathers have born. They have all imbibed the Patrician Spirit, since the Senate has ceased to despise them. But I speak of those New Men, whose Minds are not infected with the Maxims of our domestick Tyrants. With what View did the Senate oblige the Dictator to abdicate, who was nominated to preside in the *Comitia*? Was it not to make themselves Masters of the Elections? But how are these wise Conscript Fathers mistaken! They may indeed make sure of the Votes of the two Presidents in the Interregnum; but the greatest Number of Suffrages is in the Power of the People. It is your Business*

ness therefore, Romans, to make Use of your Liberty, and chuse a Consul who knows how to conquer, and put an End to our Alarms.

THE Roman People went to the *Campus Martius* full of these Sentiments, which *Herennius* had instilled into them; chose ¹ *C. Terentius Varro, Consul*; and nominated him first, that it might be in his Power to propose such a Collegue to the *Comitia*, as would be most agreeable to himself. The whole Day was spent in electing *Terentius* only; and in the Interval, before the new *Comitia* were assembled to create a second *Consul*, the Nobility despaired of the Success of those they first proposed; and therefore pitched upon *L. Æmilius Paulus*. Personal Outrages had made him the irreconcilable Enemy of the Commons. In his first *Consulate*, four Years since, after he had triumphed, he and his Collegue *Livius* were accused before the People, of having made an unequal Distribution of the Spoils of the conquered *Illyrians*. *Livius* had been condemned; and *Æmilius* had indeed escaped the unjust Censures of the People, but not without Difficulty. And he therefore was not easily prevailed on to stand for the *Consulship*, a second time. However, he complied with the pressing Instances of the Nobility, who made surprising Efforts to get him chosen. And at length they prevailed, and got him appointed Collegue to *Terentius Varro*; in hopes that the illustrious *Patrician* would continually oppose the Enterprizes of the rash *Plebeian*. Nevertheless, it was ordered, agreeably to *Terentius's* Designs, that the two *Consuls* should command the whole Army by turns, each his Day. A pernicious Regulation, which involved the Republick in a greater Misfortune than had ever yet befallen her; and brought her to the very Brink of Ruin!

INDEED, except in the Case of *Terentius*, the Offices were bestowed with a great deal of Judgment. Almost all those who had done the Republick Service the last Year, were continued in their Employments. *Servilius* and *Attilius*, the two *Consuls* for the preceding Year, were continued at the Head of the Armies they then commanded, with the Title of *Pro-Consuls*; and formed two Camps, of two *Legions* each, to act separately; but under the Direction of the new *Consuls*. *Publius Scipio* was continued *Pro-Consul* in *Spain*; and still made War there jointly with his Brother *Cneius*. *Manius Pomponius Matho* was not removed from the *Prætorship*, which he enjoyed the last Year; he was appointed now to hear the Causes between the *Citizens* of *Rome* only, as he before had done those between *Citizens* and *Foreigners*; and *P. Furius* succeeded him, in the Office he left. *Claudius Marcellus* was appointed *Prætor* in *Sicily*; *Postumius Albinus*, in *Cisalpine Gaul*; and *Cornelius Mammula* Governour of *Sardinia*, with the Title of *Pro-Prætor*.

§. II. THIS judicious Choice had preserved the Republick, if the Commons had not been obstinately bent on placing all their Hopes in the rash *Terentius*. In order to make him the more sure of conquering the victorious *Hannibal*, extraordinary Levies were made at *Rome*, and among the Allies. *Fabius* had had only four *Legions* under his Command; which had then been thought enough utterly to destroy the *Carthaginians*. But now, the Republick raised ² eight; and the Number of Men in each *Legion* was also increased. They generally consisted of but four thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse; but they were now enlarged to five thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. And lastly, it was ordered that the Allies should furnish the Republick with double their Contingent, both of Horse and Foot. But in the Distribution of all these Employments, *Fabius* was unfortunately forgotten; who was the only General capable of governing so great a Body of

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.

C. TERENTI-
US VARRO,
L. ÆMILIUS
PAULUS, Con-
suls.

*Polyb. B. 3.
c. 107.
Livy, B. 22.
c. 36.*

¹ *Orosius* and *Eutropius* are doubly mistaken. 1st, In placing the *Consulship* of *Terentius Varro* in the Year of *Rome* 543; 2^{dly}, In giving him the *Prætorship* of *Publius*, when all the Authors of best Credit unanimously call him *Gaius*.

² According to *Livy*, the ancient Annalists were very much divided, as to the Number both of the Horse and Foot, of which the two *Consular* Armies consisted, which the *Roman* Republick sent against *Hannibal*. And in this Diversity of Opinions, it is impossible, says that Historian, to determine which is the right. Some, as he goes on, pretend, that the *Legions* were only recruited, and ten thousand Men added to them. Others affirm, That four new *Legions* were added to the

four old ones; and, That an Addition of one thousand Foot, and one hundred Horse, was made to each of the eight *Legions*. So that, according to *Livy*, each *Legion* consisted of five thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, exclusive of the Troops of the Allies, who were obliged to furnish double the Number of Horse, and an equal Number of Foot, to the *Legionaries* of the Republick. And, according to this Computation, the *Roman* Army, Auxiliaries included, must have consisted of eighty thousand Foot, and seven thousand two hundred Horse. What is certain is, that *Rome* made extraordinary Levies this Year, to repair the Losses of the last, and with Hopes of driving *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, by one decisive Victory.

Troops.

Year of R O M E DXXXVI. C. TERENTIUS VARRO, L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Consuls.

Troops. The Reputation of the Great *Fabius*, which had suffered by the Faction of a small Number of *New Men*, was yet not fully re-established. Nevertheless *Rome* was indebted to this General, for the new Hopes she had conceived of being able to conquer *Hannibal*.

It is very common with the *Latin* Historians to assure us, that the Misfortunes of the Republick were foretold by bad Presages; and if we will believe them, the Battel of *Cannæ* in particular was notified to the People by several miraculous Signs, that were the Fore-runners of it. It is reported, That it rained Stones on the Hill *Aventinus*, and at *Aricia*; and That in *Sabinia* some Springs ran with hot and bloody Water, which was thought a Prognostick of a great Slaughter; it not being remembered that the like had frequently happened; and lastly, it had been observed that several Peasants had been struck dead with Lightning, in the Portico that led to the *Campus Martius*.

THEIR Terror made the credulous People readily believe these Prognosticks, which were partly natural, and partly exaggerated. The *Sybilline* Books were consulted; and it was thought necessary to appease the Anger of the Gods by Expiations. At the same time, tho' the publick Treasure was exhausted, and tho' she refused the Present the Inhabitants of *3 Pæstum* had just offered her, as she had done the Gold of the *Neapolitans*, nevertheless she accepted the rich Present of good King *Hiero*. He sent the *Romans*, from *Syracuse*, a Statue of a *Victory*, of massy Gold, of a great Weight; and three hundred thousand *Modii** of Wheat; two hundred thousand *Modii*† of Barley, for the Subsistence of their Army; and one thousand Men, partly armed with Slings, and partly with Bows and Arrows. He sent the Republick word, That he would not venture to add any but light-armed Troops to those of the *Romans*; and, That those he had sent might be of use to them against the Slingers of the *Baleares* Islands, and the *Numidians* in the *Carthaginian* Army. And indeed, scarce any foreign Troops were admitted into the *Roman* Armies, but some Archers, and Dart-men. The Presents, and the Offers King *Hiero* made to the *Roman* People, were very acceptable to them; but they were too proud to accept of the Gifts of their Dependents in *Italy*, which might be of ill Consequence. Those of a foreign King were graciously received. The Image of *Victory*, was thought a favourable Omen; and besides, *Rome* and *Syracuse* had long been united in a reciprocal Friendship. To his Presents, *Hiero* also added wholesome Advice; which was, That the *Romans* would send out their Fleet with some Land-Forces, to *Africa*. By that means, said he, when the *Carthaginians* are busy in defending themselves at home, they will be the less in a Condition to send *Hannibal* Succours; and the rash Man will perish in his imprudent Enterprize. *Rome* was touched with the Affection the King had for her; thanked him for his Presents and Advice; and sent him this grateful Letter.

YOU have ever been a constant and generous Friend. No Change of Times has altered your Affection and Liberality towards us. We with Pleasure received the Victory from your Hands. It is a Pledge of your Friendship, which we will carefully preserve: And in order to keep her among us, and prevent her ever leaving us, we will shut her up in the strongest Place in *Rome*. We will place her on the Capitol, our Citadel, and even in the Temple of Jupiter. The Gods grant, That she may be as faithful and friendly to us, as you!

AFTER this, in Pursuit of King *Hiero's* Advice, *Rome* sent from the Ports of *Italy*, a Reinforcement of twenty five *Quinqueremes*, to *T. Otacilius*, the old *Praetor* in *Sicily*, who also commanded the Armies there, during the Absence of *Claudius Marcellus*, his designed Successor. *Marcellus* was not yet arrived in the Islands; but was preparing for his Departure from *Italy*; and till such time as he should arrive, the Republick gave *Otacilius* Orders to enter *Africa*, and carry the War thither, if he thought proper.

§. III. THESE were the Preparations, and other Affairs, which employed the *Romans*, during the Winter; and as soon as the Season would permit the *Consuls* to take

3 Pæstum, which *Velleius Paterculus* calls *Nepesina*, and which was known to the *Greeks* by the Name of *Possidonia*, still retains some Footsteps of its old Name, in that of *Pæsti*, a Town in the Further Principality, belonging to the Kingdom of *Naples*. It stood six Miles beyond the Mouth of

the *Silarus*, or the *Selo*, or *Silaro*. The neighbouring Gulph, which took its Name of *Paestanus Sinus*, from the City of *Pæstum*, is the same which is now The Gulph of *Salerno*, or *Golfo di Salerno*. See the second Volume of this History.

the Field, they required of their Soldiers, not only the usual ⁴ military Oath, but also a second, which was administered to them by the *Legionary Tribunes*. They all swore that they would repair to the general *Rendezvous*, and not stir from their respective *Legions*, without leave. Formerly the *Roman* Soldiers voluntarily made this Promise among themselves: but now it was necessary, and forced. Was not this then a Sign of the little Confidence these *Consuls* had in their Troops?

BEFORE they set out for the Army, *Terentius Varro*, and his Collegue *Æmilius Paulus*, took their Leave of the City as usual, by haranguing the People; and as the former was a popular Man, he made several Discourses to the People, and always inserted some Invectives against the Nobility, and *Fabius's Dictatorship*. It is through the Artifice of the Patricians, said he, that Hannibal has brought the War among us; and it will never leave us, as long as our Troops are commanded by dilatory Generals. As for me, I will fall upon the Enemy, the very first Day I come up with them, and will at one Stroke crush the Head of the African Dragon.

As for *Æmilius*, he deferred his Harangue till the Day before his Departure. His Discourse was full of solid Truths, and for that reason, not very acceptable to the People. Nevertheless, he did not say any thing injurious of his Collegue. He only observed, that he was surprized to know how he could fix the Day of Battel, before he came upon the Spot, and had considered the present Circumstances of things. As for myself, added *Æmilius*, I will regulate my Conduct, by the Countenance of the Enemy, the Situations of Places, and present Advantages. I will act as Occasion requires, and not blindly give myself up to Prejudices, imbibed at home, in the Cabinet. May the Gods grant, that those who follow other Rules, be not hurried into precipitate Measures! Rashness in a General, is always Madness; and our late Misfortunes have sufficiently shewn us, how prejudicial it may prove to our Affairs. By these Words, *Æmilius* shewed, that he would follow *Fabius's* Steps, and act against *Hannibal* with great Caution. The old Dictator is therefore said to have been well pleased with the judicious Reflections of the Consul, and to have had a Conference with him, to confirm him in them. Indeed, as this Conference is related by only one Historian, it has all the Air of a Fiction, invented for the Embellishment of his History. But be that as it will, *Fabius* is said to have addressed himself to the Consul *Æmilius*, to this Effect.

IF You were like your Collegue, or your Collegue You, my Address to you would be to no manner of purpose. Two Men like *Terentius*, would despise my Discourse; two Men of *Æmilius's* Judgment, would not need my Advice. But since you are so widely different from each other; I think I may communicate my Thoughts to him, who alone is capable of receiving any Benefit by them. The Republic being so too poorly supported on one Side, totters: You will find it difficult to sustain her, with all your Wisdom. Your Advice will be wholesome for her; that of *Terentius*, pernicious to her. And yet your Power will be perfectly equal. You must expect to have two Enemies to contend with, this Campaign: and perhaps *Hannibal* will be to you the less formidable of the two. *Æmilius* will indeed seldom have any thing to do with the Carthaginian General; but he will have the Contradictions of his Collegue to struggle with, every Moment. Your Troops will assist you, in your Battels with *Hannibal*; but in your Contests with *Terentius*, they will be against you. I will not put you in mind of *Flaminius*; it may be ominous. But after all, that Consul had more Moderation than *Terentius*. The former did not act madly, till he was Consul; the latter has shewn his Intoxication before he entered upon his Office. He is scarce in his right Senses now; and will he grow wiser in a Camp, amidst an Army of turbulent young Fellows? He already discovers himself in his Discourses here. He says, that as soon as he shall get Sight of the Enemy, his first Concern shall be to give them Battel: and if he does this, either I know nothing of War, and of the Artifices of the Enemy, or *Terentius* will make some other Place prove more fatal to us, than the Lake *Thralimenus*. I don't pretend to compare my Designs with those of this contemptible Consul; it is beneath me

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.

C. TERENTI-
US VARRO,
L. ÆMILIUS
PAULUS, Con-
suls.

Aul. Gel. B. 16.

c. 4.

Livy, B. 22.

c. 38.

Livy, B. 22.

c. 38.

Liv. ibid.

c. 39.

⁴ See what we have said, in several Places of his History, of the Forms, and different sorts of

military Oaths, in use among the Romans; especially B. 7. p. . of Vol. 1. Note .

Year of *to draw a Parallel between them. But for the sake of the publick Good, I will*
 R O M E *venture to tell you, that the Method I took to weaken Hannibal, is the only one*
 DXXXVI. *that can succeed. The Event plainly proves it; but, I grant, that it is a Weak-*
 C. TERENTI- *ness to judge of Things by the Success of them. Reason only is our sure Guide*
 US VARRO, *and Reason is on my Side. We are making War in the Heart of Italy, with a Fo-*
 L. ÆMILIUS *reigner who has nothing to support him, but his Robberies. We, who are near*
 PAULUS, CON- *Rome, and in the midst of our Allies, cannot want Men, or Provisions. Their*
 suls. *Fidelity confirms our Hopes, and confounds our Enemies. We need only take care*
not to be overcome, and we shall be sure of their Constancy. But how different is
Hannibal's Case! He is shut up in an Enemy's Country, far from his own, with-
out Hopes of receiving any Succours from home, either by Sea or Land: How then
shall he repair his Losses? He has scarce one third Part left of the Troops he
brought from Spain. More of them have perished by Hunger, than by the Sword.
What Difficulties does he find, at this day, to subsist his Troops? Every Day
produces a fresh Diminution of his Army. He has neither Money, Ammunition,
nor Recruits: How then can he long subsist? If we do but sit still, and look on,
we shall see his Army destroyed of course. What Efforts did Hannibal make, to
preserve Geronium, a paltry Village in Apulia? Could he have done more, to have
defended Carthage? You see to what a Condition I have reduced him. But not
to speak of myself only; with what Prudence have Servilius and Attilius eluded
his Artifices? Æmilius! I say again, that there is no Way of subduing Hannibal,
but by watching his Motions, without fighting him. This Method will indeed be
opposed, and thwarted; that is what you must expect. Your Colleague, your Sol-
diers, and Hannibal, will all, as it were by Concert, endeavour to bring you to a
Battel. You will have the Attacks of two Generals to sustain; but a little Steadi-
ness will raise you above them, and popular Rumours. Don't suffer yourself to be
influenced, either by the Vanity of your Colleague, the Precipitation of your Soldiers,
or the Fear of Disgrace. True Merit may be obscured for a time; but it will
soon recover its Lustre. To despise trifling Honours, is the sure Way to acquire
true Glory. You will be called Coward; but the Enemy will dread your Fearful-
ness, and admire your Prudence. Not to hazard any thing; not to fight, but upon
sure Grounds; to take all Advantages oneself; and not to suffer the Enemy to take
any; are certain Steps to immortal Honour, tho' your Reputation suffer for a
moment.

THE same Sentiments which *Fabius* inculcated, were beforehand strongly im-
 printed on the Mind of *Æmilius*; but he was sensible, he should find it a very
 difficult Matter to put them in Execution. If you, said he to *Fabius*, could not
 resist the Intrigues, and Impetuosity, of a General of Horse; how shall I be able to
 hold out against a Colleague, who is equal to me in Authority, and is more powerful
 by his Interest? If I am General one Day; I shall be but a Subaltern the next.
 Besides, the People will always authorize the Enterprizes of *Terentius*; and my
 Opposition will only prove prejudicial to myself. Shall I again incur the Displeasure
 of the Commons? One Experiment of that kind has cost me too much already. What
 then can I do, but refer all to the Gods? I stand resolved, rather to die by the
 Hands of a Carthaginian, than be tried by the Roman People a second time.

THUS spake the unfortunate *Æmilius*, and then set out for the Army. It
 must be owned, his Situation was deplorable. His Birth, his Services, and his
 Victories, were all going to be obscured, and rendered insignificant, by the supe-
 rior Power of a worthless Colleague. He was going to see his good Intentions,
 and prudent Counsels, subjected to the Caprices of a mere Man of Fortune, who
 had neither Understanding, nor Experience. Such is the hard Fate of great Men,
 in a Republican State! This so much boasted Liberty, is a mere Phantom, which
 only deceives, and has nothing real in it. *Terentius Varro* set out the same Day
 with his Colleague. The *Patrician Consul* was attended by the most illustrious Se-
 nators; the *Plebeian*, by a Crowd of People, who followed him to the Gates of
 the City. Worth was on one Side, Numbers on the other.

§.IV. WHEN the *Consuls* arrived at the Camp, they found the Affairs of Rome
 in a good Condition. All the time *Attilius* and *Servilius* had commanded in
 chief, they had conducted themselves prudently, and followed the Maxims of *Fa-*
bius. They had hazarded no Battel; but had been content with harrassing the
 Enemy.

Enemy by flight Skirmishes, in which the *Romans* had had some Advantage. So that the *Legions* had been kept in continual Exercise, without suffering any Diminution: and the old *Consuls* delivered up their Troops into the Hands of their Successors entire, and in a very good Condition.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVI.

C. TERENTI-
US VARRO,
L. ÆMILIUS
PAULUS, Con-
suls.

ATTILIUS, and *Servilius*, as *Pro Consuls*, commanded a little separate Army, which encamped nearer to the Enemy. The main Army, commanded by the *Consuls*, was posted at some distance from theirs: and, all things considered, there were in the two *Roman* Camps, no less than eighty seven thousand Men.

THE Spring was now far advanced, and the Earth began to bring forth her First-Fruits; and it became necessary for *Hannibal* to leave *Geronium*, where he had spent the Winter, and Part of the Spring, in order to subsist his Troops. He had scarce ten Days Provisions left: And he was forced to go and search for more, in a desolate Country. On the other hand, the *Romans* had taken care to empty all the Barns in the Country of their Corn, and carry it into walled Cities. So that Want began already to terrify the *Spaniards* in the *Carthaginian* Army; and they had thoughts of deserting.

NEVERTHELESS, *Hannibal* still appeared unmoved. He knew the Genius of the *Consul Terentius*, and took it for granted, notwithstanding the Number of his Enemies, that he should soon gain a Victory, which would give him more Liberty; and in this Confidence, he kept up the Courage of his Soldiers. The *Carthaginians* indeed met with a Check at first, from the *Romans*. Some Pillagers of *Hannibal's* Army were met by a great Body of the *Consular* Troops; who fell upon them, and in a tumultuary Engagement killed about seventeen hundred of them. It was *Æmilius's* Day: and he commanded his Soldiers to restrain their Ardour, and hindered them from pursuing the Enemy too far, for fear of an Ambuscade. At this *Terentius* murmured. He pretended, that his Colleague had deprived the *Romans* of a favourable Opportunity, of gaining a complete Victory. As for *Hannibal*, it is difficult to say, whether he was more grieved at his Loss, or rejoiced at having thrown a Bait in *Terentius's* Way, which would soon draw him into a Snare. The cunning *Carthaginian* laid one for him, the very next Night. He ordered his Soldiers to decamp, leaving all the valuable things they had behind them, and carrying nothing with them but their Arms. He posted his Infantry, ready formed, behind the Hills to the Left, and the Cavalry behind those to the Right; and the heavy Baggage was lodged in a Valley between them. His Design was to fall upon the *Romans*, as soon as he should see them busy in pillaging his deserted Camp.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 41.

AND the better to deceive the inconsiderate *Terentius*, who was to command that Day, *Hannibal* had left great Fires burning in his Camp; which were to make him believe, that the *Carthaginian* was fled, and left them burning, to conceal his Flight. In the Morning, when the Advanced-Guard came to be relieved, the *Romans* were surprized at the Silence which reigned in the Enemy's Entrenchments; and were not long, before they were satisfied, that there was no body left in them. News was soon brought to the Generals, That the Terror of the Enemy had been so great, that they were suddenly fled, without striking their Tents; and That there was a considerable Booty in their Camp: and this raised the Avarice of the *Roman* Soldiers; who cried out, That they must first pursue the Fugitives, and then return, and plunder the Camp. *Æmilius* indeed, was not so credulous: But what could he do? He could only advise now; and his Advice was little more regarded, than that of a private Soldier. Nevertheless, he ventured to send a Man, in whom he could confide, with a Troop of Horse, to examine the deserted Camp. *Marcus Statilius* was the Name of this Officer; who reported, That he himself, with two Horsemen, entered the Enemy's Lines; That he had great reason to suspect, there was some Artifice in the sudden Departure of the *Carthaginians*; That there were no Fires lighted in the Camp, but on the Side next the *Romans*; That all the Clothes of the Soldiers were left behind them; and That Money was designedly thrown in the Streets of the Camp, to quicken the Avarice of the Pillagers. A Report, which ought to have abated the Ardor of the Soldiers; but it excited their Covetousness. They all loudly demanded to be led to the Spoil; and protested, that they would march without their Officers, if they refused to lead them. *Terentius* therefore complied with

Year of with their earnest Desires; and founded a March. So that *Æmilius* had no Way
R O M E left to put a stop to the Impetuosity of his Collegue, but by having recourse to
 DXXXVI. Religion.

C. TERENTI-
 US VARRO,
 L. ÆMILIUS
 PAULUS, Con-
 suls.

CHICKENS were carried about in the *Roman* Armies, that the *Augurs* might con-
 sult them, in all dubious Cases; and their Keepers declared on this Occasion, that
 they prognosticated nothing but ill Success: which was enough to restrain the rash
Consul, and his covetous Soldiers. *Terentius* remembered, that *Appius Claudius*,
 in the first *Punick* War, and *Flaminius* very lately, had lost great Armies, by neg-
 lecting the *Auguries*: and this Scruple suspended his Rashness, and the Defeat of
 his Army, for some time. The same Day, two Slaves escaped out of the Enemy's
 Hands; declared, that *Hannibal* had laid his Troops in Ambush near his Camp;
 and would have fallen suddenly on the *Romans*, when busy in plundering it; and
 this made the *Legions* the more ready to submit to the Orders of their Generals.
 As for *Hannibal*, as soon as he found his Artifice would not succeed, he imme-
 diately returned to his Camp.

IN the mean time, the Scarcity of Provisions daily increased in the *Carthaginian*
 Army, and they were but sparingly distributed among the Soldiers, whose Mur-
 murs increased to a kind of Revolt. This was the first *Hannibal* had to appease,
 since he had left *Spain*. His Troops demanded both Bread and their Pay. But
 there were no more Convoys of Provision to be expected, no more Fields to pil-
 lage. In this Extremity therefore, the *Carthaginian* had Thoughts of retiring into
Cisalpine Gaul, with his Cavalry only, and leaving his Infantry to the Mercy of
 the *Romans*: But he acted a more judicious Part. He left *Samnium*, and came in-
 to the Heart of *Apulia*. The Climate there was warmer, and he hoped to find the
 Corn in a greater Forwardness. Besides, the farther he got from the Enemy, the
 less frequently did his Men desert. He decamped therefore in the Night, left Fires
 burning, and Tents standing in his Camp, and made the *Romans* believe for some
 time, that his real Retreat was but a feigned Flight. The same *Statilius* was again
 sent to view *Hannibal's* Camp, and the adjacent Places; and he brought word that
 there was no Appearance of any Enemy near *Geronium*. Nevertheless, the two
Consuls persisted in their former Opinions. *Æmilius*, and almost the whole
 Council of War, were against following *Hannibal*. But *Terentius* obstinately in-
 sisted on marching after the Enemy, tho' backed by no body, except the *Pro-*
Consul Servilius. A rash Resolution, in which the evil Genius of *Rome* con-
 firmed the imprudent *Consul*, notwithstanding the Opposition of his Collegue!

S. V. *CANNÆ* was, till this time, an obscure City in *Apulia*, and has
 since been famous only for the Misfortune of the *Romans*. It stood on the Banks
 of the *Aufidus* ⁶, in a vast Plain, was only five Miles from ⁷ *Canusium*, and six
 from the *Adriatic* Sea; and there *Hannibal* halted, for several Reasons. He found a
 Magazine of Corn there, which had been brought from *Canusium*, for the Sub-
 sistence of the *Roman* Armies; so that the Scarcity passed all on a sudden from the
Carthaginians to the *Romans*, for some time. Besides, the Citadel of *Cannæ* com-

Polybius, B. 3.
 c. 107.

⁵ *Cannæ* was, according to *Livy*, only a poor
 little Village, which afterwards became famous for
 nothing but *Hannibal's* Victory: and *Appian*, in *An-*
nibalicis, and *Florus*, B. 2. c. 6. say the same thing.
 But I rather incline to believe *Polybius*, who lived
 near the Time of the second *Punick* War. He says
 that *Cannæ* had the Title of a City; but adds, that
 it was razed a Year before the Battel fought there,
 between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*; so that it
 was but a Village at that time. And *Silius's* Ac-
 count, B. 8. agrees with that of *Polybius*.

Ut ventum ad Cannas Urbis vestigia Priscæ.

There is reason to believe, that *Cannæ* was rebuilt.
 At least, it is certain that *Pliny*, B. 3. c. 11. ranks
 it among the Cities of *Apulia*. *Inter alios Apulie*
Oppidanos referuntur, & nobiles clade Romana *CAN-*
NENSES. Its Ruins are yet to be seen, near the
 Place which the Natives call *Cannæ*, in *Apulia Pen-*
cetia, now *The Land of Bari*.

⁶ The River *Aufidus*, which the Natives call *O-*
santo, or *L'Osanto*, rises in one of the *Appennines*,

near the Confines of *Old Hirpinia*, or *The further*
Principality, a Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*.
 It runs between *Apulia Daunia*, and *Apulia Pen-*
etia, and divides them; and it discharges itself into
 the *Adriatic* Sea.

⁷ Twenty five *Stadia* above *Cannæ*, that is, three
 thousand one hundred twenty five geometrical Pa-
 ces from it, along the River *Aufidus*, was the an-
 cient City of *Canusium*. Some have very impro-
 perly confounded it with *Cannæ*. It is now called
Canosa, and is an Episcopal Seat, in *The Land of*
Bari. *Strabo*, B. 6. mentions another maritime Ci-
 ty, which he sometimes calls *Canusium*, and some-
 times *Emporium Canusitarum*. This Place was, ac-
 cording to him, but about six *Stadia*, or seven hun-
 dred and fifty geometrical Paces, which make near
 a Quarter of a League, from the *Adriatic* Sea. The
 Inhabitants of *Canusium* spoke both the *Greek* and
Latin Tongues; and for this reason *Horace* calls
 them *Bilingues*, B. 1. Sat. 10. *Canusini* more *Bi-*
linguis. They said they were originally *Greeks*, and
 boasted that *Diomedes* was their Founder.

manded the whole Country. Tho' the City had been razed the Year before, the Castle was left standing: And from thence Incursions might be made into all *Agro Romanum*. And lastly, this seemed to be an excellent Situation for a Battel. *Hannibal* was sensible, That in an open Country his Cavalry, which made him invincible, would have full Room to extend themselves; and That if he chose their Ground well, he might avoid the Inconveniencies of the Wind and Sun: Two essential Points in a pitched Battel.

Year of
ROMAN
DXXXVII.
C. TERENTI-
US VARRO,
L. ÆMILIUS
PAULUS, Con-
suls.

WHILST *Hannibal* continued at *Cannæ*, the *Consuls*, who were divided in Opinion, sent Courier after Courier, to *Rome*, to have their Differences decided there. Nay, *Æmilius* went to *Rome* himself, and brought back with him the Orders of the Senate. The *Conscript Fathers* indeed thought it necessary to fight the Enemy; but they advised *Terentius* not to do it yet.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 107.

WHEN *Æmilius* returned to the Camp, he thought it necessary to harangue the Troops, and declare to them the Intentions of the Senate. *We are ordered to fight,* said he to them; *so that the whole Campaign will not be spent without trying your Valour against the Enemy. Tho' formerly overcome by Hannibal, we have now no Reason to fear the same Fate we met with upon the Tessin, the Trebia, and at the Lake Thrasimenus. On the Banks of the Tessin, the two Consular Armies were not united. On the Trebia, the Carthaginians had only new and unexperienced Troops to contend with. And lastly, the Fogs of the Lake Thrasimenus, and the Accidents of the Season, contributed more to our Overthrow there, than the Valour of the Carthaginians, or the Ability of their General. But now the Case is quite otherwise: Two stronger Consular Armies than we ever had, are united. Besides our Commanders in Chief, the two Consuls for the last Year assist us with their Counsels and their Swords. Our Armies know their Enemies, and by having tried them, have learnt not to fear them. Thus Pyrrhus taught us by his first Victories, how to conquer him. Since we have already conquered Hannibal in slight Battels, why should we not hope to overcome him in a general Action? Upon the Success of it depend the Safety of our Country, and of Rome, the Liberty of our Wives and Children, and lastly, the Ruin or Preservation of this formidable Republick. Thus spake Æmilius; and the Army was ordered to decamp the next Day. In two Days time they came up with Hannibal, on the Banks of the Aufidus, and drew near to Cannæ.*

THE artful *Carthaginian* had already taken his Post on the Banks of the River. He had disposed all things, as if he was just coming to a Battel; his Troops had the Sun behind them at Noon; and the *Romans* were exposed both to the Inconveniencies of too strong a Light, and of the ^s South-South-East Wind, which by intervals raised Clouds of Dust in the Plain.

As for the *Consuls*, they were no sooner within Reach of *Cannæ*, but a Dispute arose between them. *Æmilius* was utterly against the *Roman* Army's encamping in an open Place, where the Enemy's Cavalry, which was superior to theirs, would have all the Advantage of the Ground. He insisted upon encamping in a more hilly Ground, where only the Infantry could act, or at least the Cavalry could act but faintly: And it being his Day to command, he would advance no further, and refused to enter into the Plain. But the next Day, *Terentius*, who was more ignorant, and more obstinate, advanced with his Army towards the Enemy; and the *Romans* were yet upon their March, when *Hannibal* came to harass them with his Cavalry, and a Body of light-armed Infantry. He at first put the Troops he attacked into Disorder. But the *Romans* rallied, pursued their Aggressors; gained some Advantage over them; and *Hannibal* retired, towards the Close of the Day, with more Loss than he had expected.

THE next Day, *Æmilius*, who commanded in Chief, would very willingly have retired out of the Plain: But *Terentius* had brought the Army into such a Situation there, that it could not retire without Danger. The only Method he could take, was to encamp there. *Æmilius* therefore fortified two Camps, one on each Side of the *Aufidus*, about the same Distance from each other, as the Camps had been near *Geronium*. In the great Camp on the West Side of the River, *Æmilius*

^s That Wind which in the Ocean is now called South and by South-East, was called by the *Latins*, *Vulturnus Ventus*.
The South-South-East, and which the *Italians* call
in the Mediterranean, *Ostro Verso Siroco*, or the

Year of
ROM E
DXXXVII.

C. TERENTI-
US VARRO,
L. ÆMILIUS
PAULUS, Con-
suls.

quartered two thirds of the *Roman* Army; and the other third he reserved for the other Camp on the East Side of the *Aufidus*. There was a Communication between them by a Bridge. And now, the *Patrician Consul*, enraged to see a contemptible Collegue, who knew nothing of War, lord it over him, no longer kept up that Correspondence with him, which was necessary, in case they would succeed. Each *Consul* had his different Maxims; and each succeeding Day destroyed the Projects of the preceding. There was no longer any Unanimity or Harmony in the Conduct of the two *Roman* Generals.

As soon as *Hannibal* perceived that the Enemy was encamped in a Place which so well suited his Purpose, he plainly saw that they could not long avoid a general Action. He therefore assembled his Troops round his Tent, and addressed himself to them thus: *Cast your Eyes yonder, on the Country where the Consuls lie. Could the Gods offer us more favourable Circumstances? What a Field is here open for the Valour and Skill of our Cavalry, whose Looks the Romans cannot bear? See! these skilful Generals are brought under an absolute Necessity of fighting, in a disadvantageous Place. Return Thanks to the Gods, for having led them into the Snare; and remember, you are indebted to me for having allured them thither. But what Necessity is there to exhort you to behave yourselves bravely? I did it, whilst you were under any Prejudices in favour of the Roman Valour; but now you know it, and do yourselves Justice. The many Defeats you have given the Romans, have shewn that they are not invincible. One Victory more will put you in Possession of their Lands; or even of all Italy. I indeed promised you the Conquest of it; help me to perform that Promise.*

THIS Discourse was universally applauded: And *Hannibal* instantly removed from the Eastern to the Western Side of the River, and posted himself over-against the greater *Roman* Camp. He lodged but one Night in his Entrenchments, before he began to act. The next Morning he drew out his Army in Battalia, and bid the *Romans* Defiance. It was *Æmilius's* Day to command: And he, knowing that *Hannibal* had already consumed the Magazine he found at *Cannæ*, and would soon be obliged to decamp, for want of Provisions; despised the Bravadoes of the Enemy, and did not stir out of his Camp, which he had well fortified.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 45.

IN the mean time, *Hannibal*, who was more uneasy than he appeared to be, did not lose the Day, without doing something. He perceived that the Soldiers of the little *Roman* Camp were busy in drawing Water out of the River; and he instantly detached his *Numidian* Horse, and ordered them to pass the River, and fall upon these scattered Men. Accordingly, the *Numidians* surprized them, when busy at Work, put them to Flight, and followed them to the advanced Guard, and even to the Gates, of their Camp. Then this unexpected Insult transported *Terentius* with Rage. Had he had the Command this Day, he would immediately have ordered the Troops of the great Camp to march out, and pass the River, and the Battel had been fought. But he tarried till the next Day.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 112.

INDEED a slight Affront made greater Impressions on the rash *Consul's* Mind, than the solid Reasons of his Collegue. When he found himself invested with the whole Authority, he hoisted up the red Flag, which was the Signal for a Battel, over his Tent, without consulting *Æmilius*. In the mean time, News was brought to *Rome*, that the Armies were in sight of each other; and that a Battel could not long be deferred: And the Disquietude of the *Romans* was equal to their Danger. They called to Remembrance the ill Success of the *Trebia*, and the Lake *Thrasymenus*, and dreaded the like Misfortunes. All the People had some Predictions of the *Sybilline* Books by heart. They repeated those which foreboded nothing but Ill; and said, *What will become of us, if the Event be answerable to these Oracles!* Even the least ill Accidents in private Houses, were turned into inauspicious Prognosticks. Hence the Vows, Prayers and Sacrifices, which were offered up in private Oratories, and in the Temples. Indeed no People were ever more susceptible of the Impressions of Religion, than the *Romans*; but their Superstition did not enervate their Courage.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 45.
Polyb. B. 3.
c. 113.

SUPPLICATIONS were offered up in the City, whilst all Things were preparing for a Battel, in the Country. As soon as it was Day, *Terentius* marched his Troops out of the great Camp, passed the *Aufidus*, and drew them up in the vast Plain where the little Camp had been pitched. His Collegue followed him, much against his

his Will; but his Duty obliged him to obey. As fast as the *Legions* entered the Plain designed for the Field of Battel, the General for the Day, accompanied with his *Lictors*, drew them up in Battalia; and his whole Army faced the South. The imprudent *Consul* did not foresee, that in the middle of the Day, that is, in the Heat of the Action, his Troops would have the Sun strong in their Eyes. The *Consular* Infantry was drawn up in three Lines, with Spaces in them, after the old Roman Manner. The *Hastati* were in the first Line, the *Principes* in the second, and the *Triarii* in the third: But in this last Line the *Manipuli* were deeper and stronger than in the two first. The Cavalry was posted in the two Wings. In the right, the *Roman Knights* flanked the *Legionaries*; in the left, the Cavalry of the Allies covered their own Infantry. The Dartmen and Slingers at the Head of the Army, filled the Ground between the Enemy and the *Romans*, and were to retire into the Spaces in the Lines, when they had made their Charge. The two *Consuls* commanded the two Wings, *Æmilius* the right, and *Terentius* the left; and the *Pro Consuls*, *Servilius*⁹ and *Attilius*, commanded the main Body.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
C. TERENTI-
US VARRO,
L. ÆMILIUS
PAULUS, Con-
suls.

HANNIBAL, on the other hand, no sooner perceived that the Enemy was at last determined to come to a Battel, but he immediately left his Entrenchments, passed¹¹ the River, and drew up his Men in the Plain. His Army did not consist of more than fifty thousand Men; but his ten thousand Horse gave him great Hopes of gaining the Victory. He posted them in the Wings; the Cavalry of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* in his left, to face the *Roman Knights*: and his *Numidian* Horse in his right, against the Cavalry of the Allies of *Rome*. His Infantry made almost as large a Front as that of the *Romans*, but it was differently drawn up. The *African* Battalions were divided into two Parts. One of which was posted near the *Spanish* and *Gallic* Horse, to the right; and the other near the *Numidian* Horse, to the left. Between these two Bodies of Infantry, the *Spanish* Battalions on one Side, and the *Gallic* on the other, made a sort of obtuse Triangle, with¹² a *salient Angle* which pointed towards the Enemy, and had a Passage thro' the middle of it. In this manner the first Line of the *Carthaginians* was drawn up; the second was strait, and had no Projection. But the Soldiers in the *Carthaginian* Army were not all armed or dressed alike. The *Africans* were armed and clothed after the *Roman* Manner. *Hannibal* had taken care to dress them in the Spoils of the many *Roman* Officers and Soldiers which had been killed, in his last Battels. The *Spaniards*¹³ and *Gauls* wore the same Bucklers; but their offensive

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 114.

⁹ In order to understand the Disposition of the *Roman* Army, in the Battel of *Cannæ*, it is necessary to recollect what we have said, Vol. 2. of the Order in which the *Legions* and Auxiliaries were usually drawn up in Battalia. See the Plate annexed to our Dissertation on the ancient Way of ordering the *Roman* Armies.

¹⁰ According to *Livy*, B. 22. only *Cneius Servilius Geminus*, one of the *Consuls* for the last Year, commanded the main Body of the *Roman* Army. But *Polybius* joins with him in that Command, his Colleague *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, who had been chosen in the room of *Flaminius*.

¹¹ *Plutarch* adds one Circumstance here, which has escaped the other Historians, and among the rest *Polybius* and *Livy*. *Terentius Varro*, says he, without any Regard to the Remonstrances of his Colleague *Æmilius*, went and encamped within sight of *Hannibal*, on the Banks of the *Aufidus*, near the Town of *Cannæ*. The Boldness of the *Consul* surprized the *Carthaginians*. They were terrified at the Sight and Appearance of the prodigious Number of the Enemy's Troops, who were preparing to fight. *Hannibal*, who saw the Terror of his Men, ordered them to Arms: And then mounting his Horse, advanced, attended with some Officers, to an Eminence, whence it was easy to view the whole *Roman* Army. Among those who attended him, was *Gisco*, a Man of great Distinction among the *Carthaginians*, and almost upon an equal Foot with *Hannibal*: And on the Sight of this terrible Number of Enemies, which covered the Plain, *Gisco* could not help saying that the Multitude of them was surprizingly great. It is much more surprizing,

replied *Hannibal*, that not one of all these Soldiers bears the Name of *Gisco*; and this Jest, which was unexpected, was received with Applause. It passed from Mouth to Mouth, and the *Carthaginians* were pleased with repeating it, and laughed at it. Which was enough, adds *Plutarch*, to enliven *Hannibal's* Soldiers, and raise their Courage. They persuaded themselves that their General would not have been so merry, on the Day of a decisive Battel, if he had not thought himself sure of the Victory.

¹² See what *Plutarch* says of this Disposition. *Hannibal* placed his choicest Troops in the Wings, and reserved for himself the Command of the main Body, which consisted of his weakest Battalions. And he drew it up in such a manner that it terminated in a Point, and projected a considerable Way beyond the two Wings. Then he ordered the Troops in his Flanks to forbear fighting till the *Romans* had broken thro' this Front, or rather the Point of this Triangle, and were got into the Center of the Army. But as soon as that was done, he commanded his two Wings to exert themselves, and surround the *Roman* Troops on all Sides.

¹³ We have already spoken of the *Spanish* Swords, and the *Sabres* used by the ancient *Gauls*. See B. 15. p. 95. of Vol. 2. Note 34. and p. 118. of Vol. 2. Note 78. According to *Strabo*, B. 2. almost all the *Spaniards* used *Pelta*, or *Cetra*, which were a Sort of light Bucklers, in the Form of a Crescent. By these light Arms, adds that Geographer, the *Spaniards* were better prepared to make Incursions, and could more easily practise their Robberies, as the *Lusitanians* did.

Arms

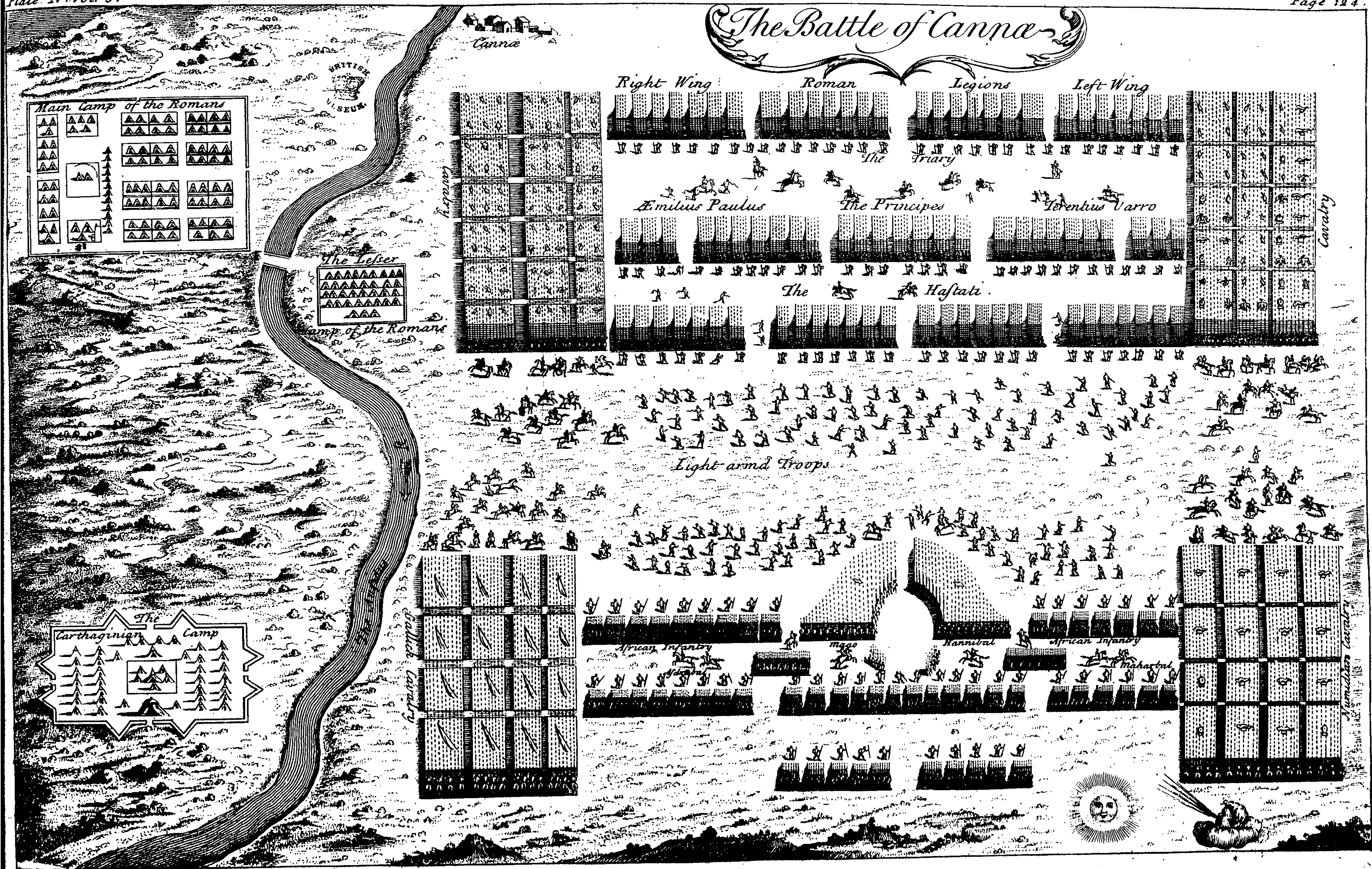
Year of Arms were different. The former made use of short Swords, which were both
 R O M E edged and pointed. The latter only used the *Sabre*, which would cut, but not stab.
 DXXXVII. And therefore their Ranks were less closed than the others, that they might have
 the more room to strike. The *Spaniards* wore a white woollen Vest, bordered
 C. FERENTI- with Purple; the *Gauls* were naked to the Waste; so that there was something
 US VARRO, inexpressibly barbarous and terrible in their Appearance. *Asdrubal* and *Maharbal*
 L. EMILIUS commanded, one the right Wing, and the other the left; whilst *Hannibal* and
 PAULUS, CON- *Mago* his Brother led up the main Body. And lastly, the *Carthaginian* Army had
 suls. the Advantage of looking towards the North, and thereby of being in no Fear of
 having the Sun directly in their Eyes, all the Day.

§. VI. THE first Onset was made by the light armed Infantry, the *Romans* shout-
 ing, and their Trumpets sounding. The Assailants on both Sides flung their Stones
 and threw their Darts, with almost equal Success: Nevertheless, the *Consul Emi-*
lius was wounded. Then the Cavalry of the right Wing of the *Romans* advanced,
 and fell upon the Cavalry *Hannibal* had posted in his left. But these Squadrons did
 not fight after the usual manner. There were no feigned Flights, no sudden Re-
 turns, no Wheelings in the Plain, in order to attack the Enemy in Flank. For
 they were shut in by the River on one Side, and their Infantry on the other. So
 that the Cavalry only attacked in Front. Inconceivable Efforts were made on
 both Sides, to over-bear and beat down each other; and all on a sudden the Ca-
 valry dismounted, and fought on foot, Man to Man, with inexpressible Fury. But
 this Attack was more vigorous and bloody, than long. The *Romans* gave way
 before the *Spanish* and *Gallic* Horse, and lost more Men in their Retreat, than
 in the Action. Being put into Disorder, the Enemy pursued them along the Ri-
 ver fighting, and strewed the Ground with their dead Bodies, giving no Quar-
 ter. And before this Battel was well finished, the Infantry entered upon Action.
 They advanced slowly on both Sides, and covered the Ground which the Slinger
 and Dart-men had left. The *Spanish* and *Gallic* Battalions, which presented the
 Enemy a *salient Angle*, which was consequently the more easily broken, because
 the Point of it was weaker, and not so well supported, were first attacked; and
 after some Resistance they were easily repulsed. They gave way; changed their
 triangular Form, in which they were at first drawn up, by degrees; ranged them-
 selves in a strait Line; and continually retired, and lost Ground, in order to draw
 the *Romans* into the middle of their Line. And indeed, the Courage of the *Con-*
sular Infantry carried them too far. They were insensibly brought between the
African Battalions, which were next to the two Wings of the *Carthaginian* Army.
 And at length, tho' it may seem very incredible, the less numerous Army found
 out the Secret of surrounding the more numerous. Then *Hannibal's* Expectations
 were answered. The Battalions he had posted near the Wings of his Army, and
 which he had on purpose drawn up very deep, took the *Romans*, whom an artful
 Retreat had drawn into the Snare, both in Flank and Rear. And then the *Ro-*
mans, thus attacked on all Sides, no longer kept their Ranks. In order to defend
 themselves against this great Number of Enemies, which surrounded them, they
 gathered together in Plottoons, and drew up in several Circles, in order to face
 every Way. But how could Men disengage themselves, when entirely surrounded,
 or how sustain the Efforts of fresh Troops, which were sensible of their Ad-
 vantage!

ÆMILIUS, who was in the Right Wing, saw the Danger of the main
 Body, whose Valour had carried them too far; and tho' wounded, he was ready
 to sacrifice his Remains of Life, and fall on the main Body of the Enemy. At
 the Head of the *Legionaries*, which were his only Hope, after the Defeat of the
 Cavalry, he penetrated into the opposite Squadrons, and by fighting and enco-
 raging his Men, acted the Part both of a Soldier, and a General, at the same time.
 He sought for *Hannibal* in the midst of the Crowd, but he was still in his Pow-

14 Add to this, says *Plutarch*, that *Hannibal* had
 also another Advantage, in the Post which he chose
 for his Army. His Men had a violent burning Wind,
 which then blew, directly behind them. This was a
 South-South-East Wind, which in this flat and sandy
 Country raised Clouds of hot Dust, carried them

over the *Carthaginian* Battalions, and blew them
 into the Eyes of the *Romans*; so that they were
 blinded with them; which forced them to turn their
 Heads, and break their Ranks, to guard against the
 Inconveniencies they suffered by the Dust.



ing up the *Carthaginians* to the Charge, and encouraging them by his Ex-
le.

WHILST all the other Bodies were in Motion, *Terentius*, in his Left Wing, at-
tacked the Enemy, but faintly. His Cavalry, which faced the *Numidians*, had
yet engaged; they were restrained by their Fear, at the Presence of the *Numi-*
Cavalry. In the mean time, *Hannibal* had allotted some Squadrons of them
another Enterprize. Five hundred of them were commanded to put a Trick
in the *Romans*, by a feigned Desertion; and having hid Swords under their
Arms, and covered their Shoulders with their great Shields, they left their Post,
and presented themselves to the Enemy, and laid down their Arms and
Swords, as it were by Way of surrendering themselves up to them. The *Ro-*
mans received them, because they thought them disarmed, and placed them be-
hind the Lines; and as long as the Victory was undetermined, they continued
so: but we shall soon see the Effect of their Treachery.

ALL this passed, whilst *Æmilius* with his *Legionaries* was recovering the Dis-
advantages of the Battel. All the *Roman* Cavalry that was left, attended the brave
General; and because his Wound, and Faintness, would not suffer him to fight on
his feet, they had all dismounted. Then *Asdrubal*, who commanded the Wing,
which had faced that which *Æmilius* had commanded, marched to the other
Wing, with his victorious Horse. There he gave Orders to the *Numidian* Squa-
drons, to reserve themselves, to fall upon the *Romans*, as soon as they should be
attacked; and then hastened to the Relief of the *African* Infantry, which *Æmilius*
with his *Legions*, and dismounted Horse, still vigorously pressed. He led thither
his *Gallic* and *Spanish* Infantry, which had begun the Attack, and had been re-
fused, but had afterwards rallied; and then, the *Romans* were over-powered in
all Places.

As soon as *Hannibal* saw the *Roman* Cavalry fighting on Foot, he foresaw the
Fate of the *Consular* Army. It was indeed a last Effort, the Vigour of which
could not last long. *Asdrubal's* Arrival encouraged the *Carthaginians*, and discour-
aged the *Romans*. Those faithful *Knights*, who had dismounted to defend their
General, were pushed with such Fury, that they were forced to remount their
Horses, and fly. They probably brought *Æmilius* out of the Battel, covered
with Wounds and Blood; but he was too faint to be able to reach the Camp.
Fate down upon a Stone; and as he was sitting there deserted, and panting
for Breath, one of the *Tribunes* of the *Roman* Army, named *Lentulus*, who was
as well as the rest, knew the *Consul*, and dismounted. The Gods, said he
to him, owe you a better Fate, since you are innocent of the publick Calamity. Whilst
you have yet some Strength left, mount my Horse, and save yourself; that Rome may
after all these Misfortunes, have this to add to them, That one of her Consuls is
fallen into the Enemy's Hands. But *Æmilius* replied with a faint Voice: I have
lived long enough, dear *Lentulus*; Fly, and let me die. Take care to give the Senate
Advice, to guard and fortify Rome; and tell *Fabius*, that I followed his Advice to
the very last. I had rather die on the Field of Battel, than live and be charged with
the Faults of my Colleague by the People of Rome. Then *Lentulus* passed on. The
Enemy, who pursued the *Romans*, wounded *Æmilius* with numberless Darts,
without knowing him: And thus fell one of the wisest, and bravest *Consuls*, and
one of the best Citizens, Rome had ever had.

IN the main Body, the invested *Romans* still continued to sell their Lives dear.
In order to face every Way, they had rallied in a circular Form; but the Circle

Plutarch's Account of the Circumstances of
the Death of the *Consul* *Æmilius Paulus*, is some-
what different from this. This great Man, says he, af-
ter he had discharged all the Duties of a good Citi-
zen and able General, in the midst of the Battel,
was thrown by his Horse, which probably had been
wounded. The Horsemen round him moved up,
and dismounted to defend him against the Attacks
of the Enemy; all the Cavalry which saw this Mo-
ment believed it was made by the General's Or-
der, and they, under this Persuasion, dismounted to
fight on Foot. *Hannibal* promised himself great
Advantages from this sudden Turn; and at the Sight

of these dismounted Horse, cried out, The *Romans*
themselves are preparing the Victory for us. If they
had surrendered themselves Prisoners, it would not
have done us so much Service. In the mean time,
Æmilius, wounded with many Darts, and in the
most acute Pain, sat on a Stone, expecting every
Moment to die. The great Quantity of Blood he
had lost, had so altered his Looks, that his Friends
and Domesticks passed by him, and did not know
him. At length, being tired with living any longer,
he threw himself into the middle of the Enemy's
Squadrons, who dispatched him.

Year of
ROM E
DXXXVII.
C. TERENTI-
US VARRO,
L. ÆMILIUS
PAULUS, Con-
suls.
Livy, B. 21.
c. 48.

Livy, B. 22.
c. 49.

Polybius, B. 34
c. 116.

Year of was lessened every Moment, by the Slaughter of those who were most exposed. **R O M E** There fell the two *Pro-Consuls*, *Servilius* and *Attilius*, who had been *Consuls* the last Year, and had by their Prudence reduced *Hannibal* to great Extremities. Then the *Numidian* Deserters, who were thought disarmed, and whom the *Romans* had placed behind their Left Wing, took hold of the general Consternation; drew out their Arms, which they had concealed; fell on the *Romans* behind, cut them in the Hams; and compleated their Defeat. Those who could, fled, some to the Right, and some to the Left, as the Ground, or the Enemy, gave them Opportunity; but all those who fled, did not escape. The *Numidian* Horse, who were fitter for a Pursuit, than a pitched Battel, made a terrible Slaughter of the disbanded *Romans*. The Plain was covered with them. *Hannibal* himself thought the Butchery so terrible, that he ordered his Soldiers to put a stop to it. About two thousand *Romans* gained the Citadel of *Cannæ*, and sheltered themselves there; but they soon surrendered to *Carthalo*, who invested it. As for *Terentius Varro*, the *Consul*, who was formerly so stout in Words, and who had been the Author of all these Misfortunes, without having signalized himself by any one Exploit, during the whole Action, or so much as taken the Pains to rally his Troops, in order to an honourable Retreat, he fled to ¹⁶ *Venusia*, with only seventy Horse ¹⁷. And after *Terentius* was fled, *Hannibal* had yet a new Battel to fight. Before *Æmilius* had left the great Camp in the Morning, he had ordered ten thousand Men to continue there till the Heat of the Action, and then go and attack the *Carthaginian* Camp. He had hoped, that *Hannibal*, whose Army was less numerous than the *Roman*, would leave but few Men in his Trenches, to defend them. But *Hannibal* had provided for every thing; and left his Camp sufficiently guarded. Nevertheless, it was attacked by the ten thousand Men, who began to get the better; and as soon as the main Action was over, *Hannibal* hastened to the Relief of the Besieged. He fell upon the Assailants, killed two thousand of them upon the Spot, and forced the rest to surrender Prisoners of War. Such was the famous Battel of *Cannæ*; which a *Latin* Author, tho' rather a Declaimer than an Historian, has represented naturally enough, when he says, *That the Heavens, the Earth, and the Sun, seemed to conspire with one of the Roman Generals, to make it unsuccessful*. The Meridian Sun dazzled the Eyes of the *Consular* Troops. A South-East Wind blew a Cloud of Dust in their Faces. The Day was serene, so that no Storm separated the Combatants. And lastly, the *Consul* *Terentius* was inconsiderate enough, to hazard the Fortune of the Republick in an Engagement upon a disadvantageous Piece of Ground. All Nature seems to have conspired against *Rome* at this time. At least forty five thousand *Romans* ¹⁸ were left dead upon the Spot. A great Number of Officers of Distinction,

Florus, B. 2.
c. 6.

Livy, B. 22.
c. 49.

¹⁶ *Venusia*, or *Venusia*, stood fifteen Miles West of *Cannusium*, between the Rivers *Aufidus* and *Bradanus*, which the *Italians* call the *Bradano*, and the *Ofanto*. It bordered upon *Hirpinia*, *Samnium*, *Apulia*, and *Lucania*. So that it is not strange, that some of the ancient Geographers, as *Strabo*, should place it in *Samnium*, others in *Apulia* *Peucetia*, and others in *Lucania*. *Pliny* ranks it among the Cities of *Apulia* *Dannia*. Hence these two Lines of *Horace*, B. 2. Sat. 1.

..... Sequor hunc, *Lucanus* an *Apulus*, anceps;
Nam *Venusinus* arat finem sub utrumque *Colonus*.

It had then long had the Title of a *Roman Colony*, as we are told by *Velleius Paterculus*, B. 5. *Horace* the Poet was born in this City. It still retains the Name of *Venusia*, but is entirely deserted.

¹⁷ *Livy*, B. 22. makes the Knights who attended *Terentius Varro*, in his Flight to *Venusia*, to have been but fifty; and B. 25. he says they were seventy. This Inconsistency therefore is an Argument in favour of *Polybius's* Account, which we have adopted.

¹⁸ Authors vary very much as to the Number of *Romans* killed and taken in the Battel of *Cannæ*. According to some Editions of *Livy*, the Republick lost there only forty thousand Foot, and two thousand

seven hundred Horse, Auxiliaries included; and yet in his twenty fifth Book, *Livy* reckons the Loss to have been above fifty thousand. According to *Polybius*, of six thousand *Roman* Horse, only seventy escaped to *Venusia*, with *Terentius Varro*: and three hundred of the Auxiliary Horse escaped, and fled different Ways. As to the Infantry, the *Greek* Historian declares, that besides the ten thousand Prisoners, who surrendered without striking a Stroke, and the three thousand who sought to save themselves by Flight, the *Romans* had seventy thousand Foot slain on the Field of Battel, who died fighting like brave Men. According to *Dion. Hal. Antiquities*, B. 2. of the six thousand Horse, and eighty thousand Foot, of which the Army of the two *Consuls* consisted, there were only three hundred and seventy saved of the former, and three thousand of the latter. If we give Credit to the Tradition which continued in *Plutarch's* time, fifty thousand *Romans* were killed in this Battel, and four thousand made Prisoners, exclusive of the ten thousand who were taken in the two Camps the Day after the Battel. As for *Hannibal*, he lost, according to *Polybius*, only four thousand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and about two hundred Horse. But *Livy* says, that eight thousand of the best of the *Carthaginian* General's Troops were killed in the Battel.

tion, two *Military* ¹⁹ *Quæstors*, twenty nine ²⁰ *Legionary Tribunes*, and among them, some who had formerly been *Consuls*, or *Prætors*, or *Ædiles*, all lost their Lives; besides the *Consul Æmilius*, and the two *Pro-Consuls*, *Servilius* and *Attilius*. Among the rest, the famous *Minucius* was also killed, who had been General of Horse the last Year, under the *Dictator Fabius*. The *Consul Terentius* had too closely copied his extravagant Fury; but did not imitate his Valour, and Virtues. There were among the Dead, fourscore Senators or Magistrates, who had a Right of voting in the Senate; and who were Volunteers in the Army. This cruel Defeat might have been compared to that which the *Romans* received on the *Allia*, if *Hannibal* had marched directly to *Rome*, as the *Gauls* did, after their Victory. The only Difference between the two Actions, was, that the Slaughter was greater at *Cannæ*, than on the *Allia*; but the *Gallic* General made a better Use of his Success, than the *African*. And one Remark was made after the Battle, which was, that on the Side where *Æmilius* commanded, a great Number of his Soldiers escaped, tho' their General was killed upon the Spot; whereas on *Terentius's* Side, who fled, scarce any saved their Lives. Indeed seventeen thousand Men, of the Right Wing fled for Refuge, ten thousand to the great Camp, and seven thousand to the little Camp. Those in the great Camp, having lost their Officers, foresaw that they should be attacked the next Day, and forced to surrender; and they therefore sent a Deputation to the little Camp, to advise them to join them, in order to march away together, early in the Night, and take Refuge in *Canusium*, a strong City, not far off. But a ridiculous Point of Honour had like to have ruined these unfortunate Men. *Is it our Business*, said they in the little Camp, *to go and join them; or theirs to come and join us? The Way is infested with Enemies; Why then should we only be exposed to Danger?* All the Authority of *Sempronius Tuditanus*, as *Legionary Tribune*, was little enough to bring some of these mad Fellows to Reason. *Do you then*, said he, *prefer the Infamy of being enslaved by the relentless Hannibal, to the slight Danger, and little Disgrace, of going to join your Fellow-Citizens? It is a small Number of the Enemy that stops up our Passage to them. Come on then, let us make our Way through an Handful of Numidians, before the Sun rises! Let us have the Glory of having conquered the Conquerors!* This said, the bravest of them immediately drew themselves up into a *Cuneus* or *Wedge*, marched out of their Camp in good Order; and arrived at the great Camp. The *Numidians* threw some Lances at them, but they warded them off with their Bucklers. The first Company that went to the great Camp, was only six hundred Men; but afterwards they were followed by a greater Number, who joining their Fellow-Soldiers there, marched away from this unfortunate Plain, before Day, and arrived safe at *Canusium*, leaving only the most cowardly behind them.

Year of
 R O M E
 DXXXVII.
 C. TERENTI-
 US VARRO,
 Consul.

Liv. B. 22.
 c. 50.

§. VII. IN the *Carthaginian* Camp, the Night was spent in Feasting and Rejoicings. *Hannibal* had never gained a more complete, or a more seasonable Victory. His Enterprize on *Italy* had proved abortive, and he had been ruined, if the Success of this Battle had either been doubtful, or inconsiderable. The *Roman* Army, in the Hands of *Fabius* or *Æmilius* alone, would have obliged the *Carthaginian* to have repassed the Seas, or the *Alpes*. But at Sun-rising his Hopes revived. He saw the Plain covered with *Romans*; whilst he had lost only four thousand *Gauls*, about fifteen hundred *Africans* and *Spaniards*, and about two hundred Horse. He heard the Applauses of his Officers, and Soldiers, with Pleasure, and received their Congratulations with an Effusion of Joy. He seemed resolved to taste the Sweets of it at leisure, and to rest his Army on the Place

Polybius, B. 3.
 c. 117.

tel. *Polybius* makes one Reflection on this Victory, so fatal to the *Roman* Republick, which we leave to the Consideration of military Persons. He says, that *Hannibal* owed most of his Victories to his Horse, which was the chief Strength of his Armies: and from thence concludes, that when all other things are equal, it is better to have an Advantage over an Enemy, in a numerous and well-disciplined Cavalry, than to have a better Infantry.

¹⁹ *Livy* says, that the Names of the two *Military Quæstors* who were killed in the Battle of *Can-*

ne, were *Lucius Attilius*, and *Lucius Furius Bibaculus*.

²⁰ According to some Editions of *Livy*, only twenty one *Tribunes* were killed on the Spot. In the old Text, the Expression is *viginti unu-decem*; a Way of speaking never used by the *Latins*. *Gronovius* guesses, with Probability enough, that the numeral Letters *IX* may have given rise to this barbarous Term *unu-decem*; which is so gross a Mistake, as can be ascribed only to the Copyists.

Year of where it had conquered. But *Mabarbal*²¹, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, ventured to remonstrate to him, that the least Delay would injure his Reputation
 R O M E DXXXVII.
 C. TERENTI-
 US VARRO,
 Consul.

My Lord, said he, *you must instantly set out for Rome. I will lead your Cavalry thither, and clear the Way for you, to that proud City. You will find it subdued to your Hands, by Fear and Consternation; and in five Days time, we shall sit in the Capitol.* But as bold as *Hannibal* was, he was not presumptuous. He feared the foolish Joy, that flows from Success, might ensnare him; he had not yet had time to cool. Besides, the Sight before his Eyes, made him reflect on the Vicissitude of human Affairs; and being full of these Thoughts, he returned *Mabarbal* Thanks for his Good-will, and said; *It is an Affair of Importance, and you will give me time to think of it.* Upon which *Mabarbal* took the Liberty to make him this Reply, which might have been enough to provoke him, at any other time; *My Lord, every Man has his Talents. Hannibal knows how to conquer; but he knows not how to make Advantage of his Victories.* Many indeed, among the²² Ancients, have thought as *Mabarbal* did, and have reproached the *Carthaginian* General, with his Dilatoriness, as what prevented his taking *Rome*. They say it was an irreparable Fault, which was the Cause of all *Hannibal's* Misfortunes. But it is as unjust as it is easy, to pronounce upon things after the Event. Who can say that *Hannibal* wanted either Ambition or Courage? If then he declined the Enterprize proposed, why should we not impute it to a Superiority of Reason, peculiar to the greatest Men? He knew the Temper of the *Romans* he had conquered; and his very Victories had taught him to fear them. He owed most of the Advantages he had gained over them, to the Rashness of some presumptuous *Consuls*, who had been chosen Generals by the Favour of the People, contrary to the Interest of the Publick. The *Roman* Infantry was not inferior to his. He had been wholly indebted to his Cavalry, for his Victories in the open Field; but of what Use could they be to him in a Siege? He foresaw that the *Roman Legions* would be invincible, when sheltered by Walls and Ramparts. He considered, that there was nothing which so very warlike a City, whose Inhabitants were all obliged to bear Arms, would not do, in Defence of their tutelary and domestick Gods. Besides, how could he subsist an Army in an Enemy's Country, amidst many Nations, which both understood the Art of War, and were very faithful to the Republick? These Considerations must, doubtless, have made an Impression on *Hannibal's* Mind. He, like a wise Pilot, dreaded the *Tarpeian Hill*, the famous *Capitol*, as a Rock on which his Glory might split.

No Nation, or City, in *Italy*, had yet declared for *Hannibal*; and he thought it necessary to gain over, or conquer, some of them, before he attempted the Siege of *Rome*. When he had fixed his Resolution, he continued on the Field of *Battel*, where he enjoyed the Pleasure of his Victory, for some Days. He gave up the Spoils of the dead to his Soldiers; and the Sight of so many Carcasses stretched on the Ground, affected the Conquerors themselves. Foot and Horse lay confused among one another, because they had fought and fallen together. Some *Romans* were found, who had only been wounded, and they, after lying all Night on the Field of *Battel*, endeavoured to raise themselves up: But the Enemy soon dispatched them. Others, who had had their Hams cut, begged the Barbarians to put an End to their Misery. Others had bit the Ground, and stifled themselves in the Sand: And among the rest, a very odd Scene presented itself. The *Carthaginians*, to their Surprise, found a *Numidian*, yet alive, lying stretched under the dead Body of a *Roman*.

²¹ *Plutarch* gives this Lieutenant-General, whom *Livy* calls *Mabarbal*, the Name of *Barca*; and it is easy to reconcile the two Authors. This *Mabarbal* was probably surnamed *Barca*, because he was of the *Barcan* Family, which was one of the most illustrious in the Republick of *Carthage*. For this reason, *Hamilcar* the Father of *Hannibal* has often the same Surname given him. *Florus* calls the *Carthaginian* Officer here spoken of, *Adherbal*; and says, that he was the Son of *Bomilcar*. *Livy*, B. 21. speaks of one *Mabarbal*, who was the Son of *Himilco*: but it is supposed that he was not the Person here mentioned.

²² *Zonaras* says, that *Hannibal* often reproached

himself for having suffered his Troops to languish in Idleness, after the *Battel* of *Cannæ*; and for not having pursued his Victory at a time, when the *Romans*, being exhausted of Men and Money, must have been forced to submit to the Conqueror's Will. But, says *Plutarch*, the tutelary Gods of *Rome* watched over her to preserve her, and stopped the Progress of the victorious General all at once. *Hannibal* was sensible of his Fault, when it was too late. The ill Success of his Affairs in *Italy*, made him often reflect on what followed after the *Battel* of *Cannæ*, and in his Fits of Uneasiness, he continually cried out, *O Cannæ! Cannæ!*

The latter had thrown himself headlong on his Enemy, and beat him down; and being no longer able to make use of his Weapons, because his Hands were cut off, had torn off the Nose and Ears of the *Numidian*, with his Teeth, and in this Fit of Rage had expired. The greatest Part of the Day was scarce sufficient for gathering up the Booty, that the *Romans* had left on the Plain; and towards the Evening, the victorious General ordered the two Camps to be besieged. The Reduction of them was all he wanted to complete his Victory; and there being none but Wounded or Cowards in them, they all surrendered upon Terms. They were suffered to march out of their Camps cloathed, but without their Arms. Every *Roman* was to pay three hundred *Denarii* * for his Ransom; every Man of the ²³ Allies two hundred †; every Slave one hundred ‡. Till this was done, *Hannibal* divided them into separate Companies, put them under different Guards, and kept them Prisoners. They scarce amounted to more than four thousand Men; the rest of those who retired to the two Camps, had escaped in the Night, and reached ²⁴ *Canusium*. There the Inhabitants of the City could only give these unhappy Fugitives Shelter; but a Woman, equally famous for her Birth, and her Liberality, supplied them with Necessaries. The *Romans* have transmitted her Name to Posterity. She was an *Apulian* Woman, called *Busa*. This generous Lady fed the Soldiers who had escaped Death, cloathed them, and furnished as many as would return home, with Provisions for the Way. *Rome* therefore, after the War, did her great Honours; and the Gratitude of the Republick did not fall short of her Benefactions to it ²⁵.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
C. TERENTI-
US VARRO;
Consul.

* 9 l. 7 s. 9 d.
† 6 l. 5 s. 2 d.
‡ 3 l. 2 s. 7 d.
Arbutnot.

§. VIII. AMONG those who fled to *Canusium* for Refuge, there were four ²⁶ *Legionary Tribunes*; and the *Roman* Soldiers, who were used to chuse their own Chiefs, after they had lost their Commanders, placed two of those *Tribunes* at their Head. One was of the *Claudian* Family; his Name was *Appius Claudius Pulcher*; and he had been *Ædile*. The second was of the famous *Cornelian* Family, and bore the Surname of *Scipio*. He was the Son of the elder of the two *Scipio's*, who were now actually making War in *Spain*, whither his Father *Publius* had been sent *Pro-Consul*. The young *Patrician*, yet in his earliest Youth, discovered great Dispositions for Heroism. It was reported of him, That he had helped the *Consul* his Father up, when he had fallen from his Horse, in the Battel of the *Tessin*; and it was well known, That he had distinguished himself in the Battel of *Cannæ*. It may be said, That the good *Genius* of *Rome* saved him, in this general Rout, to become afterwards the Conqueror of *Hannibal*, and give *Carthage* the greatest Blow she had ever had. We shall hereafter admire him, under the glorious Appellation of *Scipio Africanus*. And as he was now only between eighteen and nineteen Years ²⁷ old, it was Esteem only that could make the Soldiers prefer him before the old *Tribunes*, who had nothing to plead for them but their Age; and the young Soldier shewed himself worthy of the Choice they made.

WHILST *Scipio* was deliberating with his Colleague, what Measures to take, a young Lord, the Son of an old *Consul*, named *Furius*, brought him word, That the young Nobility among the Troops, who had escaped to *Canusium*, were seized with Terror; That they were actually assembled in a House in the City, and contriving how to leave *Italy*; and That they gave every thing up for lost, and were for retiring to some one of those Kings beyond Sea, who were Friends to the *Romans*.

THIS filled *Scipio* both with Horror and with Zeal. It was a pernicious Example, which

²³ It is easy to compute these several Sums, upon a Supposition that the *Denarius* was worth an *Attick Drachma*, which was worth about ten *Sols French*. See what we have said of the *Roman Denarius*, p. 504. of Vol. 2. Note 84.

²⁴ *Livy* says that four thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, retired in the Night, from the great Camp to *Canusium*.

²⁵ After the two Camps were taken, *Hannibal*, says *Livy*, gathered together the eight thousand Slain of his Army, and buried them: And some, according to him, affirm, that *Hannibal* fought for the Body of the *Consul Lucius Æmilius Paulus*; found it among an Heap of dead Bodies; and had Humanity enough to give this Great Man an honourable Burial.

²⁶ One of these four *Legionary Tribunes* was, according to *Livy*, *Fabius Maximus*, the Son of that *Fabius Maximus*, who had been *Dictator* the last Year. He was a *Tribune* of the first *Legion*. And another of them, according to him, was *Lucius Publicius Bibulus*, who commanded in the second *Legion*.

²⁷ *Publius Cornelius Scipio* was made *Curule Ædile*, according to some Authors, in the Year of *Rome* 540; or, as others, in the Year 541: and he was then but twenty three Years of Age. So that he could only be about nineteen, in this present Year 537.

Year of it was necessary to stifle in the Beginning. He immediately took with him a Com-
 R O M E pany of Soldiers, whom he exhorted to march against domestick Enemies, who
 DXXXVII. were more dangerous than foreign ones; and came to the Place where the Seditious
 C. TERENTI- were met.
 US VARRO,
 Consul.

SCIPIO's Presence surprized the Cowards, and their Fright was doubled, when they saw him come up, with his Sword drawn, to *Cæcilius Metellus*²⁸, the Author of the Plot, and address himself to him thus: *I call the Great Jupiter to witness, that I will never depart my Country, nor will I suffer any Man else to do it. This I solemnly swear; and do you, Cæcilius, either take the same Oath, or die.* The Fear of present Death made stronger Impressions on the young Deserters, than the Fright which had inclined them to abandon their native Country. They all took the Oath required of them, delivered themselves up to *Scipio*, and suffered him to set a Guard upon them. What then might not the *Romans* already promise themselves, from so very prudent and generous a Conduct, of a young Commander, who in his first Entrance upon publick Life, had happily terminated so nice an Affair without Bloodshed!

§. IX. As for *Terentius*, we left him at *Venusia*, whilst the scattered Remains of his Army were assembling at *Canusium*. This contemptible *Consul* escaped with only seventy Men, at first. But his Company was since increased to about four thousand of the Fugitives; who were liberally supplied with all Necessaries at *Venusia*. Nevertheless, as soon as he heard that six thousand of the Vanquished were at *Canusium*, he resolved to go thither with the Troops he had with him. It seems to have been more natural for him to have ordered the six thousand Men at *Canusium* to come to him at *Venusia*, than for him to have gone to them. The Remains of the *Roman* Army would thereby have been farther off from *Hannibal* and *Cannæ*. But the rash *Consul* judged otherwise, and came to *Canusium*, where his Forces had the Appearance of a *Consular* Army. They were about ten thousand Men. But the Support of so great a Number was a very heavy Burden upon the generous *Busa*. The Senate had not yet ordered Provisions thither, for their Subsistence. And indeed, the Condition of the conquered Army was not yet known at *Rome*. Fame, which always exaggerates in great Alarms, had reported there, That both *Consuls* had been killed; and That of their eighty seven thousand Men, there was scarce one left alive.

NEVER was a more universal Consternation than the present one, in *Rome*. The Citizens took it for granted, that *Hannibal* was already Master of *Apulia*, *Samnium*, and all the East of *Italy*. Their Lamentations were now greater than they had been after the Battel of the Lake *Thrasimenus*. And indeed, no other Nation could have supported itself under such terrible Calamities. All the *Roman* Constancy was necessary to prevent the fatal Consequences of so shocking an Affliction. Nevertheless, the Pilots did not leave the Rudder, when the Storm blew strongest. For want of *Consuls*, the two *Prætors* assembled the few Senators that were left, in the old²⁹ Palace of King *Hostilius*; and there they deliberated about what required most Dispatch, the Means of putting *Rome* into a Condition of Defence. There was Reason to fear that *Hannibal* would come and lay Siege to it, in order to complete his Victory. The Senators gave their Opinions very calmly; but they were every Moment interrupted with the Cries of the People, and Shrieks of the Women, who lamented the Loss of their Husbands, Children, or Fathers. So that it was difficult to come to any fixed Resolution, in the midst of this Tumult; and the Senators being divided in Opinion, the wise *Fabius* was desired to declare his.

THE Conduct of this prudent General was fully justified, by the Defeat of *Terentius*; and his Credit was raised by it. His Opinion, which was followed, was this: *I think we ought to send out Men well mounted, to The Appian Way, and*

²⁸ We have already spoken of the Family of the *Cæcilii*, p. 410. of Vol. 2. Note 5.

²⁹ There were two Buildings at *Rome*, each of which was called *Curia Hostilia*. One was distinguished by the Appellation of *Curia Hostilia Vetus*; which was built by *Tullus Hostilius*, in the Forum

Romanum. And the other was built on the Hill *Coelius*, after the Destruction of *Alba Longa*. See Vol. 1. p. 91. Note 116. *Tullus Hostilius*'s Palace was one of those Places where the Senate used to assemble.

The Latin ³⁰ Way, to bring us certain News of the Army. They will infallibly find some Fugitives there, who will tell us what is become of our Consuls, to what Place the Remains of our Troops are retreated, (where we ought to send them Succours,) where Hannibal is encamped, what he is doing, and what he designs to do. This ought to be the Business of our Youth. Whilst we, by a Decree, forbid the Women to appear in publick, and disturb the Peace of the City, with their Outcries. If any Couriers arrive, let them be brought privately, and without Noise, to the Prætors; and let Orders be given to the Guards, not to suffer any Person to go out of the City; lest it should be deserted. And after these previous Precautions, the Senate ought to be again assembled, to deliberate about the proper Means of securing the City.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
C. TERENTI-
US VARRO,
Consul.

THIS Advice was applauded; the Crowds who filled the Streets with their Clamours, were dispersed; and each Senator undertook to keep every thing quiet, in his own Neighbourhood. This was the Situation of Affairs, when at length a Courier arrived from *Terentius*. His Letters imported, That the *Roman* Army had been defeated; That *Æmilius* had lost his Life; That he himself had retired to *Canusium*, where he was assembling the Remains of his Troops; That ten thousand *Romans*, of different Corps, and for the most part without Officers, had joined him; and, That *Hannibal* was still encamped at *Cannæ*, where he was busy in fixing the Ransoms of the Prisoners he had taken. The same Courier brought also private Letters to most Families, and filled the City with Affliction. It was so general, that it was necessary to dispense with the Ladies ³¹ celebrating the Feast of *Ceres*, at which they were all obliged to assist in white Habits. Nevertheless, that the Ceremonies of Religion might not be too long postponed, the Mourning was limited to ³² thirty Days, by a Decree of the Senate.

§. X. DURING these Transactions, a Bark arrived from *Sicily*, with an Express from the *Prætor Otacilius*. It informed the Senate, That a *Carthaginian* Squadron was ravaging the Coast of *Syracuse*; That King *Hiero* desired Succours; That the *Roman* Army could not leave the Neighbourhood of ³³ *Lilybæum*, because the Enemy's Fleet, which lay under the *Ægades* ³⁴ Islands, waited for an Opportunity to make a Descent; and, That therefore, in order to save *Sicily*, and relieve a faithful Friend, it was necessary a *Roman* Fleet should be sent thither with all Speed.

THESE additional Perplexities stunned the *Romans* a little, but did not deject

³⁰ The *Latin Way* began at The *Latin Gate*, and after it had crossed *Latium*, between the East and South, joined with The *Appian Way*, near the City of *Capinum*, nineteen *Stadia* from *Capua*, according to *Strabo*. To the right of that City lay The *Appian Way*, and to the left, The *Valerian Way*, which led to the Country of the *Sabines*. The *Latin Way* is the same that *Martial* calls The *Ausonian Way*.

³¹ According to *Plutarch*, it was *Fabius* who concluded upon dispensing with the Obligation the *Roman Ladies* lay under, of celebrating the Festival of *Ceres*, every Year. He says, this Dispensation was founded on Political Reasons, and not on any religious Motives. He was afraid, that the Sight of so many disconsolate Women would revive the Remembrance of the Misfortunes of *Cannæ*, and raise fresh Alarms among the Citizens. But herein *Plutarch* neither agrees with *Livy*, nor *Valerius Maximus*. The two latter say the Celebration of the Feast of *Ceres* was only postponed, till after the thirty Days Mourning of the *Roman Ladies* was over; and That then they laid aside all Marks of Grief, and assisted at the Ceremony, in white Robes. Lest we should confound Facts together, we will speak of the Festival of *Ceres*, and its Origin, in another Place.

³² We have already observed, in the first Volume, that the time of Mourning was fixed by the ancient *Romans* to ten Months, according to *Romulus's* Year. In this Sense *Seneca* says, *Epist. B. 8. Annum Feminis ad lugendam constituere Majores*. That is, Our Ancestors allowed Women to mourn for their Husbands a Year; or ten Months, as he explains

himself, in his Book *De Consolatione*. *Majores decem mensium spatium Lugentibus Viros dederunt*. In publick Calamities, the time of Mourning was undetermined, and depended on the Will of the Magistrates or Senate. After the Battel of *Cannæ*, by *Fabius's* Advice, says *Plutarch*, the Mourning of the *Roman Women* was limited to thirty Days. And they were at the same time forbidden to appear in publick in a melancholy Dress, or to weep any where, but in the inner Parts of their own Houses. But *Festus* makes these thirty Days an hundred. Nevertheless, we are convinced that this is a Mistake, by the concurrent Testimonies of *Livy*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Plutarch*. Nor was this all. *Fabius*, according to *Plutarch*, took care to preserve good Order in the Republick, in these melancholy Times, with such a Steadiness of Mind, as raised the Courage of all the *Romans*. He walked alone through the City, with great Calmness and Serenity; appeased the Lamentations and Sighs of the Women, who were got together, to lament either the common Misfortunes of their Country, or their own particular Losses, in the Battel. He spoke to the Citizens who were assembled in the *Forum*, raised their dejected Spirits, and dispersed all their Fears. He assembled the Senators, and gave them Hopes: and he posted Guards at all the Gates, to prevent the Retreat of those who resolved to leave the City.

³³ See what we have said of the City and Cape of *Lilybæum*, p. 469. of Vol. 2. Note 4.

³⁴ We have already spoken of the *Ægades* Islands, which are now known by the Names of *Maretimo*, and *Levenzo*.

them

Year of them. They were never greater than in times of extreme Adversity. The *R O M E* *script Fathers* assembled, and in one Deliberation made the first Preparations for healing the Wounds both of *Sicily* and *Italy*. *M. Claudius*, the first of his Family surnamed *Marcellus*, an Hero already honoured with an extraordinary Triumph, for having killed a King ³⁵ of the *Gauls* with his own Hand, was chosen by the Senate, to oppose *Hannibal*, who was flushed with his Victory. This Great Man had been appointed Governour of *Sicily*, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*, in the last *Comitia*. But by good Fortune, his Departure had been delayed till after the Battle of *Cannæ*; and when the News of it was brought to *Rome*, he was at the Port of ³⁶ *Ostia*, equipping the Fleet which was to carry him to *Sicily*. So that he at *Ostia* received the Senate's Orders to go to *Canusium*, and take upon him the Command of the Troops, of which they deprived *Terentius Varro*. Indeed his ³⁷ Commission was not regular; but how could Forms be observed, in a time of so much Confusion?

C. TERENTIUS VARRO, Consul.
Plut. Life of Marcellus.
Livy, B. 22. c. 57.

THE new General's first Care was to secure *Rome*, and succour the Troops in the Country. He sent fifteen hundred of those Men he intended to embark for *Sicily*, to strengthen the Garrison of the City; and ordered a whole *Legion* to march to ³⁸ *Teanum*, and from thence to *Canusium*. After this, *Marcellus* returned to *Rome*, to receive his last Instructions from the Senate. *P. Furius* was appointed to command the Fleet in his room; instead of being continued *Prætor Peregrinus* in the City, he was now made *Prætor* of *Sicily*, and ordered to his Government.

Livy, B. 22. c. 57.

MARCELLUS, upon his Arrival at *Rome*, found it in a Consternation, and superstitiously inquisitive into the Causes of the present Misfortunes. Two *Vestals* were found to have prophaned their Consecration by Incest. The one was named *Opimia*, the other *Floronia*; and they were both condemned by the *Pontifices*. The former was buried alive, without the Gate *Collina*; the latter killed herself. The Accomplice of the latter, *Lucius Cantilius*, Secretary to the *Pontifex Maximus*, was, by his Master's Decree, whipped to Death with Rods, in the *Forum Romanum*. After the *Sybilline* Books had been consulted, the Republick sent *Fabius Pictor* to the Oracle at *Delphi*, to know when the publick Calamities would be at an End, and what would appease the Anger of Heaven. And lastly, *Rome* carried her Superstition to Excess; and repeated her former Acts of Inhumanity. As if the Gods could not be appeased without human Victims; a *Greek* Man ³⁹ and Woman, and a Man and Woman of the *Gauls*, were sacrificed to them, by being buried alive, in a Vault ⁴⁰ made on purpose, in the Ox-Market. Monstrous Illusion! The *Roman* People ascribed those Misfortunes to Heaven, which they had brought on themselves by their Divisions, and their Obstinacy in chusing bad Generals.

WHEN the Superstition of People was satisfied, *Rome* applied herself seriously to recover her military Affairs. *Marcellus* set out for *Canusium*, where he appeared at the Head of a Body of between fourteen and fifteen thousand Men; and took the Place of *Terentius Varro*, who was recalled. It is indeed incredible; but after a Loss, which had filled the whole City with Mourning, the Author of it was received there with Respect. Deputies ⁴¹ were sent to meet him, from all Orders of Men in the State; and they thanked him for not giving himself up to Despair,

³⁵ See what we have observed in this Volume, p. 38. of *Marcellus's* Triumph.

³⁶ See our Account of the Foundation of the City of *Ostia*, which stood at the Mouth of the *Tyber*, B. 3. p. 104. of Vol. 1.

³⁷ *Livy* says it was resolved, at the same time, to write to *Terentius Varro*, in the Name of the Senate, requiring him to repair to *Rome*, as soon as he had resigned the Command of the Army to *Marcellus*.

³⁸ There were two Cities which formerly bore the Name of *Teanum*; one in the Country of the *Sidicini*, therefore called *Teanum Sidicinum*: The other in *Apulia*, and therefore called *Teanum Apulum*: The latter is here spoken of. See B. 18. p. 255. of Vol. 2. Note 25.

³⁹ We have before mentioned this barbarous

Custom, which was practised for the first time by the *Romans*, after the first *Punic* War, in the Beginning of that which they waged with the *Italic Gauls*.

⁴⁰ This Vault, or Cave, was dug in a Place in *Rome* called *The Ox-Market*.

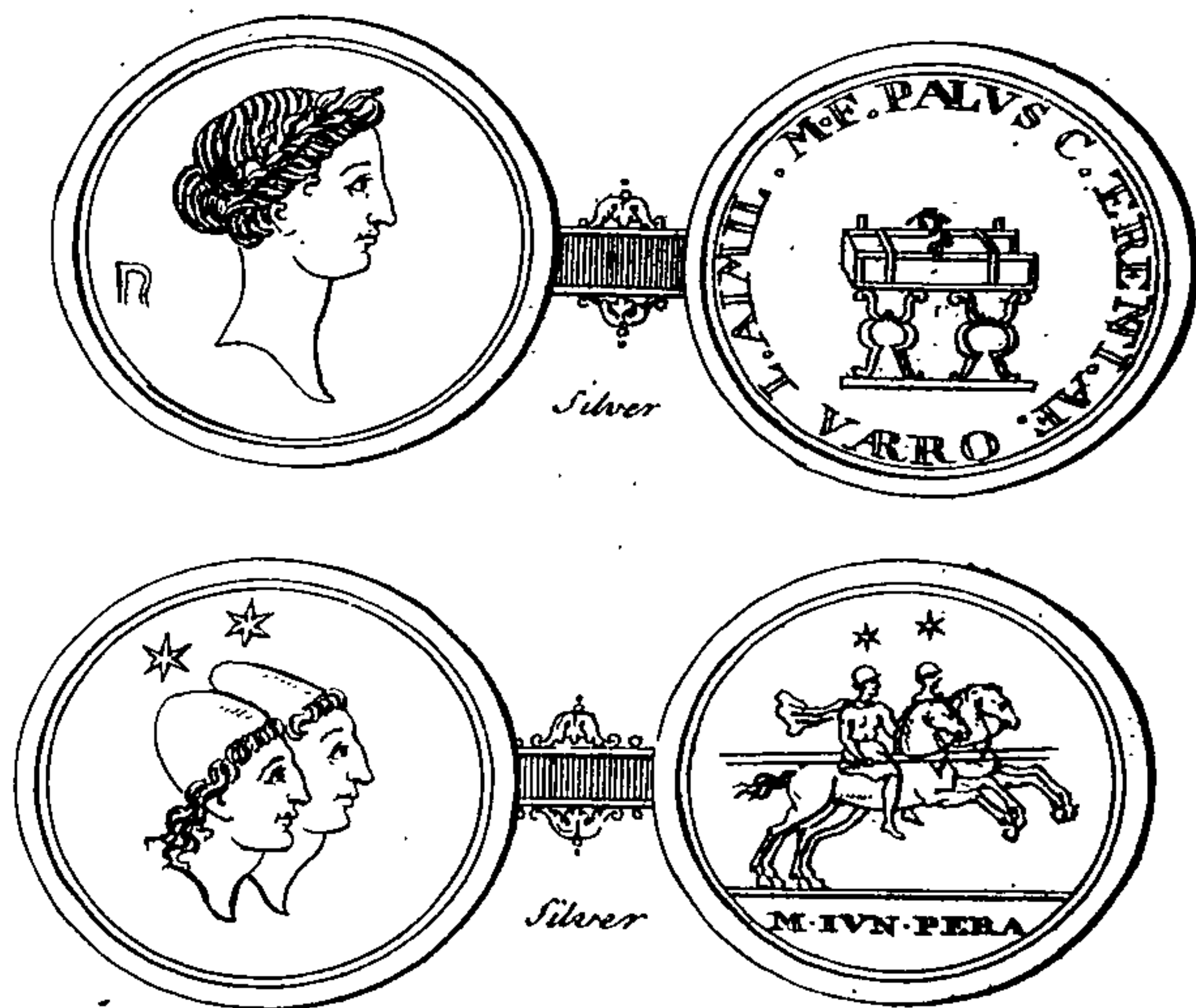
⁴¹ According to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of the Great Fabius*, all the Senators in a Body, and a great Multitude of the People, went to meet the Consul *Terentius Varro*. Tho' overwhelmed with Shame, says he, and cursed by all the *Roman* Army, yet the Magistrates and chief of the Senators received him with Honour. They publicly commended him, for having preserved himself for more happy Times, and for not having thought the Evils which threatened the Republick, past Remedy. They thanked him for returning to *Rome*, to take upon him

at a time when there was so little room for Hope. The Moderation of the *Romans*, in this Instance, was exceeding great. How different was their Conduct from that ⁴² of the *Carthaginians*! These Barbarians condemned their Generals to Death, upon their receiving the least Disadvantage. The *Romans* pitied the Misfortunes of their Commanders, and softened the Disgrace of being dismissed, by treating them with Humanity.

§. XI. In the mean time, as one *Prætor* was not sufficient to govern the Republick, tho' he could command an Army, the Senate proceeded to elect a *Dictator*. *Terentius* was just deposed; so that the Senators, of their own Authority, nominated a Man of Understanding and Experience to the *Dictatorship*, who had already born ⁴³ the Offices of *Consul* and *Prætor*. This was *M. Junius*, surnamed *Pera*; who chose *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* to be his General of Horse.

THE *Dictator's* Heart was truly *Roman*. He was not inclined to desire a Peace of the Conqueror. *Carthage* had formerly, after much less fatal Defeats than that of *Cannæ*, submitted to the Conqueror, and suffered him to impose his own Conditions upon her. But *Rome* still preserved her Greatness of Soul, in the midst of the most heavy Calamities. Her *Dictator* was so far from persuading her to sue to the Enemy, to come to an Accommodation with her, that he was wholly bent on finding out Means to continue the War. Perhaps nothing gave a greater

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.



him the Care of the Government, and to make it his Business to watch over, and preserve the Citizens. And to this Account of *Plutarch* and *Livy*, *Valerius Maximus* adds, B. 3. and 4. that the Senate and People agreed to offer *Terentius* the *Dictatorship*. But he refused it, says he, and by this modest Action, wiped off, in some measure, the Shame of his Defeat. *Frontinus* says, B. 4. c. 5. that *Varro* let his Hair and Beard grow all the rest of his Life, and would never lie down on a Couch, at his Meals, as others did. In vain, adds this Author, did the People endeavour to raise him to new Dignities, he obstinately declined them; and said, that the Republick wanted more fortunate Magistrates. Nevertheless, we shall soon see him at the Head of an Army, in the Quality of *Pro-Consul*; and this makes us suspect *Frontinus's* Relation, as to this last Article. But it is certain, that the Memory of *Terentius's* *Consulate*, how odious soever it afterwards was to the *Romans*, is preserved on a Medal, which we have taken from *Monsieur Vaillant's* *Consular Families*; and which we here give the Reader, upon his Authority. If it is authentick, it must have been struck by some of the *Terentian* or *Æmilian* Family.

For in the Inscription, there is also the Name of *Lucius Æmilius Paulus*, who was the Collegue of *Terentius*. The Face of the Medal is the Head of some Pagan Goddess. The two *Curule Chairs* on the Reverse, are Symbols of the great Magistracies.

⁴² *Livy* makes the same Reflection, B. 22. A *Carthaginian* General, says he, who had been guilty of the same Faults as *Terentius*, would infallibly have been condemned to die, in the midst of Torments. *Cui si Carthaginensium Ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.*

⁴³ *Marcus Junius Pera* had governed the Republick as *Consul*, in the Year of *Rome* 523, with *Marcus Æmilius Barbula*; and he was five Years after, honoured with the *Censorship*. His Collegue in this Office was *Caius Claudius Centho*. So that he was *Censor*, in the Year of *Rome* 528, which was that of the forty second *Lustrum*. On a Medal quoted by *Goltzius*, and *Monsieur Vaillant*, we find the Name of *MARCUS JUNIUS PERA*, with the Figure of *Castor* and *Pollux*, as they are represented on several *Consular* Medals, as we have observed in the preceding Volumes.

Year of Lustre to the invincible Constancy of the *Romans*, or made them more worthy to govern the World, than this Conduct.

R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

Hey, Plut.
Zonaras, &c.

THE *Dictator Junius* made it his whole Business to put the Army in such a Condition, as to be able to resist the Enemy. But *Rome* was almost exhausted of Warriors. Nevertheless, some *Legions* were raised there, which, under the Command of good Officers, became at last superior to *Hannibal's* Troops. But the Levies were not made in the usual manner. No body was now exempted from the Service. All the young *Romans*, of above seventeen Years of Age, of what Distinction soever, were obliged to enlist themselves; and to them were added other young Men, of free Condition, who were not yet old enough to serve in the *Legions*. The best Men the Republick had left, were those old Soldiers 44, who had served the State the legal time; and they were all forced to enter into the Army again. All the *Citizens* together made four *Legions*, and ten thousand Horse.

THE Allies of *Rome*, especially the People of both *Latiums*, furnished the Republick with their Quota's of Troops, according to their old Stipulations: and the 45 *Colonies* and *Municipia* furnished their Contingents, as usual. Nor was this all. Out of the great Number of Slaves 46 which were in *Rome*, eight thousand of the youngest, strongest, and best built Men, were pitched upon to serve in the Armies, and had Hopes given them, of recovering their Liberty thereby. The Republick was equitable in her greatest Distress. She bought these Slaves of their Masters, and paid for them out of the publick Treasury; and none of them were obliged to enter into the Army, without their own Consent. Every one of them answered those who asked them, whether they were willing to enter into the Service, that he was, (*Volo*;) and they were therefore called *Volones* 47, to distinguish them from the other *Corps*. This was a less odious Name, than that of Slaves, which would have made them despised by the rest of the Troops. But the *Romans* wanted Arms; they had lost so many Battels, that they had no Swords, or Darts, or Bucklers, left in their Magazines. All those therefore that had formerly been taken from the Enemy, and were hung up in the publick Portico's, and even in the Temples, were brought from thence; and these various Sorts of Arms were sufficient for the Slaves.

44 We must not confound those old Soldiers, which the ancient *Romans* called *Veteres*, with the *Veterans*, who were called *Veterani*. The former were old Soldiers, who had already made several Campaigns, tho' they had not served as many Years as were required of them. The *Veterans* were those who had served their whole Time: and were then dismissed, and received all their Pay, unless they chose to serve longer, as Volunteers. Sometimes indeed, in Cases of Necessity, or where the publick Good was immediately concerned, they were forced to serve for a limited time. And in order to lighten their Burdens, they had probably better Pay than the other *Legionaries*, and had a greater Share of the conquered Lands. See our Remarks on the Roman Soldiery, in several Parts of this History, and particularly on the *Veterans* of old *Rome*, B. 7. p. 263. of Vol. 1. Note 2.

45 We have spoken of the different Sorts of *Colonies* and *Municipia*, B. 17. p. 178. of Vol. 2. Note 1.

46 Slavery was a State of Life unknown to the first Races of Mankind, till Discord armed them against one another, and gave rise to Subordination and Dependence. Then the weakest were forced to submit to the Will of the strongest: and by the Laws of War, the Conqueror had an absolute and unlimited Right over his Captives. After having once subdued them, they thought their Lives were at his Disposal. The Death of the Conquered was by a kind of tacit Condition, the sure Consequence of the Victory. But Interest, Policy, and Humanity, often stopped the Conqueror's Hand. He might perhaps abhor such monstrous Barbarity, as to kill Men in cool Blood; or the Advantages he might reap by saving their Lives, might induce him to spare

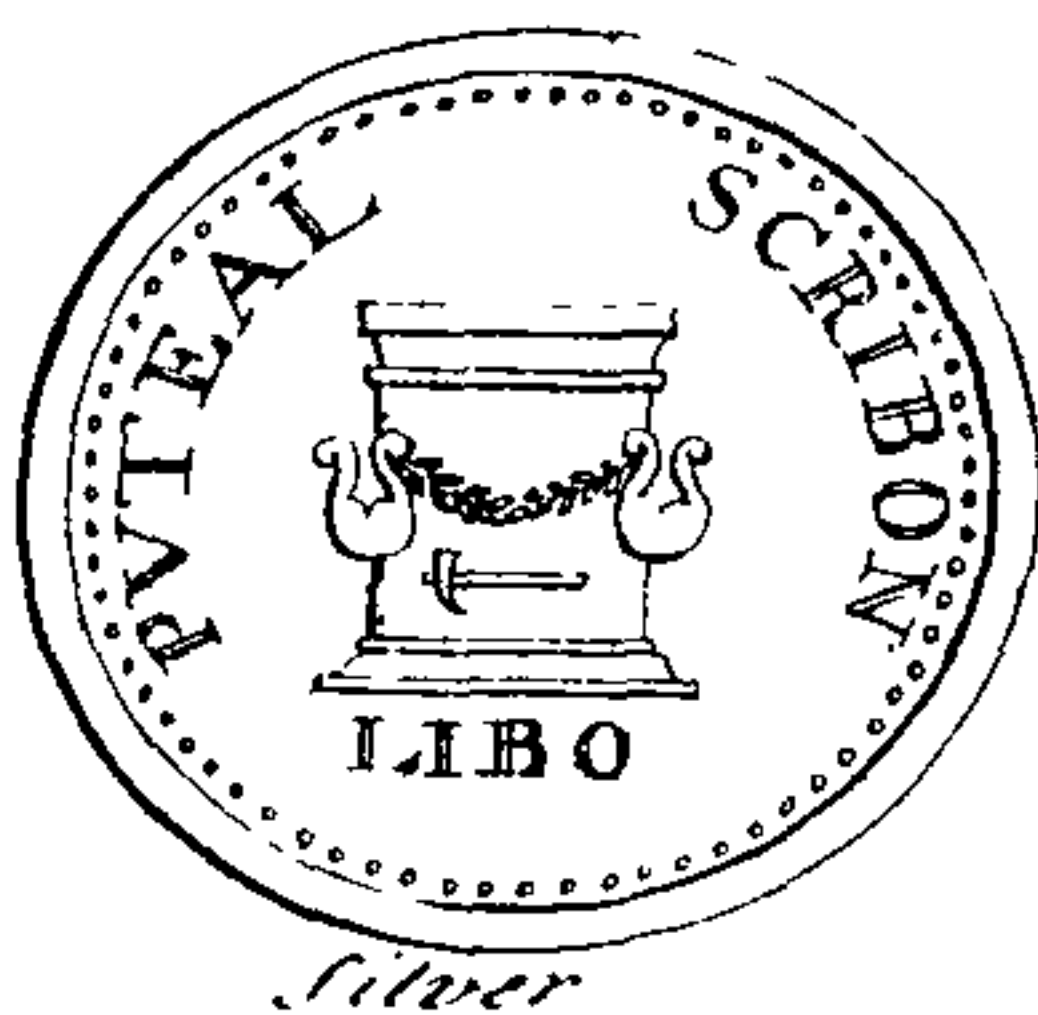
them. So that in order to secure himself a Good which was given him by the Laws of Arms, he obliged his Captive to become his Slave. This was the Rise of Slavery. Afterwards, Slaves became such, different Ways. Some were born such, thro' the Misfortunes of their Mothers; their Birth made them subject to the Will of their Masters. Others were bought. Enemies taken in War, who were properly called *Mancipia*, *veluti manu capta*, were generally sold to the best Bidder, for the Profit of him who had taken them; and then the Purchaser acquired all the Right of the Seller. These Sales were made at *Rome* three different Ways, *Sub Hasta*, *Sub Corona*, and *Sub Pileo*, as we have already observed. Some sold themselves, and preferred a little sordid Pelf to the greatest of all Goods, Liberty. Slaves were employed in the Business of the House, or in the Fields, according to their Skill and Fidelity, and Freedom was the usual Reward of their Services. Sometimes they redeemed themselves with Money, which they had saved, or got by their Labour. And with this View they had a kind of Property or *Peculium*, of their own, which they disposed of as they pleased, through the Indulgence of their Masters.

47 The Name of *Volones* was given to a Company of Slaves, who enlisted themselves in the Service of the *Roman* Republick, to distinguish them from another Sort of Volunteers, whom the *Hillarians* call *Voluntarii*. These were old Soldiers, who after they had served the Number of Years required, entered again into the Service, of their own accord, and engaged to make a certain Number of Campaigns, especially in great Emergencies.

NOR were the Finances of *Rome* less exhausted. But this Defect was supplied by the Liberality of her Subjects. *Minucius Augurinus*, the *Tribune of the People*, presented a Petition to the *Comitia*, desiring that the Care of the publick Treasury might be committed to three ⁴⁸ Commissioners; and three Men, of known Prudence and Integrity, were chosen for that Purpose. The first was *Emilius* ⁴⁹ *Papus*, who had formerly been *Consul* and *Censor*; the second, *Attilius Regulus*, who had born the Office of *Consul* twice; and the third, a *Tribune of the People*, named *Scribonius* ⁵⁰ *Libo*. Then private ⁵¹ Persons brought all the Gold they had in their Houses, and put it into their Hands, with Zeal and Confidence. The Senators gave the Example. They kept no Gold, but their ⁵² Rings, and the

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

Florus, B, 2.



⁴⁸ These three Commissioners of the publick Treasury are called by *Livy*, *Triumviri Mensarii*. This was then a temporary Dignity.

⁴⁹ *Lucius Emilius Papus* had been *Consul*, in the Year of *Rome* 528, with *Caius Attilius Regulus*. He was *Censor* five Years, and performed the Ceremony of the forty third *Lustrum*, in the Year 533. His Collegue was that *Caius Flaminius*, who was killed in the Battel at the Lake *Thrasimennus*.

⁵⁰ All the *Roman* Historians agree, that the *Scribonian* Family was originally *Plebeian*. It was divided into two Branches; that of the *Curiones*, and that of the *Libones*. The Historians, and the Medal above, impute to one *Scribonius Libo*, the erecting of an ancient Monument, which was for that reason called *PUTEAL SCRIBONII LIBONIS*. Or, according to others, a *Prætor* of this Branch of the Family fixed his Court of Judicature near the Well, where *Atius Navius's* Râsor was buried; and from hence this Well, which was barely called *Puteal*, had the Denomination of *PUTEAL LIBONIS*! What is sure, is, that it was near the *Comitium*, in one of the most frequented Parts of *Rome*, where the Bankers, Traders, and Suitors at Law, used to meet. *Festus* says, That this Place was struck with Lightning; and That, the Senate having given *Scribonius* a Commission to find out all such Places as had been struck with Lightning, he erected a kind of Altar over *Navius's* Wall, by Way of a Covering, after the usual Ceremonies of Expiation had been performed. Some contend, that the Altar, and the *Puteal*, were different Places; and lastly, some have fully taken the *Puteal*, for the Tribunal of the *Prætor*, when he administered Justice. See *B. 3. p. 124.* of *Vol. 1. Note 68.*

⁵¹ *Livy* adds, that three new *Pontifices* were created, to supply the Places of *Publius Scantinius*, the *Consul* *Lucius Amilius Paulus*, and *Quintus Ailius Pætus*, who had been killed in the Battel at *Cannæ*; and who were succeeded by *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, and *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus*. At the same time, *Marcus* and *Caius Attilius*, were created *Duumviri*, to preside in the Ceremony of dedicating to the Temple of *Concord*. It had been lately built, in Discharge of a Vow, which the *Prætor* *Lucius Manlius* had made.

⁵² Rings were almost as old as the World. The first mention we find of them, is in the sacred Books, and the Histories of the Kings of *Egypt* and *Persia*. For *Pliny* himself confesses, *B. 33.* that the old Fable of *Prometheus's* Ring does not deserve the Reader's notice. *Nam de Prometheus omnia fa-*

bulosa arbitror. And the same Judgment is to be formed of *Midas's* Ring. The Use of Rings seems to have passed from the *Ægyptians* to the *Greeks*, and from the *Greeks* to the *Italians*. The *Sabines* used this Ornament as early as *Fabius's* Time, according to *Dion. Hal. B. 1.* and they probably introduced it among the *Romans*, when the two Nations were united, after the Rape of the *Sabine Women*. Among the *Hetrurians*, it was a Mark of Distinction, worn only by the Magistrates. *Tarquinius the First* brought it from *Hetruria*, and reserved it to himself, when he was elected King of *Rome*. Yet *Pliny* says, that in his Time, only the Statues of *Numa Pompilius*, and *Servius Tullius*, had Rings on their Fingers. *Nullum habet Romuli in Capitolio Statua; nec præter Numæ, Servique Tullii alia, ac ne Lucii quidem Bruti. Hoc in Tarquinis maxime miror.* We have before observed, that the ancient *Romans* used only Iron Rings. Precious Toys ill suited with the martial Genius of a People, who were Enemies to Effeminacy, and breathed nothing but War. Afterwards, Gold Rings were commonly worn, not only by Ladies of Condition, but by the Magistrates, Senators, and *Roman Knights*. This distinguished them from the common People, who were not allowed to wear them. At least *Dio* tells us so, *B. 48.* of his History, when he says; *Apud antiquos Romanos non modo liberto, sed nec ingenua quidem ulli, auro annulo licebat uti, nisi Senator esset, aut Eques. Appian, in Lybicus,* says the *Legionary Tribunes* had a Right to this Honour. *Isidorus* is therefore mistaken, when he affirms, that Persons of free Condition at *Rome*, had always a Right to wear Rings. In After-ages, and especially during the Reigns of the *Cæsars*, the *Freedmen* acquired this Privilege, with the Consent of the Emperors, whose Favourites they were. Even Slaves then wore Rings, but they were Iron ones; tho' they sometimes mixed more valuable Metals with it. *Nec non & Servitia jam ferrum auro cingunt.* Or perhaps they wore Gold Rings, after they had taken care to make them of the Colour of Iron. There were several Sorts of Rings, among the *Romans*. The *Annuli Sponsalicii*, *Geniales*, or *Pro-nubi*, were those that were made use of in Espousals. Others were Marks of Honour given to those who had distinguished themselves by their Valour, or had done the State some important Service. A third Sort served for Seals, and were called *Annuli Signatorii*. We shall have occasion to make several Observations, on these different Sorts of Rings, in the Course of our History.

little

Year of
ROME
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 58.

little 53 *Bulle* they hung about the Necks of their Children, to distinguish them from the Vulgar. After them the *Roman Knights*, and lastly all the *Tribes*, stripped themselves of all the Gold they had. As for Silver-Money, it was made more plenty, by alloying it with other Metals. It had till this time been 54 pure, without any Alloy; but now it was mixed with Copper; and the Value of the *Species* was raised. Thus the Finances were again put into a good Condition, and *Rome*, by the Care of a prudent *Dictator*, had raised a new Army.

§. XII. In the mean time, *Hannibal* wanted Money. He had found but little, in the two *Roman* Camps he had plundered near *Cannæ*. The Moveables the *Romans* had in their Tents were not very costly; they scarce used any precious Metals, but in the Furnitures of their Horses, and in them but sparingly. His greatest Hopes of increasing his Treasure, were built upon the great Number of Prisoners he had taken in the last Battel. *Hannibal* had divided them into two Bands; one of the *Romans*, the other of the Allies. He treated the latter in the same manner as after the Battel of the Lake *Thrasimenus*: He first shewed them great Civilities, and then, notwithstanding his Want of Money, dismissed them without Ransoms. As for the *Romans*, he ordered them to be brought into his Presence; and, with the gay Air of a Conqueror, said; *We don't make War with the utmost Rigour; nor are we desirous of taking away your Lives. We fight only for Glory and Empire. Your Fathers, more successful than ours, formerly conquered us; and now we are endeavouring to recover the Disadvantages we suffered in our former Wars with Rome. That therefore we may not abuse our Victory, we give you the Liberty to redeem yourselves. The Ransom of each Horseman shall be five hundred 55 Denarii*, that of each Foot-Soldier † three hundred, that of each Slave ‡ one hundred.*

* 16 l. 2s. 11 d.
Arbutnot.
† 9 l. 13 s. 9 d.
Arbutnot.
‡ 3 l. 4 s. 7 d.
Arbutnot.

HANNIBAL's Want of Money made him raise the Ransom of the Horse. He at first demanded only three hundred *Denarii*. But the Prisoners were exceeding glad to be at Liberty to redeem themselves; and agreed to send ten of their Body to *Rome*, to negotiate their Redemption. The Conqueror sent *Carthalo* the *Carthaginian* at the Head of them, to make Proposals of Peace to the Republick; and he demanded no other Security of the ten Prisoners, than an Oath, that they would return to his Camp, if their Negotiation proved unsuccessful. But all these *Roman* Prisoners were not like the illustrious *Regulus*.

ONE of the ten thought he might evade his Oath, by a dishonourable Artifice. After he had travelled some part of his Way to *Rome*, he pretended to have forgotten something, and returned to the Camp. By this means he thought he might continue in his own Country, without Perjury, since he had gone back to the Place to which he had sworn to return. In the mean time, the Company advanced, and drew near to *Rome*.

BUT upon the first Report of *Carthalo's* Arrival to treat of Peace, the *Dictator* immediately sent a *Lictor* to him, to command him to go out of the *Roman* Territory before Night. Such was the *Roman* Pride, even in Adversity! The Heads of the Republick abhorred the very Thoughts of Peace. As for the ten Prisoners,

53 See what we have said of the *Bulle Aurea*, which used to be hung about the Necks of the young *Romans*, B. 1. p. 44. of Vol. 1. Note 153.

54 This Year 537, was the Time when Silver Money was first altered by the *Romans*. As for Copper Money, *Pliny* tells us, B. 33. that from the Time of the first *Punic* War, the Republick was brought so low, that she had no Remedy left, but that of reducing the *As* from a Pound Weight, to two Ounces only, and yet continuing it of the same Value. *Librale autem pondus aris imminutum Bello Punico primo, cum impensis res publica non sufficeret; constitutumque est ut Asses SEXTANTARIO Pondere ferirentur.* Hence this new Money was called *Asses SEXTANTARII*. It was stamped, says the same Author, with a two-faced *Janus* on one Side, and the Prow of a Ship on the other. In the second *Punic* War, the immense Expences *Rome* was obliged to be at, to oppose *Hannibal's* Progress, laid all Orders of Men in the State, under the Necessity of consenting to a second Reduction. In the Dictatorship of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, after the Battel of the Lake *Thrasimenus*, the *Asses* which had

hitherto weighed two Ounces, were reduced to the Weight of one Ounce. And at the same time the *Denarius* was raised six *Asses*; so that each *Denarius* was then worth sixteen *Asses*; and the *Quinarium*, and *Sexterce*, in proportion. *Postea Annibal urgente Marcum [Minucium] Quinto Fabio Maximo Dictatore, Asses Unciales facti, placuitque Denarium sexdecim Assibus permutari, Quinarium Octonis, Sestertium Quaternis.* *Festus* is therefore guilty of a double Mistake: 1. In saying that the first Alteration was made in the *Asses*, in the second *Punic* War: And 2. In saying that the *Asses* of two Ounces Weight, were current only seven Years. It is plain, that there were near twenty five Years, from the End of the first *Punic* War, to the Dictatorship of *Fabius Maximus*. Yet we must observe, that after the Rise of the Silver *Denarius*, it was reckoned in the Soldiers Pay, but at ten *Asses*; as the same *Pliny* informs us. *In militari tamen stipendio Denarius pro decem Assibus datus.*

55 These five hundred *Denarii* were worth two hundred and fifty *French Livres*, at the rate of ten *Sols* for each *Denarius*.

they were not suffered to enter the City, because they were become Foreigners by their Captivity; but the Senate were willing to take their Ransom into Consideration, and assembled without the Walls, to hear what they had to offer. One M. Junius, who by his Name seems to have been related to the Dictator, pleaded for all the Captives, in this manner.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

I am not ignorant, that our Nation is more averse than any other to delivering Prisoners taken in War. But the Difference of Times and Circumstances ought to change our Sentiments and Proceedings. We can affirm, without Vanity, that we are not such Cowards as to be unworthy of being again numbered among the Citizens of Rome. Our Lives are spared indeed; but we did not save them by Flight. On the Day of Battel, we continued in our Posts, amidst the dead and dying, till Night; and then retreated to our Camps, only out of a Desire to defend them. Is it a Crime to have been willing to save the Honour of our Country, and preserve the Remains of our Fellow-Citizens? The next Day we were besieged, and not suffered to come at any Water: So that all Hopes were lost, and we could expect no Succours. We therefore capitulated, and agreed what we should pay for our Ransom. Did not our Ancestors redeem themselves from Slavery to the Gauls, after the taking of Rome? Was not an Embassy sent to Pyrrhus, for the Redemption of our Prisoners? And yet, had we then received any Blow like that of Cannæ? The Enemy continued the Slaughter till they were tired; and the dead Bodies of our Romans infect the Plain to this Day. Will you make those Lives miserable, which we were ready to throw away for you, and which Heaven has preserved, in a manner, against our Wills? How many of our Captives were commanded to continue in the Camp, and therefore did not appear in the Field of Battel? So that the Rout of the Army was not occasioned or forwarded by our Fear of Death. We have already fallen Victims to our Obedience, and will you again slay us with your Severity? Shall our Condition be worse than theirs, whose Fears made them fly to Venusia, or Canusium? Will Rome only reward those who were most nimble in Flight, and punish those for their Perseverance, who continued in their Posts, till forced by absolute Necessity to quit them? Will eight thousand Slaves, bought at a great Price, do you more Service in your Armies, than eight thousand Citizens, redeemed at a moderate Ransom? But what am I saying? Can a Man compare Romans to the vilest Wretches, without injuring the Roman Name? Besides, Conscript Fathers, you don't consider to what an Enemy you would abandon us. You very well know Hannibal's Hatred to Rome; our Fathers have experienced the Cruelty of the Carthaginians. The unfortunate Regulus was but too plain a Proof of it. Nor are their Persons less terrible than the Plain where so many dead Bodies are corrupting. If you have no regard to our Prayers, yet consider the Cries and Tears of our Relations. They are waiting without, in the Porch of this Place, to hear what you determine, as to the Lives and Liberty of your Fellow-Citizens. If, with more than Hannibal's Inhumanity, you refuse to deliver us, to what Misfortunes do you condemn us, for the rest of our Lives! With what Horror and Confusion must we hear a cruel Decree, which judges us unworthy of being brought back to our Country! Avert, O ye Gods, so fatal a Resolution!

A Discourse, in Appearance so reasonable, and so affecting, was followed with the Clamours of a confused Multitude, whose Concern for such a Number of unhappy Captives had brought them together. They all stretched out their Hands in a suppliant Manner, towards the Senate; some for their Sons and Brothers; others for their Fathers and Husbands. At length the Crowd was dispersed; the Senators proceeded to voting, and were never more divided in their Opinions. Some were for redeeming the Prisoners, even at the Expence of the Publick. Others were for suffering them to pay their own Ransoms; and for lending them Money out of the Treasury, if they wanted it, upon very good Personal or Land Security. These were all moderate in their Opinions. But at length, an illustrious Senator, of a very venerable Name, *T. Manlius* ⁵⁶ *Torquatus*, delivered his

⁵⁶ This *Titus Manlius* descended in a right Line from the famous *Titus Manlius*, whose Father had condemned him to die, for fighting contrary to Orders. The Person here spoken of had been Consul, in the Year 518, with *Caius Attilius*; and in the Year 529, with *Quintus Fulvius*; who was also his

Colleague in the *Censorship*. After he had triumphed over the People of *Sardinia*, in his first *Consulship*, he was raised to the *Dictatorship*. And lastly, was created *Pontifex Maximus*, and continued in that Office, till he died.

Year of Sentiments, which were indeed more severe; but more worthy of the Majesty of
 R O M E Rome, and, all things considered, more politick. He spake thus:

DXXXVII. *DID the present Debate turn upon this general Question, Whether it were expedient or not, sometimes to redeem the Prisoners which are taken from us; the Example of our Ancestors, and the Principles of Humanity, would soon determine us in favour of the Suppliants. But the Question at present is this; Whether we ought to bring Men home, who suffered themselves to be taken in the Camps of our Consuls, near Cannæ. They have plainly chose rather to do this, than follow the Example of Terentius, and of those who retired to Canusium for Refuge. Would they then deceive us? We know what passed in the Night before the Camps were taken, and on the very Day when they surrendered. In the Night, the Brave Sempronius exhorted the Soldiers, who had escaped in the Battel, and those who had not fought, to leave the Camp, force their Way through their Enemies, and retire to some Place for Refuge. Some followed him. Others chose rather to expose themselves to Hannibal's Chains, than to the Danger of a brave Sally. And these are the Cowards, who would soften us by their Supplications! All the Troops which are at Canusium would testify their Fearfulness, if they were present. Do these Men, who have no Valour, who were not affected either with the Exhortations or Example of a Brave Legionary Tribune, and who continued in the Camp, only out of Fear of Death, or the Hopes of being ransomed, deserve your Compassion? They willingly surrendered themselves up to the Enemy. Let the Enemy then keep them in his Chains. What! could not the Valour of forty five thousand Romans, who lay dead upon the Plain, inspire them with a Contempt of Life! What other Sight then could give them Courage? Nor was this all. They were not only cowardly, but disobedient. Could a Legionary Tribune prevail on them to obey his Orders? Sempronius was first forced to make his Way, Sword in hand, through his Fellow-Citizens, before he broke through his Enemies. These Prisoners would obey no Commands, but those of Hannibal, when he summoned them to surrender. Let them therefore now feel the Weight of his Laws! How great an Advantage would it have been to us, if they had been brave and obedient enough to have followed Sempronius! We had then had an Army at Canusium, of above twenty thousand Men; and we should have been less sensible of our Defeat. Will so bad Soldiers now become good Citizens? Who can depend on their Fidelity? Besides, if they had sustained a Siege in the Camps, only for some Days; and if over-powered by Multitude, or oppressed by Hunger, they had been under a Necessity of capitulating, something might be said in their Behalf. But what did they do? Hannibal appears at Sun-rising: An Hour after, they surrender up their Camps, Arms, and Persons, into the Hands of an implacable Enemy. What! shall I vote for delivering a Company of Men, who are unworthy of the Name of Romans; who could neither keep their Posts during the Action; or leave their Entrenchments when it was proper; or defend the Ramparts behind which they retired? I conclude therefore, That it is altogether as reasonable to send back those Troops to Hannibal, which have escaped out of his Hands, as to have those Cowards brought back to Rome, whose cowardly Behaviour has made them cease to be any longer Romans.*

THIS was a severe Opinion; but it was followed. More pressing Reasons than the pretended Cowardice of the Prisoners, prevailed on the Senate to pronounce Sentence against them. Could it be denied, that many wounded, who were not in a Condition to fly, were under a Necessity of continuing in the Camp? Was this Want of Courage, with which the Captives were so warmly reproached, more blameable than the Flight of *Terentius*, and of so many others, who had immediately retired to *Venusia*? This remarkable Severity of the *Conscript Fathers* was therefore founded on some secret and refined Policy. They were afraid of enriching *Hannibal* with the Ransoms of these Captives. They likewise were willing to give him to understand, that *Rome* was not so destitute of Men, but she could well spare eight thousand. And lastly, by this signal Punishment, they shewed the *Roman* Soldiers, that in such critical Conjunctions they had nothing to do, but to conquer, or die. So that the Republick sacrificed a great many unhappy People to her private Views, which she coloured over with specious Pretences. And indeed, *Hannibal* would not have been so ready to deliver up his Prisoners, says an ancient Author, had it not been to lessen the Valour of the *Romans*, by the Hope of being ransomed.

As soon as the Decree of the Senate was made known to the ten Deputies, it caused a great deal of Grief in the City. Many Tears were shed, at the Departure of these unfortunate Slaves, who had no Hopes of escaping. Crowds of their Relations and Friends followed them, sighing; and in the mean while, one of the Prisoners mixed with the Crowd, and disappeared. This was he, who thought he had discharged his Oath, by returning to *Hannibal's* Camp under a fraudulent Pretence. But *Rome* would not suffer the perjured Wretch to reap the Fruits of his Iniquity. She ordered him to be taken out of his House, and sent him back to *Hannibal's* Camp. The Republick was fond of purchasing the Reputation of Justice, when it cost little, and the State did not suffer by it. It is said, that the ten Deputies afterwards made their Escape out of *Hannibal's* Prison, and returned home: And they suffered as much from the Republick⁵⁷, as they had done by the Chains of their Conquerors. Being branded with Infamy by the *Censors*, some killed themselves; and others, being grown contemptible, led a melancholy and obscure Life in Retirement. Their Companions, who were left in the Hands of the *Carthaginian*, were cruelly treated by that Barbarian. He chose out the most considerable of them, and sent them to *Carthage*. He made Gladiators of the rest; and obliged them to fight for the Entertainment of his Troops. To which it is added, that he forced Relations to fight with Relations, till they killed one another. Thus *Hannibal* glutted the Hatred he had conceived against the *Romans* from his Infancy.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

Zonaras, B. 9.
c. 2.

§. XIII. At length he left *Cannæ*, and began his March, in order to take Advantage of his Victory. Since the last Battel, *Hannibal* was at full Liberty to go where he pleased; and the old Friends of *Rome* were already prejudiced in favour of the Conqueror: The Nations in the East of *Italy*, who had formerly been so faithful to the *Romans*, were inclined to go over to the strongest.

At different Times, and by Degrees, first a Part of the *Bruttii*, and then the⁵⁸ *Atellani*, the⁵⁹ *Calatini*, the⁶⁰ *Hirpini*, and almost all the Nations of *Apulia*, all the *Samnites*, (except the *Pentri*;) the *Lucani*, the⁶¹ *Crotonienses*, the⁶² *Surentini*, the⁶³ *Locri*, and lastly, the *Tarentini*, declared for *Hannibal*. And it may be affirmed, that all the Nations of *Great Greece* favoured at least the *Carthaginians*. So that the *Romans*, by one Battel, lost almost all the Conquests they had made for five hundred Years. *Hannibal* became instantly more powerful in *Italy*, than the Republick. To the East, the Victory of *Cannæ* had brought over all the neighbouring Nations to him: And to the West, all *Cisalpine Gaul* had surrendered itself up to him, as soon as he had passed the *Alpes*. So that the *Romans* had nothing left, but a small Compass of Ground round their Capital; and in order to make themselves once more Masters of *Italy*, they were not now to engage with all these Nations separately, but with all of them together, united under a formidable Leader.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 61.
Aul. Gellius,
Polyb. B. 3.
c. 118.

⁵⁷ *Livy* says, upon the Credit of a Tradition in his time, that it was deliberated in the Senate, whether the ten Captives should be suffered to enter *Rome*, or be sent back to *Hannibal*. And after many Disputes, it was at last resolved, that they should be permitted to stay at home, but should be expelled the Senate. And *Livy* adds, that *Hannibal* growing suspicious at the long Delay of the ten Deputies, sent three others, whom he had taken in the Battel of *Cannæ*; the Name of the first was *Lucius Scribonius*; that of the second *Caius Calpurnius*; that of the third *Lucius Manlius*. At their Arrival, the Affair of redeeming the Captives was long debated with Warmth, upon the Motion of one of the *Tribunes of the People*, named *Scribonius*, and Cousin to the Deputy of that Name. But the Senate refused to give the Ransom the *Carthaginian* General demanded; nor would they consent to an Exchange of Prisoners. The three new Deputies therefore returned to *Hannibal*, without Success. The ten first Deputies continued at *Rome*, because they thought themselves discharged from their Oaths, upon a frivolous Pretence, which could not acquit them of Breach of Faith.

⁵⁸ The *Atellani* took their Name from the ancient City of *Atella*, in *Campania*, between *Naples* and *Capua*, near the City now called *Aversa*. See

B. 15. p. 88 of Vol. 2. Note 14. *Cicero* tells us, B. 13. Ep. 7. that *Atella* was a *Municipium*. And *Frontinus* says, that in *Augustus's* time, from a *Municipium*, it became a *Roman Colony*.

⁵⁹ The ancient City of *Calatia*, stood in the Place where the City of *Caiazzo* now stands. *Appian* tells us, it became a *Roman Colony*, in *Julius Caesar's* time. See Vol. 2. p. 234. Note 3.

⁶⁰ We have more than once observed, that the *Hirpini* inhabited that Part of *Italy*, which is now known by the Name of *The Further Principality*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

⁶¹ We have already spoken of the Origin and Situation of the City of *Crotone*, Vol. 2. p. 419. Note 30. It still in a manner retains its old Name, and is called *Cortone*.

⁶² The City of *Surrentum*, now *Sorrento*, stood on the Sea-Coast of *Campania*, near the Promontory of *Minerva*, and a Temple consecrated to that Goddess. The Natives call it *Capo de la Minerva*, to this Day. *Frontinus* ranks this City among the *Roman Colonies*. *Ovid*, *Martial*, *Columella*, and *Pliny the Naturalist*, all say that its Hills produced excellent Wines.

⁶³ See the Origin and Situation of the City of *Locris* in *Italy*, p. 467. of Vol. 2. Note 103.

Year of
R O M E
(DXXXVII.)
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

AND now we shall see the *Roman* Valour shine forth with its greatest Lustre: But will first give a particular Account of all the Conquests of the *Carthaginian*.

HANNIBAL's first Attempt was upon ⁶⁴ *Compsa*, a City of the *Hirpini*, almost at the Head of the *Aufidus*. One of the young Inhabitants, named *Trebius*, of an illustrious ⁶⁵ Family, took great Pains to put the Conqueror in Possession of it: But he must first conquer the Oppositions made by a Family which had greater Interest than his own, thro' the Protection of the *Romans*. And the Report of their Defeat, and *Hannibal*'s Approach, who was already crossing *Samnium*, obliging the Party that opposed *Trebius*, to leave the Country, *Compsa* surrendered to the *Carthaginians*, and was the first City in *Italy*, that fell off from the *Romans*. *Hannibal* made it strong; laid up his Baggage in it; divided his Army into two Bodies; and gave the Command of one to his Brother *Mago*, with Orders to solicit the Surrendry, or take by Force, all the Cities of the Country. As for himself, he drew near *Naples*, with Design to make himself Master of a maritime City which might open him a Communication with *Africa*.

§. XIV. *NAPLES* was surrounded on all Sides with Hills, at small Distances from one another, and consequently with narrow Passes: And in them the cunning *Carthaginian* hid the greatest Part of his Troops, and only shewed the *Neapolitan* Garrison some Squadrons of Horse, which by their Bravadoes drew it into the Snare. A Body of the finest Youth, well mounted, followed close upon the *Numidian* Horse, and pursued them too far. These brave Men were surrounded by the *Carthaginian* Infantry; and had all perished ⁶⁶, if the Nearness of the Sea had not saved the greatest Part of them. They could swim; and by that means got to some Fishermens Barks, which were coasting along the Shore. However, the good Posture of the *Neapolitans*, and the Height of their Walls, discouraged *Hannibal*, and preserved their City from a Siege.

FROM thence the *African* General turned towards *Capua*. Doubtless, Providence conducted him thither, and facilitated the Surrender of it, in order to restore the *Romans* to their former Lustre, after their Ambition had been sufficiently punished. *Capua* had formerly surrendered itself up to the *Romans*, with all *Campania*, of which it was the Capital. It surpassed all the Cities in *Italy*, *Rome* only excepted, in Magnificence, Grandeur, and Riches. The Air alone that Men breathed there, inclined them to Effeminacy; and the Fruitfulness of the Soil contributed more to the Delights of its Inhabitants, than its Wealth. Licentiousness of Manners, and a strong Bent to Pleasure, were as it were natural to the *Capuans*. The Men were not born with any martial Dispositions; and the Women lived without Sense of Modesty. In short, if *Capua* rivaled *Rome*, in the Extent of her Walls, and the outward Decorations of her Buildings, the Vices which reigned, and the Disorders which were suffered there, were Foils to the Regularity and Discipline of the *Romans*. The Government which had lately been introduced there, helped likewise to promote the Licentiousness of the Citizens. When *Capua* first surrendered to the *Romans*, she received her Laws from them, and they annually sent a *Præfekt*, or if you will, a *Prætor*, who administered Justice in this City. But it appears, that from being a *Roman Præfecture*, *Capua* became a *Municipium*; that is, she governed herself by her ancient Laws, chose her own Magistrates, enjoyed the same honorary Privileges as the *Citizens of Rome*, and in short, was only subject to the *Romans* in these two Particulars, That they kept a Garrison in it, to secure the Place; and, That they had a Right of demanding of the *Campani*, their Contingent of Troops for War. Besides, the Senate of *Rome* had likewise granted them a Privilege, which was then uncommon, *viz.* That the *Capuans* and *Romans* might intermarry. An honourable Distinction for *Capua*, which created a strong Union between the two Cities.

Livy, B. 23.
c. 2.

This was the Condition of *Capua*, when *Hannibal* drew near to it. The People were inclined to receive him. A Man of the most considerable Interest in the City, named *Pacuvius Calavius*, had the last Year, after the Battel of the Lake *Thrasimenus*, formed a Design of delivering up the City to *Hannibal*, if he came into *Campania*.

⁶⁴ *Compsa*, now *Conza*, is in *The Further Principality*.

⁶⁵ This, according to several Editions of *Livy*, was the Family of the *Mopsii*.

⁶⁶ *Livy* adds, B. 23. that a *Præfekt* of the Auxiliary Cavalry, named *Hegeas*, lost his Life, by too hotly pursuing the *Carthaginians*.

Pacuvius was then in the highest Post; he governed his Republick, in Quality of *Prætor*; and in order the better to secure the Success of his Enterprize, he had formed a Design to assassinate all the Senators in the City, whom he knew not to be agreeable to the People, and who did not enter into his Views. But afterwards, the *Prætor* seriously considered, the Condition to which *Capua* would be reduced, if *Hannibal* became Master of it; and he concluded, that it would be better for him to assume a kind of Sovereignty in his own Country, than to suffer a Stranger to usurp it.

THE ambitious *Pacuvius* was of an illustrious Family; and his Estate was considerable; tho' he had not acquired it by very honest Means. However, the People were devoted to him; so that he had nothing to do, in order to acquire a perfect Sovereignty, but to gain the Votes and Affections of the Senate. The Method he took to do this, with the Consent of his Republick, was to assemble the Magistrates of his City, and make them this artful Harangue.

HANNIBAL spreads Terror in these Countries, and Rome herself is ready to fall under the Yoke, she made us bear. The People of *Capua* seem disposed to submit to the Conquerors, and You only refuse to desert the Romans. Hence your Contentions with the Commons. Hence the Animosities which divide us, and which may in the end prove fatal to us. As for myself, I think *Capua* ought not to desert Rome, without an absolute Necessity. You know my Attachments to her. My Wife is a Roman Woman, the Daughter of *Appius Claudius*. She has brought me several Children; and I have very lately married my Daughter to *Livius* the Roman. I cannot therefore be an Enemy to a Senate, which here maintains the Interests of Rome. What most affects me, is, that the People of *Capua* have sworn to cut your Throats, and surrender themselves up to the Carthaginian. Dare you then to depend upon my Word, and forget your old Quarrels? I can deliver you out of your Danger, if you will commit yourselves implicitly to my Guidance. Let me but shut you up here, and leave the rest to my Management. After he had done speaking, the Senators believed him upon his Oath; and he set a Guard at the Door of the Temple, in which they were assembled.

THE People were delighted with the Confinement of the Magistrates, whom they resolved to put to death; and the Broils between the Senate and their Head being well known, the Commons thought *Pacuvius* sincerely in their Interest, and applauded his Proceeding. By his Order, all the City assembled together in the Forum; and then the *Prætor* ascended The Tribune of Harangues, and spake thus. *Campani, I have seconded, or rather prevented, your Desires. The detestable Senate whom you hate, are wholly in your own Hands. You wanted to rid the World of these Slaves to Rome, and to destroy them one by one; which must have cost you great deal of Blood. You must have fought at every one of their Houses; and their Clients would have defended the Lives of their Patrons. But now I have them all under Confinement, in one Place, without Arms, or Attendants: and I deliver them all up to you. Do you determine their Fate, and appoint every one his Punishment, according to the Greatness of his Crimes, or your Hatred to him. But after all, is it not reasonable, that the Government should still be preserved, as well as your Resentments satisfied? I suppose your Anger is confined to the Persons of the Senators, and not to the Senate as such. Let us then exterminate the Men, but preserve the Order, since we must have some Body of Men to govern us. Let us revenge ourselves on the old Senators, but then let us chuse new ones in their stead. We will cite them all before your Tribunal, and bring them out of their Prison one by one: and the Order in which they shall appear, shall be determined by Lot. Your Judgment shall be put in execution on every one of them; but one shall not be executed, and another brought to the Bar, till you have first named a Man of Probity to succeed him.*

THIS was thought a reasonable Proposal; the Senators Names were drawn by lot; and as soon as the first was taken out of the Urn, there was great shouting. When this first Victim appeared before the People, all loaded him with Curses; and cried out, *He is a Villain, Let him die; Let him immediately be carried to Execution.* But here the *Prætor* suspended the Eagerness of the People, and put them in mind, that they agreed to chuse a good Man to succeed the Criminal, before he should be executed. And then, the Folly of popular Judgments appeared in

Year of the strongest Light. When the Multitude came to name this honest Man, the ROM E could not agree. If any Person was named, some body or other was malicious enough to tell his Faults. One was too poor; another too presumptuous; a third was a Man of no Birth; a fourth had neither Sense nor Understanding: and in word, every one had some Fault or other, which disqualified him.

DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dictator.

THIS Indetermination therefore saved the Senators. The People being convinced, that it was better to keep those they had, than chuse worse, ordered the Prisoners to be released, left the *Forum* themselves, and the Assembly was dissolved. Thus *Pacuvius* acquired an absolute Dominion over the whole Nation without Violence; and his Authority was the more immovable, the less it was forced; he rather reigned in the Hearts of the People, by his Favours to them, than over their Bodies by Compulsion.

THIS happened immediately after the Battel of the Lake *Thrasimenus*. After which followed Times of Peace and Rejoicings in *Capua*. All Orders of Men acquiesced in a voluntary Subjection to *Pacuvius*; and the Senators, out of Gratitude to the Commons, and for fear of lowering their Minds, made no Decrees, but what were agreeable to the People. Hence Luxury, Feasting, and Licentiousness of Manners, daily increased in the City. The Regard the *Capuans* had for *Rome*, which was wholly founded in the Divisions between the Senate and People, abated daily. In this Situation they were, when the *Romans* were beaten a fourth time, and defeated, near *Cannæ*, and seemed ruined past Redemption. Indeed *Capua* had then another *Prætor*; *Marius Blossius* had succeeded *Pacuvius*; but the latter had still so much Interest, and Authority, that he was in Effect the Head of the Republick. He was the Mainpring of all Deliberations; and, without the Name of Governor, managed both Senate and People as he pleased.

CAPUA would from that time have sided with the *Carthaginians* against *Rome*, if two Considerations had not prevented it. The first was the great Number of Intermarriages made between the Inhabitants of the two Cities. The second was, that three hundred young *Capuan* Horsemen, that is, all the Flower of the Nobility, were actually in the Service of the Republick. They were gone to *Sicily*, with the Troops *Rome* sent thither to defend it: and they were so many Hostages for the Fidelity of the *Campani*.

WHEN therefore the Defeat of *Terentius*, and his Flight to *Venusia*, were divulged, it was not without Difficulty, that the Relations of the young Troopers obtained leave of *Pacuvius*, to send a Deputation to the fugitive *Consul*, to offer him Succours. But at length, the Head of the *Capuani* complied; the Deputies set out, and found *Terentius Varro* in such a Condition, as would have affected faithful Allies. But the destitute Condition in which they saw him, made him contemptible in the Eyes of these Traitors, who now formed a Design to revolt: and *Terentius's* Speech still more diminished the Veneration the Deputies ought to have had for a *Roman Consul*. Being scarce recovered from his Fright, and weaker in Understanding than ever, he addressed himself to them thus.

THE Succours you offer us, *Campani*, are indeed a Proof of your Affection; but such a one as can be of little Use to us, in our present Condition. We have lost all, Infantry, Cavalry, Money, and Ammunitions: and your Succours can never supply our Wants. You are no longer to make War in conjunction with us; but to carry it on, for the Service of *Rome*, in your own Names. You shall be the Principals, and we will serve you as Auxiliaries. You shall do the same thing for the *Roman Republick* against *Hannibal*, which she formerly did for you, against the *Samnites*. You know with what Indulgence we treated you, after your Surrender. The Senate soon re-established you, in your former Rights. The frequent Marriages between the Inhabitants of *Rome* and *Capua*, have, if I may so speak, made the two but one City. Common Interests ought therefore to animate you against a common Enemy. How formidable, how cruel, is this *Carthaginian General*! How many Barbarians has he attending him! And their Commander has made them more inhuman than himself. He taught his Soldiers to make ⁶⁷ Bridges, and Ramparts,

⁶⁷ *Terentius Varro* here alludes to the numberless Multitudes of *Carthaginians* who perished in passing the *Alpes*, and whose dead Carcasses served for Ramparts and Bridges, in those unpassable Places.

of human Bodies; and he is even said, to have taught them to eat ⁶⁸ human Flesh. What a Misfortune is it to be subject to so unnatural a General, to receive Laws from Africa, and to obey Moors, or Numidians! How glorious will it be for you, to have driven them out of Italy, and to have supported tottering Rome? Campania alone can raise thirty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; and as for Money and Provisions, you have great Plenty of both. If you continue as faithful to us, as your own Interest requires, Rome is not yet without some Hopes; nor is Hannibal arrived at the Completion of his Wishes.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

THIS Answer of the Consul, which had so little Dignity in it, which so much debased the Republick, and which discovered such Mixture of Fear and Despair, led the Deputies to make serious Reflections. They were no sooner dismissed, but Vibius Virius, one of the Ambassadors, said to his Collegues; *The time is now come for recovering the Liberty, the Romans deprived us of, by Violence, and for making Capua the Head of all Italy. The Calamities of Rome free us from the Subjection in which we have lived. Let us treat with the Foreigner, upon such Terms as we like: Let us open our Gates to him, till such time as Rome is utterly destroyed. Hannibal will sooner or later return from Italy to Africa, and leave the Capuans Masters of the Country, without Fear of Rivals.*

THESE Words, which seemed not void of Reason, affected the Deputies; and when they made a Report of their Embassy, they at the same time mentioned this Proposal to the Capuans, who were persuaded, that Rome was utterly ruined: and then all Campania inclined to favour Hannibal. Only some old Men restrained for some time, the Earnestness of the People to shake off the Roman Yoke. It is said, that they prevailed so far, as to persuade them, in order to break off from Rome with the more Decency, first to send an Embassy, with such Proposals to the Roman Senate, as they certainly would not accept. These were, That Rome and Capua should be put upon a perfect Equality; and That every Year one of the Consuls should be chosen out of the Capuans, to govern the Republick jointly with the Roman Consul, and with equal Authority. The Negotiation did not succeed; Rome still retained her Pride, notwithstanding her Losses; and the Conscript Fathers appeared not to be Men of Terentius's Character. The Latins had formerly made a Proposal like this, which had been rejected: and now that of the Capuans was as little regarded, tho' made in these most difficult Times. A memorable Instance of Roman Constancy!

§. XV. AFTER this, Capua hesitated no longer. By a Plurality of Voices, both of the Senate and People, assembled together, it was agreed to send to Hannibal the same Deputies, who had been the Eye-witnesses of Terentius's Terrors. The ambitious Pacuvius was the Soul of all the Proceedings of his Republick. He doubtless had hoped to have made himself a Roman Consul, by the Negotiation he had influenced his People to venture upon, with Rome: and now he was in hopes of rendring himself Sovereign of a great State, by entering into Measures with the Carthaginian.

THE Capuans therefore treated with Hannibal upon the following Conditions. 1. That no Carthaginian Magistrate, the General of the Army himself not excepted, should have any Jurisdiction over any Citizen in Capua. 2. That no Capuan should be compelled to serve in the Carthaginian Army, or to accept any Employment in it. 3. That Capua should still retain her ancient Laws, and be governed by such Magistrates only, as she herself should chose. 4. That Hannibal should deliver up to them four hundred Roman Knights, to be exchanged for the same Number of Capuan Youths, who were in the Service of Rome, in Sicily. These Terms Hannibal accepted, resolving to break them, as soon as he should become Master of the City; and now nothing remained, but to get rid of the Roman Garrison, the Officers that commanded it, and a great Number of other Romans, whom Trade, or private Business, kept at Capua. In order to this, the People invested them, and under pretence of taking Measures for their Preserva-

68 Indeed it is said, B. 9. of the Extracts of Polybius, that one Hannibal, an Officer in the African Army, gave the Carthaginian General strange Advice. The latter had resolved to march into Italy from Spain. The Difficulty was, how to find Subsistence for his Troops, in this long March. And

the Officer thinking the readiest Expedient was to accustom his Soldiers to eat human Flesh, he proposed it to the General; and Polybius says, that the Great Hannibal himself rejected it. Porphyry says, B. 2. De Abstinentia ab Animalibus, that this General was falsely accused of this Barbarity.

Year of tion, shut them up in the publick Baths. Then, by a signal Piece of Treachery, they heated the Stoves, and boiled the Water so much, that the *Romans* were all suffocated, with the Vapours of the Waters, or with the Heat.

R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

INDEED all the Citizens of *Capua* did not equally approve of the Revolt. Among all these faithless Allies, there was one Man, who was true to the Interests of *Rome*, and whose Virtue was truly *Roman*. His Name was *Decius Magius*. He opposed *Pacuvius's* Treaty with *Hannibal*; and the Fury of the People against the *Roman* Garrison, as much as he could: but in spite of all his Authority, the Rage of the People prevailed against his Remonstrances. Upon which, he increased his Opposition, when he knew a *Carthaginian* Garrison was ready to succeed the *Roman*, and cried out: *Capuans, remember Pyrrhus and Tarentum! The King of Epirus was no sooner among them, but the Tarentini repented of having received him. You have been your own Masters; you are now going to be made Slaves. You have but one Expedient left to save you; which is, to cut all the Carthaginians in pieces as fast as they enter the City, in order to appease the Gods, and the Romans, by that Sacrifice.*

BUT the Debauchery of the *Capuans* had extinguished all their Respect for the Gods, and all Love of Duty. So that *Magius's* Discourse was despised; and he was accused for it before *Hannibal*. Upon which, the proud *Carthaginian* began with an Infringement of the Treaty, which the *Capuans* must have been affected with, if the Love of Change had not bewitched them. Before he took Possession of *Capua*, he sent Orders to *Magius*, to come to his Camp, and answer for his Proceedings. But he haughtily refused to obey the General's Order: and indeed, the *African* General had, according to his own Conventions, no Right over the Person of any *Capuan*. Nevertheless, *Hannibal* was resolved at first to force him to obey, and to take him from his Family by Violence. But upon more mature Reflexions, he altered his Mind. He was afraid of a Tumult. Nevertheless, being impatient to revenge himself, he wrote the *Prætor Blasius* word, that he would come to *Capua* himself the next Day. The *Prætor* gave notice of it to the People, and a magnificent Entry was appointed for the *Carthaginian* General. Men, Women, and Children, all went to meet *Hannibal*; and were very impatient to see a Man, who was famous for so many Victories. Only *Magius*, and his Son, together with a Handful of the young Nobility, and among them the Son of *Pacuvius*, named *Perola*, did not follow the Crowd. Nor did *Magius* hide himself; That would have argued Fear. He walked in the *Forum* very composedly, and did not join in the Acclamations of the Multitude; tho' he was not a Stranger to the Persecution that threatened him.

IN short, *Hannibal* had no sooner entered *Capua* in this triumphant manner; but he desired the Senate might be assembled: So earnest was he to vent his Fury against the brave *Magius*. But at length he was appeased, and persuaded not to damp the Joy of so happy a Day. *Hannibal* therefore, in order to do Honour to two illustrious Families at once, accepted of two Entertainments in one Day, one at the House of the *Minii*, and the other with the famous *Pacuvius*, the Author of the Revolution. The latter had taken his Son *Perola* out of the Company of *Magius*, and forced him to come and pay his Homage to *Hannibal*; and in short, had reinstated him in the good Graces of the *Carthaginian*. Tho' only a small Number of *Hannibal's* Friends were admitted to the Feast of the *Minii*, *Perola* was invited. But the young Man was proud. He had imbibed *Magius's* Sentiments, and had always had a *Roman* Heart: and therefore feigned an Indisposition, and did not accept of the Invitation. So that his Father, in order to excuse him, was forced to confess, that his Son was so much out of Humour, that it would be difficult to bring him to Temper. The Feast was sumptuous; and such as might be expected from two rich Lords, in a voluptuous City. There *Hannibal* met with no more of his military Repasts, which were always frugal. He began to have a Taste for Luxury, and thought *Capua* a delightful Habitation. He did not rise from Table till towards Night, and then only to repair to *Pacuvius's* House, who gave him a magnificent Supper. In the Interim between the two Entertainments, *Perola* found his Father, in his own Garden, and had a long Discourse with him. The Blood and Education of a *Roman* Mother, had inspired the young *Capuan* with Magnanimity. *I have found out an Expedient*, said he to *Pacuvius*,

Pacuvius, to reconcile Rome to you, and make her forget your Unfaithfulness to her. At this *Pacuvius* seemed surprized, and said, *What is that Expedient? It is this,* answered *Perola*; and immediately opening his Robe, shewed his Father a Poniard fastened to his Girdle: *This Instrument,* said he, *will procure both Capua's Deliverance, and our Reconciliation with Rome. Hannibal shall die. And my only Design in communicating this to you, is, that you may find Means to be out of the Way, if you shall not like to see the Agonies of the expiring Carthaginian.*

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

At this Declaration, *Pacuvius* was like one Thunder-struck. To how terrible Dilemma was he reduced! either to accuse, and consequently destroy his Son; or to suffer all the Laws of Hospitality to be broken through, by the Assassination of a Great Man! He was divided between paternal Affection, and the Horror of the Crime; and he had Recourse to Intreaties and Tears.

WHAT! Son, said he to *Perola*, *will you become an Assassin, in order to perjure your Father? I very lately plighted my Faith to Hannibal. My Oaths were confirmed by Libations, made at a sacred Feast; and would you have me break them? What, could I have Interest enough to bring Hannibal to you; and yet can I not incline you to favour Hannibal? Perola, have you well considered what you are going about? Dare you alone attack an Hero, and stand the Shock of those Looks which have put Roman Armies to Flight? Can you hope to escape the Vigilance of so many Eyes, as are always watching for his Safety, and the Strength of so many Arms, as are always ready to defend him? No; you can't stab him, but through me. My Prayers softened him; and shall my Tears be less prevalent with you, than my Intreaties were with him?* *Perola* was much affected with these Words; and the Embraces of his Father entirely overcame him. The Son at length acquiesced, and cried out; *It is only to my Father, that I sacrifice the Interest of my Country! Alas! must you have three Crimes to reproach yourself with? the first, that of persuading the Capuans to surrender; the second, that of having ratified the Treaty; and the third, that of stopping my Arm, when ready to deliver my Country! O Capua! O my Father! I betray one, in Obedience to the other: And to you alone, I surrender the Dagger you wrest from me.* Thus spake *Perola*; and, to leave *Pacuvius* no room for Suspicion, threw the Poniard over the Garden-Wall, and went to sup with the Company. Thus *Hannibal*, without knowing it, was in greater Danger at a Supper, than any he had encountered in Spain, Gaul, on the *Alpes*, among the *Gauls* in *Italy*, or in his Battels with the *Romans*.

Plut. Life of
Hannibal.
Livy, B. 23d
c. 9.

THE next Day the Senate of *Capua* was assembled, at the *Carthaginian's* Request: And *Hannibal* made an artful Speech to them, wherein he gave the *Capuans* Hopes of being Masters of all *Italy*. *Rome herself*, said he, *shall receive Law from the Capuans; and your imperious Masters shall be your Slaves. But there is one single Man whose Heart is certainly not Campanian, who may prevent your attaining to this high Pitch of Glory. I mean Decius Magius. The proud Man braves you, and refuses to concur in what you most desire. Cite him to appear. The Sentence you shall pass upon him, will establish the Glory and Safety of Capua.*

Liv. B. 22.
c. 10.

ALL lamented the Fate of the illustrious Citizen, and plainly said, that an Attempt was going already to be made against the publick Liberty. Yet none durst open his Mouth in favour of the innocent. *Magius* was brought before his Judges, and, by their Sentence, delivered up into the Hands of his Enemy. He in vain urged, That *Hannibal* had no Right over his Person: He was loaded with Chains, and carried to the *Carthaginian* Camp. But as he walked thro' the Streets, with a *Lictor* before him, and bare-headed, like a Slave; he did not cease to cry out: *This, Capuans, is the Liberty that was promised you. Hannibal carries away your most illustrious Citizens in Chains, before your Eyes! This is your Recompence, for the magnificent Reception you have given him!*

As for *Hannibal*, he immediately embarked the illustrious *Capuan*, on a Ship bound for *Carthage*; but the Ship was driven by a Tempest to the Port of ⁷¹ *Cyrene*, a City belonging to the Kings of *Egypt*. There the Prisoner ran and embraced the Statue of *Ptolomy* ⁷² *Philopator*; and the *Carthaginians* durst not drag

⁷¹ The City of *Cyrene* was the chief of the five of which the *Pentapolis* of *Africa* consisted. It gave its Name to the Province called *Cyrenaica*, which lay between *Egypt* and the Kingdom of *Tri-poli*. *Cyrene* is now called *Gorcne*.

⁷² This was the *Ptolomy* who, according to *Justin*, was surnamed *Philopator*, because his Ambition tempted him to kill his own Father, in order to possess himself of his Throne. And the same Author says he did not spare either his Mother or Brother.

Year of him from this Sanctuary. *Magius*, by this Appeal to the King of *Cyrene*, was taken out of the Power of his Enemies; was conducted to *Alexandria*; and acquired by *Ptolomy*, who gave him leave to return, either to *Capua*, or *Rome*. But the virtuous *Capuan* chose to continue in *Alexandria*, where he lived in Safety under the Laws of his Deliverer 73.

DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dictator.

Plut. Life of
Hannibal.

§. XVI. *HANNIBAL* was already become the Master, or rather the Tyrant of *Capua*, before it was known at *Carthage* what Progress he had made in *Italy*. It is probable, that the same Ship which was to have conveyed *Magius*, carried thither *Mago*, *Hannibal's* Brother, whom he sent to give an Account of his Success. But *Mago* did not immediately leave his Brother's Camp. He spent some Days in bringing the *Bruttii* into Subjection to the *Carthaginians*, and then set sail, and arrived safe in *Africa*, after he had continued some time in *Cyrene*. As soon as he arrived at *Carthage*, he gave the Senate an Account of his Brother's Victories. The Brave Conqueror, said he, *has continued his Progress, in spite of seven Roman Generals; some of which were Dictators, and some Consuls. Hannibal has gained six pitched Battels, in which above two hundred thousand Romans were killed upon the Spot. Fifty thousand Enemies have been made Prisoners; and two Consuls slain in Battel. The last General of the Romans escaped with great Difficulty, attended only with seventy Men. Rome has but one Commander left; and he is a timorous Man, whose only Refuge is Inaction; and who has not been able to avoid being beaten, otherwise than by avoiding coming to a Battel. The Apulians, the Bruttii, the Lucani, and the Campani, are all subject to your Dominion; and Capua has surrendered to the Conqueror, in order to become the Capital of Italy. Ought we not then to return the Gods Thanks here, for so many Successes?*

THIS was an Account of such excessive good Fortune, that *Mago* was with Difficulty believed; and he therefore gave this glaring Proof of the Truth of it. He spread abroad in the Senate-House, the Gold Rings *Hannibal* had taken from the *Romans* who had been left dead upon the Spot, in several Battels. Some say, that there were three Bushels 74 of them; and others, that there was only one. But be that as it will, the Quantity of them was surprizingly great, especially if it be true that only *Senators* and *Roman Knights* were then suffered to wear them.

AFTER

Upon what Authority *Justin* affirms this, is not known. But it is certain, that *Polybius* declares, that *Ptolomy Evergetes*, the Father of *Philopater*, died of a Fit of Sickneſs. *Ptolomy Philopater* began to reign in the Year of *Rome* 533, when *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, and *Marcus Valerius Lavinius* were *Consuls*, about the first Year of the 140th Olympiad.

73 During these Transactions in *Italy*, adds *Livy*, *Quintus Fabius Pictor* arrived from *Delpi*, whither the Senate had sent him, after the Battel of *Canna*, to consult the Oracle about the Misfortunes which overwhelmed the *Roman* Republick, since *Hannibal's* Conquests. He gave an Account of his Commission, and delivered the Answer of the Oracle in Writing. It named all the Gods, to whom the Citizens were obliged to pay their Adorations; and it ordered all the Particulars of the *Supplications*, Ceremonies, and Sacrifices. But *Apollo*, above all, recommended Purity of Manners, and Innocence of Life, to the *Romans*. And in case they would follow his Advice, he promised to protect them, restore the Republick to its ancient Splendor, and make her *Legions* victorious; provided always, that she enriched the Temple of *Delpi* with Part of the Spoils she took from the Enemy. The covetous and selfish Priests would not fail turning the Credulity and Superstition of an affrighted People, to their own Profit. The Answer was written in *Greek*, and turned into *Latin*, by *Fabius Pictor*. And he added, that ever since he came out of the Temple, he had strictly observed all the Orders of the Oracle. I have, said he, offered Wine and Incense to the Gods which were proposed as the Objects of our Worship. From the first Moment that I consulted the Oracle, till my Return, I have never appeared without a Crown of Lawrel on my Head; which I did

not lay aside till I arrived at *Rome*, and offered it at the Altar of *Apollo*. And herein I have exactly followed the Directions given me by the chief Minister of the Temple of *Delpi*. After this the Senate passed a Decree, commanding that *Supplications* and Sacrifices should be offered up to the Gods, as the Oracle directed.

74 Authors are divided about this prodigious Quantity of Gold Rings. *Pliny*, B. 33. c. 1. seems to favour the Opinion of those who make them to have been three Bushels. And to make the thing the more probable, he is inclined to believe, that in the time of the second *Carthaginian* War, all the Citizens of *Rome*, without Exception, assumed a Right of wearing a gold Ring. Tho' his Words, *promiscui usus annulorum*, may possibly signify no more than that the Privilege of wearing Rings was common to the Senators and *Roman Knights*. *Florus* says, B. 2. c. 16. that *Hannibal* sent to *Carthage*, two Bushels of Gold Rings; and that by them, the Republick judged of the Number of *Roman Knights*, who lost their Lives in the several Battels *Hannibal* gained. *Modii duo annulorum Carthaginem misit, dignitasque equestris taxata mensura*. *St. Austin* is of *Pliny's* Opinion, in ch. 19. B. 3. de *Civitate Dei*, *De Cannensi autem malo quid dicam! . . . unde Hannibal tres modios annulorum aureorum Carthaginem misit, quo intelligerent tantam in illo prælio dignitatem cecidisse Romanam, ut facilius eam caperet mensura quam numerus*. *Livy*, B. 23. says that the most probable Opinion was, that there was but one Bushel of them. *Fama tenuit, quæ proprior vero est, haud plus fuisse modio*. And, the more plainly to shew how great the Losses of the *Romans* were, *Mago* added, says the last-mentioned Historian, that at *Rome*, only *Knights*, and the most considerable of the Citizens, had the

AFTER *Mago* had made these first Impressions on the Senate of *Carthage*, in favour of his Brother; he then solicited Succours for him; in order to enable him to carry on this successful War. *It is*, said he, *in the midst of an Enemy's Country, that Hannibal has gained this Success to your Arms. For this Reason, he is often distressed for want of Provisions; and so many Battels must necessarily have lessened the Number of his Troops. Africa ought therefore to send him Recruits of Men and Provisions, in order to support these glorious Beginnings.*

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 12.

ALL with great Readiness approved of *Mago's* Proposal; the *Barcan* Faction especially triumphed; and *Himilco*, who was the most zealous Partizan of it, turned towards *Hanno*, as it were to insult him. The Reader may remember, that he was the most avowed Adversary of the *Barcan* Party. Well, said *Himilco* to him, do you now repent of conferring the Generalship on Hannibal? Has the War he has undertaken turned to the Disadvantage of our Country? Must we deliver up Hannibal to the Romans, rather than put him at the Head of our Troops? If you dare, speak the Language of a Roman, in a Carthaginian Senate.

HANNO was provoked, but nevertheless answered with Moderation; If I had not been compelled to it, I should not have spoken at all to day, for fear of interrupting the publick Joy. But not to reply, when thus interrogated by a Senator, would argue Pride, or a Disaffection to the State. I therefore answer, That I shall not triumph before the time. The War is successfully begun, I grant it; but I shall still repent of its being begun, till an End is put to it by a happy Peace. Who knows whether these Overflowings of Joy may not end in Sorrow! I have Reason to suspect it, from what I hear Hannibal himself say, by his Brother. Send me, says he, Troops and Provisions. Is this the Language of a Conqueror, who is Master of so many Nations in Italy? The Roman Republick is reduced to Extremities. She has neither Troops nor Generals. Yet I want Succours. Do Men speak thus, when they have gained a certain Superiority? Is Rome reduced to so deplorable a State, if our General wants new Forces to subdue her? Did not we, in the same manner, think her utterly ruined, in the first War we made with her? And yet, did not her Constancy raise her up; and did not she even gather Strength from her Fall? But in order to come to a clear Knowledge of the true State of Affairs in Italy, give me leave, *Mago*, to ask you some Questions. Has any Latin Nation come over to us? Has any one Man of the Roman Tribes deserted Rome? No, replied *Mago*. Then the Romans, rejoined *Hanno*, have still more Men left, than are sufficient to conquer us. Tell me likewise, whether the Conquered shew any Signs of Despair, or Discouragement? I know nothing of it; answered *Mago*. And yet nothing is more easily seen; replied *Hanno*. Give me leave likewise, to enquire yet farther, continued the Carthaginian Senator, whether the Romans, who have been so often beaten, make any Advances towards a Peace, or seem to desire it. They still put a good Face upon it, replied *Mago*, notwithstanding their Losses. From all this then I conclude, resumed *Hanno* very briskly, that we are scarce any farther advanced yet, than we were the Day Hannibal entered Italy. We have indeed done enough to obtain an advantageous Peace with Rome; and that ought to be the utmost of our Wishes. One single Failure may utterly destroy any other Project, how great soever. Thus, upon the Defeat of our Fleet at the *Ægades* Islands, all our Hopes of conquering Sicily, by Hannibal's Father, proved abortive. I therefore vote against sending any Succours to the Army in Italy. If it be as victorious, as is represented, it needs no Reinforcement. If it sends us false Accounts, it deserves no Relief from us.

It must be granted, that *Hanno's* Speech was worthy of a Man of his good

Privilege of wearing Gold Rings. Had all enjoyed it, as *Pliny* seems to say, Authors would have had no Reason to cry out, as most of them do, at the Number of the Rings *Hannibal* gathered up, probably after the four Victories he had gained on the *Tessin*, the *Trebia*, near the Lake *Thrasimenus*, and lastly, in the Plains of *Cannæ*; not to mention the other Advantages he had over them, on several Occasions. It is most agreeable to the Testimonies of the Ancients to say, that at this time the Knights, Patricians, and perhaps also the Military Tribunes, had a Right to wear a Ring. And who knows,

whether the Nobility were content with one only? In *Pliny's* time at least, Pride and Pomp had multiplied this Sort of Ornament. And according to *Florus*, *Hannibal* gave the most terrible Proof of the excessive Slaughter of the Romans, when he heaped up Multitudes of dead Bodies, in the Brook *Vergellus*, and made a Bridge with them for his Troops. We don't well know what Brook this was. But *Valerius Maximus* also calls it *Vergellus*, and vouches for a Fact, of which *Livy*, *Plutarch*, and *Polybius*, were ignorant.

Sense;

Year of ROME DXXXVII. M. JUNIUS PERA, Dictator. 193750 l. Arbutnot.

Sense; yet it was not hearkened to. His Quarrels with the *Barcan* Family made him suspected; and the People did not care to have the present Joy damped with Reflections on what was to come. In hopes therefore of seeing *Rome* soon utterly destroyed, if the least Assistance was sent to *Hannibal*, a Decree was passed, by a Plurality of Voices, for sending him in the first place, four thousand *Numidians*, forty Elephants, and a thousand * *Talents* of Silver. Nor was this all that *Carthage* did. She immediately sent away a Commissioner to *Spain*, with *Mago*, empowering them to raise Levies there, to be equally divided between the *Carthaginian* Army in *Spain*, and that in *Italy*.

§. XVII. INDEED, *Asdrubal* has been as unsuccessful against the two *Scipio's*, *Publius* the *Pro-Consul*, and his Brother *Cneius*, in *Spain*; as *Hannibal* had been successful against *Terentius* in *Italy*. *Publius* commanded the *Roman* Fleet, *Cneius* the Land-Forces; and both signalized themselves in this Campaign. At first the *Carthaginian* General, not daring to appear at Sea, and much less to hazard a Battel in the Plain, kept himself shut up in Posts, and behind Walls. But the Reinforcement he received from *Africa*, soon raised his Confidence: and he ventured to appear in the Field, and equip his Fleet, in order to oppose the *Roman* Fleet, which was ravaging the Islands on the Coasts of *Spain*.

WHAT quickened *Asdrubal's* Motions, was the Revolt of some of the *Spanish* Troops, whom he had severely reprimanded, after the Loss of the Battel fought at the Mouth of the *Ebro*. After these Soldiers had left him, they had retired to the *Carpetani*, had there stirred up some Cities, who had been for the *Carthaginians*, and were going to take one of them by Assault, which was the only one that held out for *Asdrubal*. The *Roman* Army was preparing to move that Way, to take Advantage of the Insurrection of the Malecontents, and to assist them; and *Asdrubal* in the mean time, entered the Country of the 75 *Carpetani*, and destroyed every thing with Fire and Sword. The General of the *Spanish* Malecontents was one *Galbus*, or rather *Chalpus*. He had encamped within reach of the City, he was going to force; and *Asdrubal* resolved to attack him there. In order to draw him to a Battel, the *Carthaginian* first sent some light-armed Troops round his Camp: and then he dispersed others about the Country, to lay it waste, and to surprize those Rebels, who rambled far from their Camp. But the latter rallied, and returned to their Entrenchments, different Ways; and then *Chalpus's* Army, being now got together, were no longer afraid; but their Fear was changed into Confidence. The Rebels were not only in a Condition to defend their Camp; but even ventured to march out against the Enemy, and offer him Battel.

THE Alacrity of the *Spaniards*, when they were in the Plain, surprized the *Carthaginian*. They expressed it, by dancing and leaping after their Country-manners; and by this good Appearance, they all on a sudden transferred the Fright from their own Army to that of their Enemies. When *Asdrubal* was ready to give the Attack, he all at once put himself upon the Defensive. He retired gradually, gained a steep Hill, and got a River between him and the Enemy. In this advantageous Post, he gathered together his Cavalry, which was dispersed in the Fields, and for the greater Safety entrenched himself with Care.

BUT these Motions could not be made without some brisk Skirmishes, in which the Revolters always had the Advantage. The *Numidian* Cavalry often gave way before the *Spanish*; and the *Carthaginian* Infantry could no longer hold out against that of their Enemies. The Malecontents would fain have drawn *Asdrubal* to a Battel, or besieged his Camp. But both seemed impossible. However, a Part of

75 Polybius here changes the Name of the *Carpetani*, into that of *Carpesii*; and *Livy*, B. 25. gives them the same Name. *Fecerunt ii transfugæ motum in Carpesiorum gente*. In some MSS. of the *Latin* Historian, we read *Carthesiorum*, and *Tartessiorum*, as if he was speaking of the *Carthesii* and *Tartessii*, Nations of *Betica*, whose Capital was *Carteia*, or, according to others, *Tartessus*. But be that as it will, *Livy's* Narration shews that the People here spoken of were the *Carpetani*, who reckoned *Toledo* to be one of their chief Cities. These People were nearer the *Iberus*, than the *Tartessii*; and it was near this River that the two Armies of the Ro-

mans and *Carthaginians* were posted. Besides, the *Tartessii*, who were a Part of the *Turdetani*, did not possess any great Extent of Ground. So that we must search elsewhere, for all these Cities, some of which shook off the *Carthaginian* Yoke, and others continued faithful. Unless by the *Tartessii*, we understand with *Sanson* the Geographer, a different People from those *Tartessii*, who inhabited a Canton near *The Straights of Cadis*. The former, according to him, possessed a Country situated between the *Carpetani* and *Celtiberii*. And in this Case, the two Terms *Carthesiorum*, or *Tartessiorum*, will equally agree with *Livy's* Story.

their Army fell upon a City called ⁷⁶ *Asena*, where the *Carthaginians* kept their Magazine of Provisions. It was taken upon the first Assault; and all the neighbouring Country lay at the Mercy of the Rebels: and when they were pillaging it, *Asdrubal* thought this a favourable Opportunity to insult *Chalpus* in his Camp. He fled thither; and the March of the *Carthaginians* gave the Alarm among the Rebels. They cried out, *To Arms; To Arms*; marched out into the Plain in Confusion; and that they might come up to the Enemy the sooner, did not give themselves time to draw up in Battalia. Those that marched out first, were already engaged, before their Companions had left their Entrenchments. Nevertheless, this sudden Impetuosity terrified the *Carthaginians* at first; but they soon took Courage. Their Battalions were closed, and drawn up in good Order. It seemed easy to break those of the Enemy, which were confusedly huddled together; and accordingly, the *Carthaginians* penetrated into them. Then the Rebels rallied as well as they could; drew up in several Circles, in order to face every Way; and so close, that they had not the free Use of their Arms. Nevertheless, they made a long and obstinate Defence; and it was a great while before they were broken. There was a terrible Slaughter made of them; only a few escaped, and retired to the Woods, and Mountains. Their Camp was taken, and the whole Country of the *Carpetani* submitted to the Conqueror.

ASDRUBAL was busy in quieting the Province he had conquered, when he was obliged to leave it, all on a sudden. A Courier came to him from *Carthage*, with an Order from the Senate, to leave *Spain*, and go into *Italy*, to join his Troops to those of his Brother. But what Measures could be taken for so sudden a Departure? The Motions he was obliged to make in order to it, spread the Rumour of it far. As for the *Spaniards*, nothing kept them steady to the *Carthaginians*, but the Fear of *Asdrubal's* Arms. Their Inclinations were for the *Romans*. The two *Scipio's* had made more Conquests by their Mildness, Prudence, and Equity, than by their Valour. So that upon the Report of the *Carthaginian's* Departure, many Nations had thoughts of going over to the *Romans*. This *Asdrubal* knew; and therefore, before he obeyed the Orders of his Republick, he thought it his Duty to inform her, by the following Letter, of the Consequences his Absence would produce.

THE present Dispositions of the Spaniards are such, that as soon as I am passed the Ebro, many Kingdoms will go over to the Romans. They are all inclined to favour them. What then will be the Consequence, if I leave them defenceless, to the Mercy of the two Scipio's, whose Forces are at least equal to ours? If you resolve that I shall go, send a new General, and a new Army, hither; and be assured, that let my Successor be as vigilant and as brave as he will, he will find sufficient Employment for all his Skill and Valour.

THIS Letter of *Asdrubal* made some Impressions on the *Carthaginian* Senate; and they had like to have countermanded their Orders. But their Hatred to the *Romans*, and the passionate Desire of exterminating them out of *Italy*, gained the Ascendant in all their Breasts. They sent *Himilco* into *Spain*, with a moderate Army, and a sufficient Number of Gallies to keep the Seas. Upon his Arrival, the new General landed his Troops, secured them within good Entrenchments, and laid up his Fleet under Covert. Then he advanced with a Body of Horse, towards *Asdrubal's* Camp, marching with a great deal of Precaution, through many Nations, whose Fidelity was suspected, or wavering.

At the Interview of the two *Carthaginian* Generals, *Himilco* acquainted *Asdrubal* with the Intentions of his Republick, with regard to his going into *Italy*; and *Asdrubal* gave *Himilco* proper Instructions, how to govern *Spain*, and carry on the War with Success. But the old General thought it necessary to be expeditious, that the *Spanish* Nations might not have time to assemble together, to

⁷⁶ *Asena*, according to *Ferrarius*, was a City in the Country of the *Celtiberi*, which he calls *Alameda*. The latter is four Miles from *Toledo*. And *Sanfon* has adopted this Situation. In some Manuscripts, we read *Ascuam*. But we don't know any City called *Ascuam*. Perhaps the City meant by it, is *Escua*, a City in the Country of the *Turduli*, near

the Territory of *Cordona*. *Ptolomy* mentions the latter; and *Sanfon* places it where *Cabral* now stands, on the Confines of the Kingdoms of *Granada* and *Seville*. But it is very far from the *Celtiberi*, who inhabited the Country round *Tarragona* and *Saragossa*, together with Part of *New Castille*, and of the Kingdom of *Valencia*.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dictator.

Appian in Iberia.

Liv. B. 23. c. 27.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

prevent or oppose his Departure. He therefore hastily put all the *Spanish* Countries, which were subject to the *Carthaginians*, under Contribution ; and over-loaded them with Tributes. He knew that *Hannibal* had gained himself so easy a Passage through *Gaul*, only by the Help of his Money ; nor could he have got any Troops there, without paying them. And as soon as *Asdrubal* had enriched himself with his extravagant Exactions, he immediately set out ; took the Road to the *Ebro*, in his Way to the *Pyrenees* ; and it is incredible what Uneasiness this Motion of his gave the *Scipio's*.

§. XVIII. THE two Brothers were not ignorant what Advantages *Hannibal* had gained in *Italy* : and that to suffer this considerable Reinforcement to go thither, was to expose *Rome* to the utmost Danger. They therefore drew near to each other, and after joining their Land and Sea-Forces, resolved to oppose *Asdrubal's* March, and prevent his Design. With this View they passed the *Ebro*, in order to dispute his passing it ; and at length, after many Deliberations, resolved to raise the Jealousy of *Asdrubal's* Army, by laying Siege to a Place, in the Interest of the *Carthaginians*, then called 77 *Ibera*, but since *Tortosa*.

ASDRUBAL could not suffer a rich City to be taken before his Face ; which his Allies might reproach him with deserting in time of Need. He did not indeed march directly against the Enemy, to raise the Siege : but he, in his Turn, laid Siege to another Place near it, which had lately submitted to the *Romans*. The Camps of the two *Scipio's*, and that of *Asdrubal*, were but five Miles asunder ; so that during the two Sieges, there were many Skirmishes-between the two Armies ; and, as it usually happens, these slight Skirmishes were followed by a general Action.

THE *Carthaginians* and *Romans* resolved at the same time to give Battel, as it were by Consent. They both pitched on the same Day ; so that all things were ready on both Sides, and neither Party was forced to fight, by unforeseen Accidents. The Commanders drew up their Troops leisurely in a vast Plain : and the *Roman* Army was formed in three Lines, according to their usual manner, in general Battels. The *Hastati* were posted in the first Line ; the *Principes* in the second ; and the *Triarii* in the third. The Cavalry were placed in the Wings ; and the Slingers, Archers, and all the light-armed Soldiers in general, were posted, partly in the Spaces between the *Manipuli*, and partly behind the *Triarii* ; which last was a new Disposition.

As for *Asdrubal*, he posted his *Carthaginians* in the Right, his other *Africans* in the Left, and the *Spaniards* in the Center. The Cavalry of the Auxiliaries sustained the second, and a Part of the *Numidian* Cavalry the first. Some Horsemen in the *Numidian* Squadrons were observed to fight in a very particular manner. Each had two Horses for his own Use, in the Heat of the Action ; and they leaped from one to the other with a surprising Dexterity, drawing near to the Enemy, or retiring from them, sometimes to the Right, and sometimes to the Left, as there was Occasion. The last Squadrons of the *Numidians* were posted in the Left Wing, among the Cavalry of the Auxiliaries.

THE two Armies were equal in Numbers ; but were far from having the same Interest in the Success of the Battel. Tho' the *Romans* were making War in a foreign Country, they were well satisfied, that the Safety or Ruin of their own Country, depended on the gaining or losing of the Battel. *Rome* was utterly lost, if *Asdrubal* carried his victorious Troops into *Italy*. What then remained for them to do, but to conquer, or die ? On the contrary, the *Spaniards* preferred being overcome in their own Country, to the Fatigue of marching victoriously over the *Alpes* into a strange Land.

UPON the first Attack therefore, *Asdrubal's* main Body, which wholly consisted of *Spaniards*, gave way, suffered the *Romans* to break into it, and fled with such haste, that it seemed concerted. The *Romans* entered, without Opposition, into the great Space the *Spaniards* left open between the *Carthaginian* Wings ; but nevertheless, the latter fought with the same Vigour, as if they had not been deserted. The *Africans*, believing that the Flight of the *Spaniards* was feigned, in

77 It is conjectured, that the City of *Ibera* is the same which was afterwards called *Dortusa*, and still subsists, and bears the Name of *Tortosa*, a little above the Mouth of the *Iberus*, in *Catalonia*.

order to surround the *Romans*, fell upon them with Fury. But they were repulsed with all the Vigour of resolute Men, who had already gained the middle Ground. And to complete the Misfortune, as soon as the *Numidian* Horse saw *Asdrubal's* main Body in Disorder, they fled, and saved the Elephants. So that only the *Carthaginian* and *African* Infantry stood their Ground, and they were cut in Pieces. The Slaughter was terrible; and the Victory of the *Scipio's* was complete. It must be owned, that *Asdrubal* made surprizing Efforts, on this unfortunate Day. He was the last Man on the Field of Battel; and never left it, till all Hopes were lost. He was personally Brave, and, considered as a General, in nothing inferior to his Brother *Hannibal*, but his Cunning; or, if you will, his Address.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dictator.

THIS Victory of the *Scipio's*, procured their Republick the Advantage they had promised themselves from it. *Asdrubal* was now disabled from going into *Italy*. His Departure was deferred for some Years; and in this Interval, *Rome* had time to breathe. If the new General had passed the *Alpes*, soon after the Battel of *Cannae*, what would have become of the Empire of the *Romans*! It may therefore be affirmed, that the *Scipio's* did the Publick as much Service in a foreign Country, as the *Consuls* or *Dictators* did, near the Capital. In short, *Rome* owed her Safety to her Armies in *Spain*. Nor was this all. After the Battel of *Tortosa*, the *Spaniards* openly avowed their Affection for the *Romans*, without Restraint. The Nations which before wavered, then declared for them. And in a word, the *Scipio's*, by their Victories and prudent Conduct in *Spain*, made *Rome* amends for the Losses she sustained in *Italy*.

§.XIX. THE News which was brought from *Spain*, raised a little the Courage of the *Dictator Junius*, and of the *Roman* Senate: and whilst *Hannibal* was losing time in *Capua*, and enjoying the Pleasures of *Campania*, the *Romans* made their Preparations with the Diligence and Expedition peculiar to them. By the *Dictator's* Orders, all Criminals, and Persons confined for Debt, that were willing to assist themselves, were released out of Prison: And the former were promised that they should be acquitted; the latter, that their Debts should be discharged. An hard Necessity for the virtuous Republick! but the present Exigencies made it excusable.

Livy, B. 23.
c. 29.

OF all these Men *Rome* formed a Body of six thousand Foot, which she armed with Sabres, and the Bucklers formerly taken from the *Gauls*, by *Flaminius*. And then the *Roman* Army of about twenty five thousand Men, consisting partly of *Citizens*, partly of Slaves, and partly of Men taken out of Prison, marched out of *Rome*, under the Command of the *Dictator*.

THE Forces the Republick had left, were then divided into two Bodies; one under the Command of *Junius*, the other under that of *Claudius Marcellus*, the *Prætor*. The *Dictator* marched his new Army with Caution, and would not suffer it to draw too near to the Enemy. The *Prætor*, with about fifteen thousand Men, gathered together, out of the scattered Remains of the late Battel, continued at ⁷⁸ *Casilinum*, in a Readiness to march, wherever there should be most occasion.

§.XX. IN the mean time, *Hannibal* began to move. He was sure of *Capua*, and had absolutely established his own Dominion there. The rest of *Campania* was now the chief Object of his Desires. He was very ambitious of making himself Master of one of the maritime Cities of this delicious Province: and as he had already attempted *Naples*, he now again endeavoured to prevail on it to submit to his Dominion. He made use of Menaces, and Promises, to that Purpose; but the Fidelity of the *Neapolitans* was immovable. Then he turned towards ⁷⁹ *Nola*, at that time a considerable City upon the *Clanis*.

NOLA was, like *Capua*, divided into two Factions; one of the Magistrates, the other of the People. And as the latter are generally timorous, and look no farther than the present time; the Fear of having their Harvests destroyed, and their

⁷⁸ See what we have already said of the City of *Casilinum*, a City of *Campania*, on the Banks of the *Vulturnus*.

⁷⁹ *Nola* was one of the most ancient, and most considerable Cities in *Campania*. Some, as *Justin* in particular, say it was founded by a Colony of the

Inhabitants of *Ghalcis*, the Capital of *Eubœa*. Others, as *Solinus*, contend, that it was built by the *Tyrians*. *Livy*, B. 39. makes it a City of *Samnium*, tho' all the Geographers place it in *Campania*. See B. 17. p. 207. of Vol. 2. Note 61.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

Vineyards ruined, made them incline to favour the strongest Side. But the Senate despised the present Storm, and foresaw the ill Consequences of surrendering themselves up into the Hands of Barbarians.

IN the mean time, the Sedition increased, and was fomented by *Hannibal's* Emissaries. All the Senate of the City could do, was to gain time, and appease the Tumults by Delays. They pretended to be as much afraid as the People; but signified to them, that it was necessary to take time to consider of the Conditions of the Treaty they were going to make with *Hannibal*. Upon this, all was quiet again: and during this Tranquillity, the Magistrates sent Deputies to *Marcellus*, who continued at *Casilinum*, with his little Army. These gave the *Romans* an Account of the Condition of the Place; and said: *Nola has no Respite, but what the Magistrates gain, by continually deferring to treat with Hannibal. In the mean time, we are pressed to settle our Articles: and if Nola is not speedily relieved, it must be forced to surrender to the Carthaginians.*

THIS Advice made an Impression on *Marcellus*, who was a Man of Fire, and ardently desirous of maintaining the Glory he had already acquired; and he told the Deputies he would soon be at *Nola*, and desired the Senate to retard the Surrendry of it. Accordingly, he instantly left ⁸⁰ *Casilinum*, passed the *Vulturnus*, and after he had crossed the Mountains of *Suessula*, came to *Nola*; where the Presence of the *Roman Prætor* kept the whole Country steady.

THEN *Hannibal* retired towards the Sea, and made a third Attempt upon *Naples*. But this City, which still continued faithful, had got a *Roman* Garrison brought thither, commanded by *Marcus* ⁸¹ *Junius Silanus*. So that the Designs of the *Carthaginian* upon it, were as fruitless, as the Hopes he had entertained of getting Possession of *Nola*.

THAT the *Carthaginian* Army might continue no longer in Inaction, it fell upon ⁸² *Nuceria*, a City of *Campania*, near *Naples*; and Want of Provisions only forced the Inhabitants to capitulate. The Conditions were, That they should have their Lives, and one Habit, but not their Arms. *Hannibal*, in order to induce the *Nucerini* to serve him, made great Promises to those that would enlist themselves in his Troops; but they all continued faithful to the *Romans*. Not one accepted his Offers. Some retired to *Nola*; and others to *Naples*, where they increased the *Roman* Garrison. Such of the Senators of *Nuceria*, as would have

⁸⁰ *Sigonius* thinks we ought to read *Canusium*, in the Text of *Livy*, instead of *Casilinum*, for these Reasons. 1. *Livy* himself says, that after the Battle of *Cannæ*, *Marcellus* came by great Marches to *Canusium*, and there posted himself with the Body of Men he commanded. And 2. *Plutarch* expressly says that *Marcellus* left *Canusium*, to go and defend the Countries of the Allies against the Enterprizes of *Hannibal*. From whence *Sigonius* concludes, that this General came from *Canusium*, to relieve *Nola*. But besides that all the Editions of *Livy* expressly name *Casilinum*, as the Place where *Marcellus* was, when the Deputies of the Senate of *Nola* came to him: Why may we not say, that *Marcellus* went from *Canusium* to *Casilinum*, to follow the *Carthaginian* Army the more closely. Add to this, that the Rout the *Roman* Historian makes *Marcellus* to have taken, does not agree with his marching from *Canusium* to *Nola*. First he marched towards *Calatia*. There he passed the *Vulturnus*. Then he continued his March through the Plains of *Saticula* and *Trebula*. And lastly, he passed the Mountains of *Suessula*. And a Cast of the Eye on a Map, is sufficient to shew, that *Marcellus* could not have taken this Rout, if he went from *Canusium*. But if he set out from *Casilinum*, it was natural for him to pass through all the Places *Livy* mentions in his March, in order to come to *Nola*. Besides, *Canusium* was much farther from *Nola*, than *Casilinum*. So that the *Roman* General could not have come soon enough to prevent the Designs of a Company of Rebels, who only wanted an Opportunity to deliver up the City to the *Carthaginians*, if he had come from thence.

⁸¹ We have already observed, that the *Junian* Family was divided into two Branches, one of which was *Patrician*, and the other *Plebeian*; and of the latter were the *Brutti*. They descended in a right Line from that *Lucius Brutus*, who caused the *Tribunes of the People* to be created. The *Silani* also descended from the same Stock; and were a Family of considerable Rank in *Rome*, even in the time of the Emperors. Both these Families carried up their Origin to one *Junius*, who was said to have been one of *Æneas's* Companions.

⁸² The City of *Nuceria* is also called by the ancient Geographers *Luceria*. There were four Cities of this Name in *Italy*. One is now called *Luzzara*, in the Dutchy of *Mantua*. It belonged to *Gallia Cispadana*. Another belonged to *Apulia*, of which we have spoken already, B. 17. p. 227. of the second Volume, Note 99. The third, which is the City here spoken of, was in *Campania*. See B. 18. p. 283. of the second Volume, Note 93. *Strabo*, *Livy*, and *Appian*, do also mention a fourth City of *Nuceria*, which they place in *Umbria*, near the River *Tinias*, or *Il Topino*. The last mentioned Historian calls it *Nuceria Camellaria*. It is thought to be the present *Nocera*. *Pliny the Naturalist* calls it *Camellana*, and its Inhabitants *Camellani*. Whether the *Nucerini*, whom he calls *Favonienfes*, were a different People from them, is uncertain. *Frontinus*, in his Book Of Colonies, speaks also of another *Nuceria*, which he calls *Constantia*; and says, that *Augustus* made it a *Roman Colony*. *Cluver* thinks this was the *Nuceria* in *Campania*; and *Ferrarius* makes it the same with the *Nuceria* in *Umbria*.

taken Refuge in *Capua*, were refused Admittance, because they had shut their Gates against *Hannibal*; and the City of *Nuceria* itself was pillaged, and burnt.

§. XXI. *MARCELLUS* saw his Body of Troops at *Nola* increase daily, and was beloved by the Senate of that City. But the Burghers still retained some of their former Inclinations, and their Affection for the *Carthaginian* Party was kept up, by the Intrigues of a young Man of known Valour. He, by his Interest among the People, drew off many of their Hearts from *Marcellus*. The Name of this Captain of the Seditious was ⁸³ *Banti*us; whom the *Roman Prætor* might easily have destroyed; but he chose rather to gain him over by gentle Methods. *BANTIUS* had formerly served in the *Roman* Armies with Credit, and had signalized his Bravery in the Battel of *Cannæ*. He was immoveable from the Consul *Emilius*, whom he never left, even in the Heat of the Battel: Till at length, having received as many Wounds as his General, being exhausted with Fatigue, and swimming in Blood, he dropped down on the Field of Battel. But by good Fortune, none of his Wounds were mortal. When therefore the *Carthaginians* stripped the *Romans* which had fallen in the Battel, they found that *Banti*us was yet alive; took Care of him, cured him of his Wounds, and brought him to *Hannibal*.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.
Plut. Life of
Marcellus.
Liv. B. 23.
c. 15.

THE cunning *Carthaginian*, who then had the Conquest of *Campania* in view, knew that *Banti*us was of *Nola*, and thought him a proper Agent to manage his Interest there. He caressed him in a very friendly Manner, and sent him home without a Ransom. And this great Favour had its due Effect on the Mind of the generous Cavalier. *Banti*us returned to *Nola*, wholly in the *Carthaginian* Interest, and communicated the Infection to his Fellow-Citizens. *Marcellus* was very sensible how contagious this single Man was; but he respected him for his Valour, and the Service he had done *Rome*. One Day, when *Banti*us came to an Audience, the *Prætor* pretended not to know him, and asked him his Name. *My Name*, replied the young Warrior modestly, *is Banti*us. *What, are you the famous Banti*us, replied the General, *whose Name is so much celebrated in Rome! I have often heard of you; it was not your Fault that a Roman Consul fell into the Hands of his Enemies. How much Blood did you lose, in endeavouring to save his Life! What a Pleasure is it to me, to see and embrace a Brave Man, who does Honour to his Country, and may be the Means of saving Rome!*

AT these Words, *Marcellus* threw himself upon the Warrior's Neck; and to his Embraces added Presents. He immediately ordered five hundred Silver * *Denarii* ⁸⁴ to be paid *Banti*us, and gave him a very fine Horse. By these Means, he kindled again in his Heart, his former Love for *Rome*. He was ever after a most zealous Subject to her, and a most faithful Companion to *Marcellus*. *Banti*us never left him, but followed him, or went before him, in all Dangers, even to Death.

*16 l. 25. 11 d.
Arbutnot.

THE Recovery of this single Man, brought many *Nolans* over to *Marcellus*; but all the Citizens were not faithful to him. As for *Banti*us, he discovered to him the Secrets of the *Carthaginian* Party; and *Marcellus* knew the Names of all the Citizens whom he had Reason to suspect. This was the Situation of Affairs at *Nola*, when *Hannibal* drew near to it, in order to make Advantage of the Correspondence he kept up in it. *Marcellus* had pitched his Camp without the City, that he might not burden it with quartering his Troops. But as soon as he heard of *Hannibal's* Approach, he drew his Army out of his Camp, and retired behind the Ramparts. Not that he was afraid of being driven out of his Camp; but he had a mind to watch more narrowly the Steps of the Seditious, of whom there was still a great Number in the City. In the mean time, *Hannibal* was at the Gates, and very attentive to what was done within the Walls. As for *Marcellus*, he every Morning drew up his Men in Battalia, within the City; and *Hannibal* did the same before his Camp. Little Engagements happened between the Parties every Day; and some rash Men were incessantly pressing the General to march out to skirmish. Both Parties were continually in Suspense, and waited only to come to a general Action.

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

Liv. B. 23.
c. 16.

⁸³ *Plutarch* in his *Life of Marcellus*, changes the Name of *Banti*us into that of *Bandius*.

⁸⁴ The five hundred *Denarii*, at ten *Sols* a *De-*

narius, as we have already computed it, amount to the Sum of two hundred and fifty *French Livres*.

Year of
ROM E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

BUT in the mean time, the Senators of *Nola* discovered that *Hannibal's* Partizans⁸⁵ in the City, had had a Conference with him in the Night, and had resolved, to shut the Gates against the *Romans*, as soon as they were marched out into the Plain; to plunder their Baggage; and to let the *Carthaginians* into the City. This Intelligence from the Senators, made the *Prætor* the more cautious. And that he might be no longer exposed to the secret Cabals of the *Hannibalists*, he resolved to give Battel immediately, and prepared for it, in this manner.

HE divided his Troops into three Bodies, and drew them up in three Columns in the City; that they might be ready to march out of it, upon the first Orders, at three different Gates. He posted the best of his Troops, with the *Roman* Cavalry, over-against the middle Gate, at which he was to make his first Sally; placed his young Soldiers over-against one of the Side-Gates; and his light armed Troops, and the Cavalry of the Allies, over-against the other. When all things were thus disposed, he, by Sound of Trumpet, forbade any of the Citizens coming out of their Houses, and drawing near to the Ramparts, under Pain of Death. He left a sufficient Body of Troops⁸⁶ in the Heart of the City, to guard his Baggage; and in this Order, ⁸⁷ the *Roman* Army continued a great while behind the Walls, without stirring.

HANNIBAL, who had drawn up his Men in the Plain, as usual, was surprized, that he neither saw any body upon the Walls, nor the Enemy marching out to give Battel; and thinking that there was some sudden Commotion made in the City, he resolved to take Advantage of it. He sent away a large Detachment of his Army for Ladders, to scale the Walls, in order to support the Commotions of the Faction within.

IN full Persuasion of this, *Hannibal* advanced with his Battalions in pretty good Order to the Foot of the Wall. *Marcellus* took hold of this Occasion; and by his Order the *Roman* Infantry first, and then the Cavalry, sallied out with the Impetuosity of a Torrent which has broken down its Banks. The Plain rang with the Shouts of the Soldiers, and Sound of the Trumpets; and the first Corps of the *Romans* broke through all that opposed them. But *Hannibal* despised this little Body of *Romans*, and ordered his Troops to surround them. Then, to his great Surprize, he saw a second Army march out at another Gate, and fall upon his Troops with fresh Courage. He was forced therefore to divide his Men into two Bodies, to oppose both Parties of the Enemy. And at length, the ⁸⁸ third Gate was opened, and a third Army marched out, with greater Shouts than the former; and all together appeared so formidable an Army to *Hannibal*, that it terrified him.

HE then thought of nothing but retreating; and did so, after he had lost five thousand Men⁸⁹; whereas the *Romans* did not lose above five hundred. An Event which revived the Courage of the dejected Republick; and taught both *Rome* and *Hannibal*, that he was not invincible. This Success raised the Glory of *Marcellus*, and contributed much to keep the other faithful Cities of *Campania* steady. *Nola* was thereby delivered from the Sollicitations and the Fear of *Hannibal*; and in short, this Victory was a happy Presage of what was to come.

THE Conqueror returned into the City, and ordered the Gates to be shut, to prevent the Escape of any of the Criminals: And after a strict Enquiry had been

⁸⁵ According to *Livy*, *Hannibal* had twice left his Camp before *Nuceria*, to attempt the Reduction of *Nola*, at the Head of his Troops.

⁸⁶ *Marcellus's* chief Design in posting a Body of Troops in the Center of the City, was to keep the Seditious, and the Populace who declared for *Hannibal*, in Awe.

⁸⁷ *Livy* adds, That *Marcellus* formed a Body of Troops of the Boys and Servants that attended the Army, and the Invalids; and That he armed them with Stakes, either to make use of them against the *Carthaginians*, or to make Entrenchments, in case of Need.

⁸⁸ *Plutarch* here ranges the Sallies of the *Roman* Troops to the Right and Left in great Order. But *Livy*, on the contrary, says that they made a sudden Sally at both Gates at once. One of the two Bo-

dies that made this new Attack, was commanded by *Valerius Flaccus*, and the other by *Gaius Aurelius*, both Lieutenants to *Marcellus*.

⁸⁹ According to *Livy*, B. 23. the Number of the Dead, on the Side of the *Carthaginians*, amounted to no more than two thousand three hundred; and the *Romans* lost but one Man in the Action. But he mentions this Fact dubiously, and on the Credit of some Authors. *Vix equidem ausim affirmare, quod quidam auctores sunt, duo milia & trecentos hostium casos; non plus uno Romanos amisisse.* *Livy*, says *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Marcellus*, dares not affirm, that the Loss of the *Carthaginians* was so considerable. He only allows, that the *Roman* General acquired new Glory, by his Success in this Battel, and revived the Courage of his *Romans*, by shewing them that *Hannibal* was not invincible.

made, he condemned to die, above seventy Citizens⁹⁰, who were convicted of having had Conferences with the Enemy in the Night. Then he left a good Garrison in *Nola*, and went and encamped on the Mountains of ⁹¹*Suessula*.

§. XXII. *HANNIBAL*, after this Repulse, the Consequences of which he foresaw, appeared before ⁹²*Acerræ*, a little City of *Campania*, on the Banks of the ⁹³*Clanis*, and not far from *Nola*. But the *Acerrani* were faithful to the *Romans*; though their Strength was not answerable to their Courage. The Enemy in vain summoned them to surrender. They tarried till the *Carthaginians* made their Approaches; and then, before the City was quite invested on all Sides, the Inhabitants, with one Consent, left their Houses to be ⁹⁴plundered, and retired to those Cities in *Campania*, which continued faithful to the *Romans*.

By these Essays, *Hannibal* must have seen, what a Resource the *Roman* Republick still had, in the Affections of her Allies: And he had a much stronger Proof of it, in the Siege of *Casilinum*, which he undertook. What drew him thither, was the News he received, that the Army of the Dictator *Junius* was near it. For fear therefore that the *Romans* should march from thence, and fall upon his dear *Capua*, the *Carthaginian* resolved to invest *Casilinum*. The City was in a Condition of Defence; and the *Vulturnus*, which ran through it, enabled it to sustain a long Siege. Besides, *Casilinum* was garrisoned with good Troops, which were faithful to the *Romans*. The *Campani* who inhabited it, had appeared wavering to a Body of ⁹⁵*Prænestini*, as they were accidentally passing through it, in order to join the Consular Armies near *Canna*, before the Defeat; and these *Prænestini* had inhumanly cut the Throats of these faithless Allies in the Night-time, had seized the Walls, in order to keep Possession of them for the *Romans*, and had quartered themselves in the lower City, beyond the ⁹⁶*Vulturnus*. And after this, a Body of ⁹⁷*Perusini*, who came from *Hetruria*, to the Number of about four hundred and sixty Men, had retired thither, upon the News of the *Romans* having lost the Battel. So that the Garrison of *Casilinum* now consisted only of Foreigners; but of such as were well-affected to the *Romans*. Its Defenders indeed were not many; but the Walls of the City were tolerably good, and ⁹⁸Valour supplied the Want of Numbers. There were also some *Romans* among these faithful Troops, and some *Latins* of approved Steadiness. And as the City was not over-stocked with Provisions, this made the Garrison the better satisfied that they were not numerous.

But *Hannibal* knew not the Condition of the Place. He thought it yet inhabited by *Campani*, who might easily be seduced, since the Surrendry of *Capua*;

⁹⁰ The Effects of the Criminals were, according to *Livy*, confiscated to the Benefit of the *Roman* People; and the Senate of *Nola*, re-assumed the Care of publick Affairs, as before.

⁹¹ There are some Footsteps of the ancient City of *Suessula* yet to be seen, in a Place in *Campania*, which the Natives now call *Castello di Sessola*. See *B. 16. p. 144. of Vol. 2. Note 16.*

⁹² *Acerræ*, an ancient City of *Campania*, still retains its first Name, in that of *Acerra*. *Livy, B. 18. and Frontinus, in his Book Of Colonies, tells us it was successively a Municipium, and Roman Colony. See B. 17. p. 196. of Vol. 2. Note 38.* Its Territory was often overflowed with the *Clanis*; whence that Line of *Virgil, Georg. 2.*

Et vacuis Clanis non æquus Acerris.

⁹³ The ancient Geographers reckon up three Rivers in *Italy*, which all bore the Name of *Clanis*, or *Claninus*. The first rises in *Hetruria*, near *Arezzo*, or *Arezzo*. It crosses this Country, and falls into the *Tyber*, near *Volsinii*. See *B. 19. p. 340. of Vol. 2. Note 92.* The second is the *Liris*, which the *Italians* call the *Garigliano*. *Pliny* tells us, *B. 3. c. 5.* that the *Liris* was anciently called *Glanis*, or *Clanis*. *Colonia Minturnæ, Liri amne divisa, Glani quondam appellato.* And *Strabo* confirms it, *B. 5.* The River here spoken of, rises between *Nola* and *Avella*; and after it has run through Part of *Old Campania*, from the South-East, to the North-East, it empties itself into *The Tyrrhenian Sea*. Near the

Mouth of it formerly stood the City of *Liternum*, which gave its Name to the *Clanis*. It was from thence called *Liternus Amnis*, and the Marshes it forms in that Neighbourhood, *Literne Paludes*. The Application of this Name of *Clanis*, to three different Rivers, led *Appian* into a considerable Mistake, in his *Civil Wars, B. 1.* He confounds the *Liternus* with the *Liris*.

⁹⁴ *Livy, B. 23.* not only makes *Hannibal* give up the City of *Acerræ*, to be plundered; but says he set Fire to it, and burnt it to Ashes. *Acerris direptis atque incensis.*

⁹⁵ *Prænestæ* was a City of *Old Latium*. It afterwards became successively a *Roman Colony*, and a *Municipium*. It is the present *Palestrina*. We have spoken of it already.

⁹⁶ The *Vulturnus* or *Casilinus*, so called from the City of *Casilinum*, which stood near it, is the River which waters the *Terra di Lavoro*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and is now called *Voltorno*. It rises in one of the *Apennines*, near the ancient Canton of the *Caracini*, a People of *Samnum*.

⁹⁷ The City of *Perusia*, the Capital of one of the twelve *Lucumonies* in *Hetruria*, has been sufficiently described already, *B. 18. p. 282. of Vol. 2. Note 86.*

⁹⁸ *Livy* adds, that *Casilinum* was defended by the River *Vulturnus*. Besides, there were not Provisions enough in the City to support a more numerous Garrison.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

and therefore sent an Officer, named *Isalca*, with 99 a Body of *Gatuli*, to prevail on the Inhabitants to open their Gates to him, and receive a *Carthaginian* Garrison. But *Isalca* was disappointed. He was surprized at the Silence of the Citizens; and was already preparing to break open the Gates of *Casilinum*, when two Battalions sallied out of the City, and made a great Slaughter of the *Gatuli*. Then *Maharbal* appeared, to execute what *Isalca* had in vain attempted; and these most faithfull Allies of *Rome* repulsed him, in another Sally; so that this second Enterprize was as fruitless as the first.

AFTER this, *Hannibal* set about the Siege of *Casilinum* in good earnest. This City was near *Capua*; and he thought it dangerous to neglect taking it. He therefore brought his Army before it, and besieged it in form. First he attempted to take it by Storm; but he lost the bravest and most active of his Soldiers. However, he succeeded better in preventing the frequent Sallies of the Besieged. *Hannibal* brought up the Elephants he had lately received from *Carthage*, against them, and thereby forced the Garrison to retire within their Walls, with a great Loss, considering their small Number.

A general Assault was appointed to be made the next Day; and the *Carthaginian* used all Means ¹⁰⁰ to raise the Courage of his Troops. He put them in mind of the famous Siege of *Saguntum*, in *Spain*; and of the Battels of *Cannæ*, and the Lake *Thrasimenus*. The Besiegers brought the ¹⁰¹ Covered Galleries to the Foot of the Walls; and Miners were ordered to sap the *Courtine* in several Places. On the other hand, the Besieged opposed Machines with Machines, and Miners ¹⁰² with Miners. In short, they by their Labours rendered all the Attempts of the Enemy fruitless. Their Resistance was so vigorous, that the *Carthaginian* immediately retired.

§. XXIII. WINTER now approached, and voluptuous *Capua* invited him to spend it there. His Residence in this delightful Retreat, had already begun to enervate the Courage of the Conqueror, who was used to take up his Winter-Quarters in Tents. Nevertheless, to save his Reputation, he turned the Siege of *Casilinum* into a Blockade, and left a small Part of his Troops in his Camp till Spring. As for the General himself, he retired to *Capua*; a Place so destructive to his Glory, that it has always been said, *Capua* was more fatal to *Hannibal*, than *Cannæ* to the *Romans*.

INDEED, the *Carthaginian* had yet only begun to taste the Sweets of a City which was capable of softening the most savage Breasts. But his Residence there all this Winter, gave him a thorough Relish for Pleasure. The Hero, by an effeminate Life, brought himself down to a Level with the rest of Mankind. Formerly, the Fatigues of a long March from *Spain*, through *Gaul*, the Snow and Colds of the *Alpes*, the Uneasiness and continual Watchfulness, which the Inconstancy of his Allies forced him to endure in *Cisalpine Gaul*, the continual Alarms the *Roman* Generals gave him, and the Scarcity of Provisions which he had always struggled with in *Italy*, had hardened his Body, and taught him Foresight and Sagacity: And in short, Necessity had made him industrious, and his natural Bravery had been improved, by the extreme Dangers he had encountered. But now, Plenty and Security destroyed the good Qualities his Indigence had taught him. The less *Hannibal* had been used to Voluptuousness, the more he now indulged himself in it. He made himself amends for breaking his Rest so often in a Camp, by a long Sleep in a Retreat where he lived securely. The Meals in which the General himself wanted Necessaries, were now succeeded by sumptuous Feasts. The exquisite Wines of *Campania* were very pleasing to the Taste of a Soldier, who had been used to quench his Thirst with muddy Water. The delicious Baths enervated a Body accustomed to bear the Rigour of the Weather. And lastly, the Lasciviousness of

⁹⁹ Those People were formerly called *Gatuli*, who inhabited that Part of *Lower Lybia*, which is now called *Biledulgerid*. Others indeed will have it, that they came originally from *Guzula*, a Province of the Kingdom of *Morocco*. And as this Nation had no fixed Habitations, it is not possible to determine exactly where they dwelt.

¹⁰⁰ In order to raise the Courage of the Assault-

ants, *Hannibal* shewed them, says *Livy*, a *Mural Crown*, the usual Reward of him who first mounted the Wall of a besieged Town.

¹⁰¹ See what we have already said of the Covered Galleries, and Mines of the Ancients.

¹⁰² The Art of mining and countermining, was known at this time, as we have elsewhere observed.

the *Capuan* Women irritated his Desires, and tempted him to carry on his Debaucheries to Excess.

ONE *Latin* * Author affirms, that *Hannibal* visited a publick Place in *Capua*, called ¹⁰³ *Seplasia*, where the Perfumers Shops were, oftner than he did his Camp. In one word, the Historians reproach him much more for the Life he led in *Capua*, than for his neglecting to besiege *Rome*, after the Battel of *Canna*. They think the latter an excusable and a reparable Fault; but an Habit of Incontinence quite altered his Constitution, and made him incorrigible.

AND what was yet more deplorable, was, that the General's Example infected the Soldiers. *Hannibal* might have recovered from his Effeminacy, by the Strength of his Understanding, and by wise Reflexions: but when once the Vulgar are corrupted and bewitched with a Love of Pleasure, and drowned in Idleness, how are they capable of making the Efforts that are necessary to recover themselves from it? *Hannibal's* Army had not been so often victorious, if it had not even surpassed the *Romans*, in Frugality. The *Carthaginians* were kept to strict Discipline, by the Dangers they incurred by every Deviation from their Duty. Union was very necessary for Men, who had no Retreat, or Refuge. But their Abode in *Campania* made them lose all these Advantages. They found safe and commodious Lodgings there; took up their Winter-Quarters, not in Tents, but in good Houses; and this brought them to neglect Discipline, and despise their Commanders.

HOWEVER, *Hannibal* brought his Army into the Field, as soon as the Season would permit. The City of *Casilinum* was still blocked up, and it was necessary to take it. It was a Shame for *Hannibal*, that a little paltry Town, defended only by twelve hundred Men, should have held out so long against him. Had the *Carthaginian* retained his first Vigour, he would have taken it by Storm. But now he reduced it by Famine. And he found his Soldiers entirely altered, when he marched them out of *Capua*. Their Mistresses followed them to their Camp; where they thought all the military Labours intolerable. One would have taken them for new Levies, which had never been inured to Fatigue. They thought it hard to live in Tents, during the hot Weather. Great Numbers of them deserted; and the Cowards went, without Scruple, to spend their Summer at *Capua*.

HANNIBAL therefore loitered away his Time before *Casilinum*, and waited till extreme Want obliged the Besieged to surrender. The Constancy of these brave Allies of *Rome*, has scarce ever been equalled; and their Fidelity has been since thought a Prodigy. Two *Roman* Armies were indeed within reach of *Casilinum*; but neither of them was able to relieve it. The Dictator *Junius* did not think it safe to expose his new Army, which was the only Hopes of the *Romans*, to the Hazard of a Battel. Besides, he was soon recalled to *Rome*, there to consult new ¹⁰⁴ *Auspices*: and before his Departure, he commanded *Sempronius*, the General of Horse, not to undertake any thing during his Absence. The brave *Marcellus*,

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.
* Val. Maxi-
mus, B. 9. c. 1.
Exter. §. 1.

Livy, B. 23.
c. 19.

¹⁰³ Two publick Places in *Capua*, one called *Seplasia*, the other *Albana*, were famous for the assembling of all the Freemen there, for their Pleasures and Debaucheries. The Men of Luxury and Pleasure lived there. *Festus* describes the former thus: *Seplasia, forum Capue in qua plurimi unguentarii erant*. And he says this was so infamous a Place, that *Cicero* charges it as a Crime upon *Piso*, that he had been here. *When you appeared in Seplasia*, says the *Roman* Orator, *you was immediately taken for a Campanian Consul. Seplasia me hercule, ut dici audibam, te ut primum aspexit, Campanum Consulem reputavit.*

¹⁰⁴ It has been already observed, to what Excess the Superstition of the *Romans* had carried the Use of *Auspices*. The whole *Augural* Science consisted in it. The *Augurs*, to make it the more venerable, had invented a kind of mystical Language, some Footsteps of which we find in most *Roman* Writers. So that the Secret of this Art consisted wholly in knowing the Meaning of certain Terms, which were appropriated to the Ceremonies used by the
VOL. III.

Augurs. And it therefore is very proper, to give the Reader an Explanation of them in this Place, that nothing may be wanting in our Relations, which concerns the Religion of old *Rome*. The different Sorts of *Auspices* were these.

1. AUSPICIUM CADUCUM: which was an *Augury* taken from the falling off of the Bonnet of the *Flamines*, or *Pontifices*; from the falling of the Priest's Wand to the Ground, whilst he was sacrificing; or from the slipping of the Entrails of the Victim out of the Hands of the Sacrificer, or the Person that offered it. This is the Interpretation *Festus* gives us of it. AUSPICIUM CADUCUM dicebant, cum aliquid ex Templo excidit, veluti virga mann. This sudden dropping of things, on particular Occasions, was looked on as a certain Forerunner of some fatal Accident.

2. AUSPICIUM EX ACUMINIBUS, which *Cicero* mentions in his second Book, *De Divinatione*; and says, this sort of Divination was used only by Soldiers. Ex ACUMINIBUS quidam, quod totum Auspicium
S I

Year of *Marcellus*, on the other hand, was yet between *Nola* and *Acerræ*, with a small Army; and his Courage prompted him to run all Hazards, to throw Succours into the besieged Place: But the Inhabitants of *Nola* restrained his Valour. If you

R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

cium militare est. In order to understand it, we only want to know what the Words, *Ex Acuminibus*, signify; and we think *Turnebius's* Interpretation the most probable. In Armies, says he, *Adversar.* 23. it was usual to observe the Points of the Pikes and Darts. If they shined more than ordinary, and did not appear blunted, this was thought an happy Prefage of the good Success of a Battel. On the contrary, a Javelin, the Iron Head of which was accidentally tarnished, foreboded nothing but Disasters. *Arnobius* reproaches the Pagans with these ridiculous Observations. *Martium discrimen obeuntes, spem praelii sumitis, & ex acuminibus auspicatis.* *D. Hal.* observes, *Antiq. B. 5.* that when the Roman Army was ready to give the *Sabines* Battel, it looked on this Prefage, as an Assurance of the Victory.

3. AUSPICUM CLIVE: which signified, that the *Auspices* foretold nothing favourable of the Enterprize in hand, but the contrary; and gave room to fear, that there were great Obstacles to be surmounted in the Execution of it. *Festus* explains the Word *CLIVE*, in this Sense. *Clivia Auspicia dicebant, que aliquid fieri prohibebant. Omnia enim difficilia Clivia vocabant, unde & clivi loca ardua.*

4. AUSPICUM JUGE; which was an *Auspice* taken from two Animals in a Plough or Cart, which any Person accidentally met. *JUGE AUSPICUM est*, says *Festus*, *cum junctum jumentum sterqus facit.* If they stalled, it was thought a bad Omen. The *Augurs*, says *Cicero, De Divinatione, B. 2.* took great care to unteam all the Beasts that any Magistrate might meet, for fear the Accident mentioned by *Festus*, should alarm him, or the People.

5. AUSPICUM LIQUIDUM, was an *Augury* taken in the middle of the Day, when the Sky was very clear and serene. *Plautus* mentions it in his *Epidicus*. *LIQUIDO ex eo foras AUSPICIO.*

6. AUSPICUM MAJUS, was one of the great *Auspices* which were taken in the Name of the great Magistrates, as the *Consuls, Pro-Consuls, &c.* concerning Affairs of Importance, as a Battel, for instance, or any other Expedition.

7. AUSPICUM MINUS, was an *Augury* taken only for the inferior Magistrates. They were esteemed as nothing, when any *Great Auspice* happened at the same time: the latter had always the Preference.

8. AUSPICUM NAUTICUM, was the *Auspice* which was always taken before any Imbarkation was made. The Flight of Birds was always consulted on this Occasion, to know the Success of the Voyage.

9. AUSPICUM PEDESTRE, was an *Augury* taken from the meeting a Fox, Wolf, Dog, Horse, and some other Quadrupeds. The *Augury* was good or bad, according to the Nature of the Animal, which accidentally came in the Way.

10. AUSPICUM PESTIFERUM, was an *Augury* which foreboded the greatest Calamities. Such was the Want of the Heart, or any other noble Part of a Victim which was sacrificed. This is *Festus's* Account of it. *PESTIFERA AUSPICIA sunt, cum cor in extis, aut caput non fuisset in jecinore.*

11. AUSPICUM PIACULARE, supposes that a Victim was offered to repair the Defects of a former one. For instance, bad Prognosticks were drawn from a Sacrifice, if the Victim escaped from the Altar, or had roared out aloud after it had been struck; or lastly, had not fallen down, in the manner the Ceremonial required. The Gods were then thought to have rejected that Victim, as *Festus* has observed. *PIACULARIA appellabant AUSPICIA, id est Sacrificia, antiqua loquendi consuetudine, cum aut hostia ab ara effugerit, aut percussa mugitum dedit, aut in aliam, quam oportuit, corporis partem decidit.*

12. AUSPICUM PRÆTERMINE, was an *Augury* taken when the Romans went out of the Province belonging to the Republick, into a foreign Country. They never failed drawing their Conjectures on their Frontiers, from the first Object they saw.

14. AUSPICUM VIALE, was an Omen which happened to any Traveller on the Road. The Romans were much alarmed, if they met an *Æthiopian*, a deformed Person, a Cat, a Weasel, a Snake, a Rat, a Dog, a Fox, or a Wolf.

They had recourse to *Auspices* at all times, but especially on all remarkable Occurrences; as when they performed any Ceremonies of Religion, or publick Acts, when they married, or had Children born. And they formed Predictions of what should happen, from the things which appear to us the most indifferent. Of this kind were Words accidentally dropped. They often would not go upon a Business of Importance, till after they had taken the Precaution to know and consider the Words of the first Person they met. Sometimes a Slave was sent to hear what was said in the Street; and according to his Report, they determined to lay aside, or pursue, things of the most Consequence to them. A Tremor or Twitching in any Part of the Body, Noises in the Ears, and Sneezings, were a mystical Language to the Romans. And they were as regardful of the Names of those they employed in their Business, in the Ceremonies of Religion, or in their private Affairs. Upon the mention of any inauspicious Name, they fancied they saw great Misfortunes threatening them; and therefore they took great care, that the Children who attended the Sacrifices, as *Acolyths*, and the Ministers who dedicated any Temple, and the Soldiers who were first called to take the military Oaths, should have lucky Names.

This Superstition of Prefages gave rise to that Custom in *Old Rome*, which is continued among us to this Day, of making each other obliging Compliments in the beginning of *January*. With these Compliments, little Presents were made of Honey, for instance, and other little sweet things, as at present. The Romans persuaded themselves, that these reciprocal good Wishes had their Influences throughout the whole Year. And from hence came the Preamble which was put to all publick Acts, and Decrees, *QUOD FELIX FAUSTUMQUE SIT.*

Add to this, that the Madnefs of the ancient Romans in consulting Prefages, before they came to a fixed Resolution, would have had very ill Consequences in most Transactions, if the Sight of a Cat, a Mouse, a Serpent, a Clap of Thunder, or Words accidentally dropt, had been sufficient Motives to abandon any Enterprize. All the Members of the Republick would have continued unactive in the greatest Emergencies, and most critical Times. Pusillanimity, and Uncertainty, would have been the Result of almost all Deliberations. And lastly, Frights would have been as frequent as bad Omens. And in order therefore to remedy these Inconveniencies, the Romans agreed among themselves, that no Prefages should have Weight, till they were accepted.

So that it was not enough to have observed the *Auspice*, unless it was adopted. If it was favourable, it was received, the Gods were thanked for it, desired to accomplish the Prediction; and a new Prefage was required, to confirm the former. If it was not such an one as was desired, it was rejected with Execrations, and recourse was had to the Gods, to engage them to interest themselves in it, and divert the Effects of it. But this Precaution took place only when the Prefage was accidental, and unforeseen. When the Gods were desired to shew some

desert us, said they, the Carthaginian will fall upon us, with all his Forces. The Blockade of *Casilinum* is only a Feint. Hannibal's real Aim is at Nola.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

IN the mean time, the Garrison of *Casilinum* had nothing to subsist it, but its invincible Patience. The Besieged, almost starved to death, were so thin and weak upon the Ramparts, that they could scarce carry their Arms. It is said, that several of them chose to kill themselves, rather than to perish with Hunger, or fall into the Hands of the cruel *Hannibal*. This News greatly affected *Sempronius*; but he durst not disobey his General's Orders.

HOWEVER, he attempted to supply *Casilinum* with Provisions by Artifice, since he could not relieve it by open Force. We have already observed, that the *Vultur* ran through the City: *Sempronius* threw Barrels of Meal into the River, after having first given the Garrison notice, to stop whatever the River brought down. These unexpected Provisions gave the brave Defenders of the Place new Strength; but these Supplies were not continued long. The River swelled, and its Streams were multiplied, so that the Barrels of Meal were either thrown on the Banks of the River, or stopped by the Willows, that grew by the Sides of it: and this discovered *Sempronius's* Artifice to the *Carthaginians*, who took more care for the future, to intercept whatever the *Vultur* might carry to the Besieged. Nevertheless, the *Romans* threw some Nuts into the Stream, which were carried to the City, and there stopped, by a Bag of Hurdles, which the Garrison had made. But this was light Food; and it was easy for the Besiegers, to stop these new Convoys of Provision by another Dam above the City, and to make use of them themselves. And it was probably at this time, that *Hannibal* summoned these brave Men to surrender at Discretion. But they preferred Death to the Chains of the *Carthaginian*. They prolonged their Lives as well as they could, and ate what Nature most abhors. Their Hunger would not suffer them to spare any Animals, not even the Rats. Nay, they at last pulled off the Skins of their Bucklers, boiled them in Water to soften them, and lived upon them with great Frugality. And lastly, in order to give the Enemy an Idea of their Perseverance, they ploughed up the Ground near their Houses, and sowed it with Pulse. Which *Hannibal* no sooner heard, but he cried out; *What then, will the Besieged keep me here, till their Seed is come to Maturity!* And from that time, he became more ready to give them Terms.

HE consented to a Capitulation, upon this Condition; That all the Soldiers, who were Free-men, should be suffered to march out of *Casilinum*, upon paying each seven Ounces of Gold; and the Condition was accepted. The two Bodies, one of *Prænestini*, and the other of *Perusini*, left the City, after they had gained themselves the Glory of having maintained the Cause of *Rome*, with as much Steadiness, as any native *Romans* could have done. The Memory of this

Sign of their Will; then nothing was to be done, but to pay regard to their Decrees, and obey them.

In consequence of these ridiculous Presages, it was very common for the *Romans*, at the Sight of a disagreeable Object, or the Repetition of certain fatal Words, to spit with great Force, as it were to throw back the infected Air they had sucked in. When they were forced to make use of Expressions in Discourse, which raised disagreeable Ideas, they first pronounced a Form of Detestation, to avert the ill Effects, that might follow from it. They conjured away the Presage, if I may so speak, by softening the Expression, or substituting in its room other Words, which conveyed less shocking Ideas. For instance, instead of saying one was dead, they said *Vixit*, that is, *he has lived*. And upon the same Principles, the *Athenians* called a publick Prison *ἄνθος*, that is, *an House*. An Hangman was called a *Publick Man*; and the Furies, infernal Divinities, were stiled *Eumenides*, that is, *Beneficent Goddesses*.

The most authentick of all the different Sorts of *Auspices* were those taken from the Flight and Singing of Birds. The *Augurs* alone understood the Secret of this Method of Divination, which was called *Ornithomanthy*. These *Auguries* were reduced to three Sorts, the *Tripudium* of the Chickens;

those of the *Oscines*, (*Aves*) that is, those taken from the Singing of Birds; and those of the *Præpetes*, that is, the Presages taken from their Flight. See the first and second Volumes.

Thunder and Lightning were likewise Subjects of the *Augural Art*; as were lastly, Prodigies, Dreams, and Oracles.

The People had so great a Veneration for the *Augurs*, that they looked upon them to be the Interpreters of *Jupiter*, and of the Gods. Nay, the *Vulgar* thought their Ministry made them in some measure partake of the Divinity. And therefore it is not at all surprising, that the *Roman Laws* should require those Men should be found in Mind and Body, who were to discharge Functions, which were so holy, according to the Principles of Paganism.

105 Festus relates the same Fact; and says, that the *Prænestini* were called *Nuculae*, that is, *Nut-eaters*, from thence; or, because the Territory of *Præneste* produced great Plenty of small Nuts. *Nuculas Prænestinos antiqui appellabant, quod inclusi a Panis, Casilini famem nucibus sustentaverunt; vel quod in eorum Regione plurima nux minuta nascitur.* The Poet *Nevius* mentions the Adventure which gave rise to this Name, in one of his Verses.

PRÆNESTINIS, nucas in proclivi profundero.

Year of brave Defence was preserved at *Præneste*, by a ¹⁰⁶ Statue which the *Prænestini* erected to *Manicius*, the Chief of the Defenders of *Casilinum*, with an Inscription, which perpetuated his Name to Posterity. What the *Perusini* did in *Hetruria*, to eternize the Glory of their brave Countrymen, is not known. As to *Rome*, this at least is certain, that she gave the Defenders of *Casilinum* double Pay, and offered them the Right of ¹⁰⁷ *Citizenship*. But this the *Prænestini* refused; and it is not certain, that the *Perusini* accepted it ¹⁰⁸.

R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dictator.

Liv. B. 23.
c. 30.

§. XXIV. THE Inhabitants of ¹⁰⁹ *Petelia* likewise gave a signal Proof of their Attachment to the Republick. These faithful Allies would not follow the bad Example of those *Bruttii*, who went over to *Hannibal*. Tho' great Part of *Bruttium* deserted the *Romans*, this City held out for them, and maintained her first Engagements with Courage. The *Carthaginians* therefore, and the *Bruttii* themselves, immediately turned their Arms against *Petelia*; and it was in great Danger. It was necessary therefore to have recourse to *Rome*. But what could the Senate do in favour of a City at so great a distance? After she had lost her Forces, the Republick had almost abandoned *Great Greece* to the Enemy. She was very happy to be able to preserve the *Provinces*, which were nearest to *Rome*. So that she could only answer the pressing Instances, and Tears, of these faithful *Petelini*, with Sighs.

THIS Refusal of necessary Succours would have drawn any City from *Rome*, which had not been inviolably attached to her; and *Petelia* deliberated for some time, whether she should submit to the common Fate of the Country. At length the Magistrates prevailed, and their Proposal was followed: which was to bring all the Effects they could find in the Territory of *Petelia*, out of the Country to the City; to fortify the City; and stand a Siege, without Hopes of any Succours. This may seem a rash Resolution; but it plainly shews how agreeable the *Roman* Government was to the People, since extreme Danger could not alienate them from *Rome*.

THE Siege of *Petelia* was long, and the taking it almost as difficult as that of *Casilinum*. But at length the News of its being lost, was brought to *Rome*, at the same time, that Couriers arrived from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. The *Pro-Prætor Otacilius* sent an Account from *Sicily*, That the *Prætor Furius*, after cruising along the Coasts of *Africa*, was returned with his Fleet to *Lilybæum*, and had got nothing by his Expedition, but a Wound, which seemed mortal; That the Crews of the Ships, and the Marines, were no longer paid; That Provisions were wanted both in the Fleet, and the Land-Armies; That they were no longer able to keep themselves from starving; and lastly, that he should be obliged, if the Senate would please to nominate a

¹⁰⁶ The Statue of *Manicius* was, according to *Livy*, erected in the Forum at *Præneste*. It was armed with a *Cuirass*, and dressed in a *Roman Toga*. The Head of the Statue was veiled, like theirs who pronounced the Form of a Vow, or offered Sacrifice to the Gods. And the Words of the Inscription, as related by *Livy*, likewise shew, that *Manicius* made some Vow, probably in order to obtain the Protection of the Gods, for the Soldiers he commanded. MANICIUM PRO MILITIBUS QUI CASILINI IN PRÆSIDIO FUERINT, VOTUM VOVISSE. To which *Pliny* adds, that the same Inscription was engraven on three Monuments erected in the Temple of *Fortune*, at *Præneste*. The Glory the brave *Manilius* had acquired, during the Siege of *Casilinum*, had taken off the Reproach of his mean Condition. *Livy* tells us this brave Officer had been a *Scribe*, or *Register*, before he made Arms his Profession.

¹⁰⁷ To these Distinctions the *Roman* Senate added another. They granted the *Prænestini*, and probably the *Perusini*, an Exemption from serving in the Army for five Years; that is, they abated five Years of the Time they were by the Laws obliged to serve the Republick.

¹⁰⁸ *Livy* adds, that *Hannibal*, after he had made himself Master of *Casilinum*, restored it to its Inhabitants, and drew a Reinforcement of seven hun-

dred Men, out of his Army, to defend it. He was afraid, says the Historian, that the *Romans* would take Advantage of his Absence, and lay Siege to *Casilinum*, whilst he was busy upon other Expeditions.

¹⁰⁹ *Petelia*, or *Petilia*, was, according to *Cluver*, a City of Old *Bruttium*, between *Croto* and *Syllacium*, or *Squillaci*; and he thinks its Situation agrees with that of *Bel-Castro*. He places it on a Hill, six geometrical Paces from the Sea, and thirty from Cape *Crimisa*, now *Capo dell' Alice*. *Strabo*, B. 6. makes it a City of *Lucania*, upon the Credit of *Apollodorus*, or some ancient Author, who wrote in an Age when the *Lucani*, and *Bruttii*, made but one People: and in another Place, the same Geographer seems plainly to say, it belonged to the *Bruttii*. He also says, that it was founded by *Philoctetes*, when a Company of seditious Men forced him to abandon *Melibara*, a City of *Thessaly*: which is agreeable to *Virgil*, *Æneid*. B. 3.

.....Hic ille Ducis Melibœi
Parva Philoçete subnixâ Petilia muro.

Servius the Commentator has also adopted this Opinion of *Virgil* and *Strabo*. According to an ancient Itinerary, which *Hollstenius* follows in this Particular, *Petilia* stood near the Place where *Strogoli*, a City of *Calabria*, now stands.

Man to succeed him. *Cornelius Mammula*, *Prætor* of *Sardinia*, made almost the same Complaints, and the same Requests. The *Conscrip*t Fathers were therefore extremely embarrassed; and the *Roman* Republic sunk under the Weight of her own Bulk. The Answer sent to the Governors of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* was, That they must shift for themselves and their People, as well as they could; and, That *Rome* was not in a Condition to help them. A strange Situation ¹¹⁰ for the *Romans*, had *Hannibal* still continued to be like himself! His first Reputation alone supported him, and the Eastern Nations of *Italy* were continually submitting to him; whilst *Rome* was scarce able to preserve her Conquests beyond Sea. And to add to the Misfortune, a secret Enemy in *Macedon* was taking Measures to ruin the distressed Republick. That *Demetrius* of *Pharos*, who from being a Friend to the *Romans*, had made himself the Tyrant of *Illyricum*, and who having been driven out of his own Country, had fled into *Macedon* for Refuge, was there stirring up King *Philip* ¹¹¹ against *Rome*. The young Monarch, in pursuit of the Advice of the perfidious *Demetrius*, had Thoughts of making a League with *Hannibal*. We shall see his Schemes break out the next Year; and afterwards the invincible Republick will become superior to all her Enemies. In *Sicily*, *Hiero* supplied *Otacilius* with Money to pay his Troops, and Corn enough for six Months. In *Sardinia*, *Cornelius* was furnished with a plentiful Subsistence for his *Romans*, by the Liberality of the Cities in Alliance with *Rome*. And thus *Rome*, in the Height of her Misfortunes, maintained herself, by her Constancy, in the Possession of her old Acquisitions; which any Nation but herself would have abandoned in Despair.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

Polyb. B. 7.

§. XXV. AND now, it was time for the Republick to provide for the Wants of the Government at home. The Senators were surprized to see their Assemblies deserted, and the Dignity of the Senate diminished. Of the three hundred Senators, of which this august Body consisted, there was scarce one third Part left. Some had been killed in Battle; others had died at Home; and lastly, others were employed Abroad, in the Government of *Provinces* ¹¹², or in commanding Armies.

*Liv. B. 23.
c. 22.*

No *Censor* ¹¹³ had filled up the vacant Places in the Senate for five Years last past. A pardonable Neglect, in these times of Trouble and Desolation: And at length the time was come, for recovering the Dignity of this illustrious Council, which was the Soul of all publick Deliberations. But there were no *Censors* in

¹¹⁰ According to *Livy*, B. 23. *Titus Otacilius* the *Pro-Prætor* of *Sicily*, had Recourse to *Hiero*, in his Distress, and sent Deputies to him, to desire him to send him some of the Provisions he wanted. The good King, ever faithful to the Republick, was affected at the Account given him of the melancholy Condition to which the *Roman* Fleet was reduced, by Famine; and instantly paid the Deputies a considerable Sum of Money, and ordered Ships to be sent to *Otacilius*, with Corn for six Months. The *Pro-Prætor* *Cornelius Mammula*, was relieved by the Liberality of the Allies in *Sardinia*. They taxed themselves, and very cordially furnished the *Roman* Army with all things necessary for its Subsistence.

¹¹¹ *Philip*, the Fifth of that Name, was the Son of *Demetrius the Second*. After the Death of his Father, he was put under the Tuition of his Cousin *Antigonus*, whom the *Greeks* ironically call *Δω-τωρ*; that is, the Giver: In Allusion to his Character, who promised a great deal, but gave little. He assumed the Title of King, and acted as such for thirteen Years, till his Death, which happened about the fourth Year of the 139th *Olympiad*, or the first of the 140th; and about two hundred and twenty Years before *Christ*, according to *Salianus's* Computation. He was succeeded in the Kingdom by his Pupil *Philip*, who was then in the fifteenth Year of his Age. The first Year of his Reign was the 533d Year of *Rome*, when *Marcus Atilius Lepidus* and *Marcus Valerius Lavinius*, were *Consuls*: And according to this Computation, King *Philip* reigned near five Years in *Macedon*.

¹¹² The Senators were not suffered to go out of *Italy*, or cross the Seas, without the express Leave of the Senate: And this Law was inviolably observed in *Cicero's* time; as appears by his fifteenth Letter to *Atticus*, B. 8. They therefore could not go into foreign Countries, but as Ambassadors, or Magistrates delegated by the People. We find some Footsteps of this Custom in *Dio*. He says, B. 52. That in the Reign of *Augustus*, the Senators, without any Regard to this ancient Law, kept out of *Italy* with Impunity; insomuch that the Senate was deserted. In short, this Liberty was carried to such Excess, that *Augustus* was obliged, by an express Edict, to revive the ancient Custom. He forbade any Senator to go beyond the Frontiers of *Italy*, without formal Leave of the Emperor.

¹¹³ We have elsewhere observed, That in the first Ages of *Rome* the Kings reserved to themselves the Power of chusing the Senators: And That, after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, the *Consuls*, and other Magistrates invested with *Consular* Authority, assumed the same Right, till the Establishment of *Censors*. Nevertheless, *Cicero*, in his *Oration* for *Sextius*, seems to say, that before the *Censorship* was instituted, the People had a Share in the Nomination of them, and chose them by their Suffrages. *Majores nostri, cum regum potestatem non tulissent, ita Magistratus annuos creaverunt, ut consilium rei-publicæ præponerent sempiternum, deligerentur autem in id consilium ab universo populo, aditusque in illum summum ordinem omnium industria pa-teret.*

Year of *Rome*, who by virtue of their Office, had a Right of chusing new ¹¹⁴ Senators, and filling up the List. A Man was therefore sought for, who had formerly been *Censor*; and it was thought necessary to create him *Dictator*, that his Authority might be the more considerable. Whilst the *Dictator Junius* was returning to his Army, *Terentius*

DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

¹¹⁴ In the Choice of the Senators, Regard was chiefly had to the Reputation of the Candidate. The *Censors* could not, without breaking their Oaths, and contravening the Laws, admit any into this venerable Body, who were branded with Infamy, or had undergone the Shame of any juridical Condemnation. It was a very wise Law, says *Cicero*, in his *Oration for Cluentius*, *ut hominibus turpi judicio damnatis, in perpetuum, neque ullam ad honorem, neque in curiam, aditus esset*. So that, according to the old Roman Law, a professed Gamester, or a Man convicted of Robbery, false Witness, or any other Crime, was for ever excluded the Senate-house. In the first Ages of *Rome*, only *Patricians* sat in it. But afterwards, all Persons of *Plebeian* Families had a Right to aspire at that Honour, except *Freedmen*, or the Sons of *Freedmen*; at least, till the Age when the Roman Liberty expired. *Isidorus* pretends, we know not upon what Authority, that the *Romans* who were descended from Senators, had the Title of *Knights*, before they were of a legal Age to be admitted into the Senate. And it is indeed certain that the Knighthood was a Step to the Senatorial Dignity. *Livy*, B. 42. makes *Perfes* King of *Macedon* say, That the *Knights* were the most illustrious Part of the Roman Youth, and were the Nursery, out of which *Rome* filled up the vacant Places in the Senate. *Principes juventutis; & Seminarium Senatus, inde lectos in Patrum numerum Consules, inde Imperatores creant*. And, according to *Lampridius*, the Emperor *Alexander Severus* had the same Thoughts of this Order. This Prince, says he, never admitted any *Freedmen* to the Dignity of a Knight; asserting that the Equestrian Order was the Seminary of the Senatorial. *Numquam libertinos in Equestrem locum redegit, asserens Senatorum Seminarium Equestrem locum esse*. And thus, adds he, *Brutus* chose out the most considerable of the *Knights*, to fill up the Senate. *Ita, quod omnes sciunt, Brutus, primoribus Equestri gradus lectis, Senatum explevit*. Yet we must not infer from thence, that only *Knights* were chosen Senators. Indeed the Republick had Recourse to them, as well as others, at certain times, when by unfortunate Wars, or contagious Distempers, or a mad Excess of Proscriptions, the greatest Part of the Senators were destroyed. Upon Default of such as had been honoured with *Curule* Magistracies, Recourse was had to the *Knights*; who, when incorporated in the Senate, were called *ADLECTI Senatores*, to distinguish them from those who had been honoured with the highest Dignities, as *Festus* remarks. *ADLECTI dicebantur apud Romanos, qui propter inopiam, ex Equestri ordine, in Senatorum sunt numero adsumpti. Nam Patres dicuntur, qui sunt Patricii Generis; Conscripti, qui in Senatu sunt Scriptis annotati*. But after all, no more ought to be inferred from the above-recited Passages of *Livy*, and *Lampridius*, than this, That after the Roman *Knights* had advanced themselves by their Merit, or other Means, to Civil or Military Employments, they were without fail admitted into the Senate.

None, according to the established Laws, could be made a Senator, till after he was thirty Years old. This is the Age we have fixed, after the most celebrated ancient Authors. See what we have said on this Subject, B. 7. p. 283. of Vol. I. Note. 36.

Generally speaking, the *Censor*, when he chose Senators, chiefly distinguished those who had been promoted to any Magistracy, not excepting even the *Questorship*, which was the first Step to Honours.

Nor were the Age and Merit of a Senator only

considered, but likewise his Estate. Before *Augustus's* time, it was necessary, in order to be admitted into the Senate, that a Man should prove himself worth eight hundred thousand *Sesterces*; not in annual Rents, as *Turnebius* fancied, by Mistake, but in Land, or other Effects. And this was called *Census Senatorius*. But only half so much was required, in order to be made a Roman Knight. So that, according to this Calculation, a Senator, ipso facto, lost his Dignity, if he had not about an hundred thousand *Livres*; which are pretty near an Equivalent to eight hundred thousand *Sesterces*, at the Rate of ten *Sols per Denarius*, of which the *Sesterce* was a fourth Part. The Republick was afraid, lest the Senators should bring Disgrace on their high Stations, by pursuing sordid Gain, for want of the necessary Means to support their Dignity with Honour. This Law was in force in *Cicero's* time, according to *Asconius*, in his *Commentaries* on the *Orations against Verres*. And this gave Occasion to the Reproach *Arnobius* throws on the *Romans*, of selling Honours for Money, and valuing Men only for their Riches. *Quis ad extremum Pecuniam Deam esse credat, quam velut maximum numen vestre indicant litterae, donare annulos aureos, loca in ludis atque in spectaculis priora, honorum suggestus summa, amplitudinem magistratus*. Nevertheless, *Pliny* seems to say, in his Preface to his fourteenth Book, That in the happy Ages of *Rome* Merit and Virtue were sufficient Titles to raise a Man to a Seat in the Senate-house: And That Increase of Empire, and great Wealth, did *Rome* very great Injury. The Things that are most worthy of the Esteem of Men, have begun to sink low in their Opinions, says he, since Riches are the only Test of the Merit of Senators. *Posteris laxitas mundi, & rerum amplitudo damno fuit. Postquam Senator censu legi coactus, pessum iere vite pretia*. However, it must at least be allowed, that the first *Romans* carried their Contempt of Riches even to Heroism. We have already seen in this History, several *Consular* Persons, Magistrates of the first Order, and Generals of Armies, who gloried in their Poverty. They would have no more than one small Field, which they cultivated themselves, and learnt to be content with little. Their Frugality lessened their Wants. They often did not leave enough behind them to defray the Expences of their Funerals; and the Publick was forced to educate and maintain their Children. These Men, who were so illustrious for their Magistracies, their most signal Victories, and their Triumphs, were the chief Heads of the Senate, and as it were the Soul of all Deliberations in it; and yet there were several of them who had not more than seven Acres of Land. So that it is certain, Merit and Probity were then the only Tests upon which the Success of the Aspirer depended.

Add to this, that we are not to imagine that all those who had Seats in the Senate-house were stiled Senators. Those only had that Title, who had been expressly chosen by the *Censors*, or, in default of them, by the *Dictators*. And yet the *Consuls* presided in the Deliberations of this august Body; and all other Magistrates, to the *Questors* inclusively, had Seats in it. This Privilege belonged to the *Tribunes of the People*, and to all who had exercised any Magistracy. Tho' reduced again to a private Station, they still preserved their Right of voting in the Senate, by virtue of their former Offices. The *Flamines* also, after many Disputes, as we shall observe hereafter, acquired this Privilege. But the *Pontifices* and *Augurs* were excluded the House, till they had been promoted to some Dignity in the Republick. According

Terentius Varro the *Consul* was brought to the City, and ordered to nominate a second *Dictator*, whose Office should be wholly confined to the filling up the vacant Places in the Senate. And on this Occasion *Terentius* acted with more Understanding than at the Battel of *Cannæ*. He, without any Regard to Intrigues, promoted *M. Fabius Buteo*, the oldest of the former ¹¹⁵ *Censors*, to the *Dictatorship*; without suffering him to appoint himself a General of Horse. And the Republic might likewise have chosen whether she would have granted him the *Dictatorship* for six Months; but she was doubtless unwilling to lessen this new Dignity too much. The Consent of the Senate was necessary to confirm this Nomination, and it was readily granted; but the new *Dictator* did not accept the Dignity conferred upon him, without Reluctance.

IMMEDIATELY after his Election, *Buteo* mounted *The Tribune of Harangues*, and complained of four Innovations in his Favour. 1. First, That, contrary to Custom, the Republic had two *Dictators* at the same time. 2. That the ancient Custom of appointing the Supreme Governour of the Republic a General of Horse, had not been kept up. 3. That he was appointed to exercise the Office of *Censor* ¹¹⁶ a second time; whereas no Body could legally enjoy it more than once, during his Life. 4. That a Commission was granted him for six Months, the Business of which might be dispatched in a few Days. And this Love for ancient Customs, gave the *Romans* Hopes, that *Buteo* would use the Power with which *Rome* entrusted him, with Moderation.

AND indeed, never was *Dictator* more modest, or Office discharged with more Prudence. The Senate was consulted, to know with what Persons the vacant Places should be filled up. The best Part of the *Roman* Nobility had lost their Lives in the Wars with *Hannibal*. The most illustrious of the *Citizens* were reduced to a very small Number, and the City appeared like a vast Desert.

THE Senators were therefore divided in Opinion upon this Head: And *Carvilius* made the following Proposal, which seemed at first to have some Tendency to the Publick Good.

IN this Want of Romans to fill up the Supreme Council, is it not reasonable, said he, *to have Recourse to our most ancient, and most faithful Allies? The Republic owes the best Part of her Glory to the Latins. Their Country is divided between several Nations which are equally well affected to Rome. Who then could*

According to *Aulus Gellius*, the Senators took Place according to their Rank at that time, or the Dignity of the Posts they had filled in the Government. He quotes the Authority of *Caius Bassus*, for this; who, says our Author, affirms, in his *Commentaries*, that the Senators who had discharged the *Curule* Offices, enjoyed the Privilege of being carried in a Chariot, to the Place where the Senate met. And they only had the Honour of sitting in *Curule* Chairs. The other Senators walked to the Senate-house; and were therefore, says *Bassus*, called *Pedanei Senatores*. But *Festus* supposes, this Distinction was implied in the Word *Curule*. *Curules magistratus appellati sunt, quia curru vehebantur*. And according to *Varro*, as quoted also by *Aulus Gellius*, B. 18. c. 3. the Terms *Pedanei Senatores*, included all those Persons who, without being Senators, had a Right to vote in the Senate, by virtue of their Offices. Indeed, tho' they had Votes, their Advice was never asked. They only left their Places, and went to that Side of the House, where those *Conscript Fathers* were, with whom they voted. This Way of voting was called by the *Romans*, *in alterius sententiam discessio*; and this, according to *Festus*, gave Rise to the Surname of *PEDARIUS*. *Pedarium Senatorem significat Lucilius, cum ait, Agipes vocem mittere capit; qui ita appellatur, quia tacitus transiendo ad eum, cujus sententiam probat, quid sentiat, indicat*. To which *Aulus Gellius* adds, that the young Senators did this; *in alienam sententiam pedibus ibant*. They were not allowed to do any thing more than declare themselves *Pro*, or *Con*, in that manner. *Senatores qui in postumis scripti erant*

non rogabantur sententias, sed quas principes dixerant, in eas descendebant. When therefore the House came to vote, the Magistrate who presided generally made use of this Form of Words, QUI HOC CENSSETIS ILLUC TRANSITE. QUI ALIA OMNIA, IN HANC PARTEM. In this manner he invited those who had not a Right to vote *viva voce*, to go to that Side where the ancient Senators were, whose Opinion he embraced. Nevertheless *Aulus Gellius*, upon the Authority of *Varro*, makes one Exception, B. 14. c. 7. If the Assembly seemed undetermined, or were much divided in Opinion, about the Affair in Question, the President went to every Person, and asked him his Reasons for his Opinion. *Varro docet Senatus-consultum fieri duobus modis; aut per discessionem, si consentiretur; aut si res dubia esset, per singulorum sententias exquisitas*.

¹¹⁵ We have observed, under the Year of *Rome* 512, that this *Marcus Fabius Buteo*, and *Marcus Aurelius Cotta*, were then *Censors*. He had been *Consul* the first time, with *Caius Attilius*, as early as in the Year 508.

¹¹⁶ The Power of the *Censors* was become formidable to the *Romans*. So that, for Reasons of State, and for fear a *Censor* should abuse his Authority, a Law was made that the same Person should never enjoy this important Office twice. Nevertheless, the Republic had broken this Law, before *Marcus Fabius Buteo's* second Promotion, in favour of *Marcus Rutilus Censorinus*, and of *Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus*, as we have observed in its proper Place.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

blame us, if we first grant the entire ¹¹⁷ Right of Citizenship to two Men, chosen out of each Latin Nation; and then number them among the Conscrip Fathers? By this means, Latium will become entirely Roman; and when the Latins shall be but one People with us, we shall have no more Reason to fear the Success of Hannibal's Intrigues, in order to induce them to revolt. But this Discourse was received with as much Indignation, as the Proposal of these very Latins had formerly been, when they desired to share the Consulship of Rome. One Manlius started up, and said, That there was one of the Manlian Family still left, who was capable of putting in Execution the Threatening, which a Consul, one of his Ancestors, had formerly made the Latins on the Capitol. Yes: continued he, the first of them that I see take his Place in the Senate, shall die by my Hands. And then, the Great Fabius spoke, with more Moderation, and with better Effect.

HOW can you be so imprudent, said he to Carvilius, as to incline to favour the Latins? How improper a Season have you chosen to expose the Senate to a shameful Innovation, or to provoke the Latin Nation by an odious Refusal? You expose us, Carvilius, in a very critical time; and lay us under a Necessity either of dishonouring the Senate, or of causelessly provoking faithful Allies, who are not prone to your asking this Favour for them. I can see but one thing, Conscrip Fathers, that can prevent the dangerous Consequences of so rash a Proposal. Let it be forever buried in Oblivion; and let not the Latins ever know, that it has been made. Secrecy is the Soul of publick Deliberations; and in this Case, it is the Interest of the State that it should be kept inviolable. All promised an eternal Silence; they kept their Words; and no ill Consequences followed.

THEN the Dictator declared to the People, the Rules he followed in settling the List of Senators. In the first place, he cut off no body from this venerable Body; but confirmed all those in their Seats in the House, who had any in it. Then, he chose those to fill up the Places of the dead Senators, who since the time of the last Censors had obtained the Curule Magistracies, and were not yet ranked among The Fathers. They took their Places in the Senate, according to the Order of their Promotion to publick Offices. After them, the Dictator chose all those without Exception, who had been elected Tribunes of the People, or Plebeian Ediles, or Quæstors, by the Suffrages of the Commons. And lastly, in order to make up the Number of three hundred, he chose out those among the Citizens, who had distinguished ¹¹⁸ themselves in the Army, had brought off the Spoils of an Enemy, or had obtained the military Rewards of their Generals. So true is it, That the highest Stations in the Roman Republick, were made the Rewards of Valour in Battel: And that the Senator did not spoil the Soldier, or the General.

By these Elections, which were not arbitrary, or the Effect of Partiality, the Dictator gained himself immortal Glory. He read the List to the People, and was exceedingly applauded for it. And as soon as Buteo had done this, he abdicated the Dictatorship, came down from The Tribune, dismissed his Licitors, and mixed with the Multitude. He continued some time in the Forum, to make the People forget to conduct him home in a Body. But this Modesty did not get the better of the Gratitude of the People. The Romans were charmed to see seventy seven new Senators made, without Jealousy, or Contention: and Fabius Buteo was, contrary to his Inclinations, conducted home with the Acclamations of the Multitude.

¹¹⁷ See what we have said of the Right of Roman Citizenship, Vol. 2. The Latins enjoyed only the Right of Latinity; and this Privilege alone was not sufficient to enable them to stand Candidates for the Honours of the Republick, as we have there observed.

¹¹⁸ The Dictator, Marcus Fabius Buteo, had regard, says Livy, B. 23. to those Citizens who had been honoured with a Civic Crown, when he filled up the Senate. That Crown was, among the Romans, the most glorious and most distinguishing Mark of military Valour, as we have already observed. But Fabius did not forget them who could produce the Spoils of an Enemy, in proof of their Bravery. The Romans made a kind of Trophies of them, and hung them up in the most conspicuous Parts of their Houses, as Monuments of the Glory of their An-

cestors. This we learn from Pliny, B. 35. *Alia foris, circa limina, domitarum gentium imagines erant, affixis hostium spoliis, quæ nec emptori resfigere liceret; triumphabantque, etiam dominis mutatis ipse domus, & erat hæc stimulatio ingens, exprobrantibus rectis quotidie imbellem dominum intrare in alienum triumphum.* The Images of the conquered Nations, and these Spoils, which were with Pomp exposed to publick View, did, in some measure, says he, perpetuate the Triumphs of the Conquerors. Children thought it Matter of Duty to preserve these illustrious Monuments with Care: And these Objects being continually present with them, animated them to Virtue; or reproached them with the Shame of leading an effeminate Life, if they had degenerated from the Glory of their Ancestors.

§. XXVI. THE Senate being thus filled up; the next Business of Importance was to chuse the chief Officers of the State. The *Comitia by Centuries* ¹¹⁹ were summoned to assemble, but *Terentius Varro* the Consul, did not preside in them. He wisely withdrew from *Rome*, before the *Comitia* were held, and returned to his Army. It was however thought necessary to recall to ¹²⁰ the City the *Dictator Junius*, and the *Prætor Marcellus*, who alone had beaten *Hannibal*, and had gained himself much Reputation in the Campaign: and *Sempronius Gracchus*, the General of Horse, was also sent for. The Design of the new Senate was to inform themselves thoroughly of the State of Affairs abroad, from the Mouths of the Commanders in chief. A wise Precaution! since they were to regulate their Elections by the Informations they should receive from their Generals.

As soon as the *Dictator* arrived, he gave an Account of the State of his Army, and its Motions; but he said little of himself; and gave all the Honour to *Sempronius* his Subaltern. Then he assembled the *Centuries*, in the *Campus Martius*, without Delay, in order to chuse new *Consuls*, and *Prætors*. The Suffrages fell upon two Men for the *Consulate*, who were thought able Commanders. *L. Postumius Albinus*, tho' absent, was first chosen; and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, upon the good Character the *Dictator* had given of him, was nominated second Consul. Then the *Prætors* for the Year were chosen; and the Suffrages fell on *M. Valerius Lævinus*, who had already been Consul; on *Fulvius Flaccus* ¹²³, who had been twice Consul, and afterwards *Censor*; on *Appius Claudius*, surnamed *Pulcher*; and on ¹²⁴ *Mucius Scævola*. The four new *Prætors* drew Lots for their *Provinces*; and it fell to *Fulvius* to be *Prætor Urbanus*; to *Lævinus*, to be *Prætor Peregrinus*; to *Pulcher's*, to command in *Sicily*, and succeed *Otacilius*; and to *Scævola*, to govern *Sardinia*.

¹¹⁹ It is uncertain whether the Consul summoned the *Centuries* to assemble by a written Form, like a circular Letter sent to all the *Tribes*, or by Proclamation made by the publick Criers, and *Apparitores*. What is certain, is, that the *Consuls* expressly forbid by an Edict, the inferior Magistrates, such as the *Ædiles*, *Tribunes of the People*, and *Quæstors*, to observe the Heavens, in order to take *Auspices*. In *Edicto Consulum, qui edicunt, quis Dies Comitii Centuriatis futurus sit, scribitur, ex vetere forma perpetua, ne quis Magistratus minor de Cælo servasse velit*. And on this Occasion, we shall observe, That tho' all the Magistrates had a Right of observing the *Auspices*, even on the Day the *Comitia* was to be held: yet this Act alone was a legal Cause for adjourning the Assembly to another Day. And if the Magistrate, after having made his Observations, reported that the *Auguries* were not favourable, an Adjournment was thought still more necessary. This was a sure Way of putting a stop to any Disputes, which it was foreseen would end to the Prejudice of the Republick, or of those, whose private Interest it was, to give a Sanction to these Delays. So that, for fear Affairs should be protracted to too great a length, the Consul who was to preside in the Assembly, ordered that the *Auguries* should not be observed by the Magistrates of the second Order, that is, by those who were chosen by the People, in the *Comitia by Tribes*. It is plain, the superior Magistrates were not included in this Prohibition; so that they might make use of their Privilege. Nevertheless, the Precaution of the *Consuls* was sometimes useless. *Cicero* gives us an Instance of a *Tribune of the People* who declared, That it had thundered, at the time the People were going to the *Comitium* to elect a *Censor*; and this, says he, in his *Second Philippic*, was enough to force *Anthony* to countermand the Assembly. That is, Men were very ready to find a Pretence from the *Auspices*, (by whomsoever taken) to countenance Delays, when they were for their Purpose.

¹²⁰ The Senate, says *Livy*, B. 23. after having taken the Advice of *Manius Pomponius* the *Prætor*, wrote to the *Dictator Junius*, desiring him to return to *Rome*, where his Presence was necessary, since the Consul, *Terentius Varro*, had withdrawn himself, unknown to the Senators. For Want of

the *Consuls*, it was necessary to have recourse to the *Dictator*, to preside in the *Comitia*, which were to chuse the superior Magistrates.

¹²¹ The *Postumian* Family, as the Reader may have observed in the Course of this History, was one of the most ancient, and most distinguished of any of those which were called *Patrician*. The chief of its different Branches, was that of the *Albini*. At least we find no Footsteps of any but them, on the Medals.

¹²² The *Sempronii* were divided into three Branches. The first was that of the *Atratini*, which was *Patrician*. The two others were those of the *Gracchi* and *Pitiones*. The latter, tho' *Plebeians* by Descent, became famous in the Republick for the Magistracies to which they were promoted. But the Family of the *Gracchi* abounded most with great Men. The *Tuditani*, the *Blæsi*, the *Longi*, and the *Sophi*, were also *Plebeian* Branches, which all descended from the same Stock.

¹²³ The *Fulvian* Family was *Plebeian*, and came originally from *Tusculum*. It spread itself into four Branches. The first was that of the *Centumali*. The three others were distinguished by the Surnames of *Flacci*, *Patini*, and *Nobiliores*. This Family furnished the Republick with several *Consuls*.

¹²⁴ All the *Roman* Writers agree, that the Family of the *Mucii* was originally *Plebeian*. It was divided into the two Branches of the *Cordi*, and the *Scævole*. The former were so called, because *Cordus*, the Head of that Branch, was born after his Mother had been married several Years. The *Latins* use the Word in the same Sense, to signify the Fruits of the latter Season. Thus they say, *Cordum Frumentum*, *Cordi Agni*: and *Athenodorus* renders *Cordus* in *Greek*, by the Word *Ὠψιγρον*, which has the Signification before-mentioned. The *Scævole* borrowed their Name from the famous *Mucius Scævola*, who by his Valour and Intrepidity, made *Porfenna*, King of the *Hetrurians*, tremble, in the Infancy of the Republick. The Family of the *Mucii* furnished *Rome* with *Consuls*, *Pontifices Maximi*, and able *Civilians*. *Vitruvius* commends one *Caius Mucius*, who made himself famous for his great Knowledge in Architecture.

Year of
ROM E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.

BUT as the last fell sick, and in all probability of a lingering Disease, the pressing Affairs of *Sardinia* made it necessary to appoint him a Coadjutor, to govern the *Province* till he recovered. This was *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who, after he had been twice *Consul*, and once *Censor*, did not disdain to be another's Deputy, in the Government of *Sardinia*, which he had formerly subdued, in his first *Consulship*. What seems strange, is, that *Marcellus* was forgotten, in the new Promotion, notwithstanding his late Glory, and the Affection of the People. But we shall soon see him appear again, and reassume the Rank, which the Injustice of the *Romans*, and perhaps the Jealousy of *Junius*, refused him.

§. XXVII. As soon as these Dispositions were made for the succeeding Year, the Dictator returned to his Camp before *Teanum*, in *Apulia*, there to continue during the Remainder of his Six-Months-Office. As for *Sempronius*, who commanded under him, being appointed *Consul*, he continued in the City, and received fresh Orders from the Senate concerning the Operations of the Campaign. And during these Transactions, News was brought to *Rome*, which filled it with Sorrow, and made an Alteration in the *Consulship*.

THAT *L. Postumius Albinus*, who was just raised to the *Consulship* a third time, commanded a Body of Troops in *Cisalpine Gaul*, in order to keep the *Gauls* in Awe, and prevent their Communication with *Hannibal*; and as he was passing through the Country of the *Boii*, it was necessary for him to cross a vast Forest, which the *Gauls* called *The Forest of Litana*. This ¹²⁵ they thought a proper Place to lay in Ambush for him, and there he perished, and his whole Army. This Account, plain as it is, seems more probable, than the doubtful Circumstances with which one * Historian has embellished his Relation of it. He says the ¹²⁶ *Gauls* pulled up by the Roots the great Trees, which grew in a Line, on both Sides of the Way through which the *Roman* Army was to pass. Then they set up these Trees in their Places again, as if they had not been moved; but the least Shock was sufficient to throw them down. The *Romans*, without perceiving the Trick, advanced far into the Road, where this Preparation was made for them; the *Gauls*, at the Entrance into the great Road, pushed the first of the Trees against the next; and they all immediately beat down one another, and with their Fall crushed to Death, or put into Disorder, the two *Roman* Legions. After this, the Squadrons of the *Gauls* fell upon them, made a terrible Slaughter of them, and killed their General. He died like a brave Man, Sword in Hand, and sold his Life very dear. And to this it is added, upon good Authority, That the *Boii* cut off *Postumius's* Head, and made a Cup of his Skull, which they adorned with Gold, and offered it to their Gods, for the Use of their Priests in Libations. This News therefore filled the City with fresh Grief. She had lost a *Consul* elect, from whom she had had great Hopes; and this Loss, added to so many others, seemed to render the Misfortunes of the Republick utterly incurable. The Spoils of a whole Army were fallen into the Enemy's Hands; and there were scarce ten *Romans* who escaped, in this general Defeat. The Day this News was made publick resembled the most melancholy Night. The Shops were shut up; no one stirred out of his House; and the Streets were as empty as at Midnight. But this was the last ¹²⁷ Calamity that befel *Rome*, in the most unfortunate Year she had ever had; and her Constancy enabled her to surmount this Misfortune. Nay, the Remedy was as ready, as the Evil had been unexpected.

SEMPRONIUS was entered upon his Office; and as his Colleague was dead, before he had taken Possession of it; he, being therefore the only *Consul*, assembled the Senate; and the chief Bent of his Discourse, was to raise the dejected Spirits of the Senators.

¹²⁵ It is conjectured, that the Forest of *Litana* reached to the Neighbourhood of *Bologna* and *Modena*. *Zonaras* says, it stood on uneven Ground, and was broken with Rocks and Hills. Some say it stood in the Place now called *Selva Romanesca*, in *Romagna*. Others place it nearer the *Apennines*, in a Place which the Natives now call *Lizano*, on the Confines of *Modena*, *Bologna*, and *Pisnon*, a City of *Tuscany*.

¹²⁶ *Frontinus* has plainly borrowed this Account

from *Livy*. He speaks of this Stratagem of the *Gauls*, as certain Matter of Fact, B. 1. c. 6.

¹²⁷ According to *Livy*, B. 23. the Senate ordered the *Curule Aediles*, to go into all the Quarters of *Rome*, cause all the Shops to be opened, and forbid all Appearances of Mourning. It was to be feared, that so general a Consternation would discourage and depress the *Citizens*, at a time, when Constancy and Intrepidity were the only Refuge of the *Romans*.

THE Battel of Cannæ, says the new Consul, ought to have hardened us against the Vicissitudes of War. Shall we be discouraged with moderate Losses, after having endured the greatest Misfortunes? Tho' the Gauls have had some Advantage over us, the War with them may safely be deferred. We ought first to search to the Bottom of our Misfortunes. Let us have no more Army in Gaul; but turn all our Forces against Hannibal alone. If we once gain our Point, as I hope we shall, of driving away and dispersing the Carthaginians; the rebellious Nations will soon be reduced again, and we shall continue Masters of our old Conquests.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVII.
M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.
Livy, B. 23.
c. 25.

THE Necessity of Affairs made the Senators follow Sempronius's Advice; and no more Prætors were sent into Gaul. All the Roman Forces were ordered to the Provinces near the Places Hannibal possessed; and the Senate disposed of the Armies in this manner. That which the Dictator Junius had commanded, was given to the Consul Sempronius, who was acquainted with those Troops, and they with him; but all those Youth, (who were numerous) who had not attained to the military Age, were obliged to leave the Army; and this Year's Service was not allowed them in the Account of the Time they were obliged to serve. That Army which Marcellus had commanded, and which in a manner wholly consisted of the scattered Remains of the Battel of Cannæ, had Orders to go into Sicily, and continue there as long as the War should last in Italy. And in Exchange for them, the two Legions which had hitherto served in Sicily, were ordered to Italy, to fill up the Army of the Collegue the Centuries were soon to give Sempronius, in the room of Postumius, who was killed in the Country of the Boii. Two other Legions were also decreed him, which were to be raised in Rome. Nor was Terentius Varro himself forgotten, notwithstanding his ill Conduct at Cannæ. He commanded a Roman Army in Apulia, with the Title of Pro-Consul. And indeed, he had shewn singular Marks of the deepest Sorrow. Ever since his Defeat, he had let his Hair and Beard grow, and had not taken any Meal, lying on a Bed, after the manner of the Romans. He had by his Modesty made some amends for his Insolence, in the first Days of his Consulship. Tho' the People, who always protected him, would have created him Dictator, to fill up the vacant Places in the Senate, he had thought himself unworthy of so high a Dignity. So that he was forgiven upon his Repentance, and preserved in the Rank and Employments he had hitherto possessed. Rome gloried in her Moderation in punishing the Author of all her Calamities. But the Republick continued P. Scipio Pro-Consul in Spain,

Val. Max. B. 4.
c. 5. §. 2. and
B. 3. c. 4. §. 4.

128 The first Romans, according to Pliny, B. 7. c. 59. wore long Beards; and had no Barbers among them, till the Year of Rome 454. He quotes the Authority of Varro for it; who says, one Publius Ticinius Menas, brought a Barber from Sicily to Rome. Then Shaving came into Fashion, at least round the Face and down to the Chin: and it is certain, that the Custom of wearing long Beards was quite laid aside, unless in times of Affliction. A long Beard, neglected Hair, a slovenly Look, and pale Countenance, became the most usual Marks of Mourning, among the Romans. They had two Ways of cutting their Beards, with Razors, and with Scissars; according to Plautus, in the second Scene of the second Act of his Captives.

Nunc senex est in tonsura: nunc jam cultros at-
tinet:

Sed utrum strictim ne attonsurum dicam esse, an
per pectinem

Nescio. Verum, si frugi est, admutabit probe.

The old Man, says the Poet, in the Person of one of his Actors, is in a Barber's Shop, who holds him by the Chin. But I don't know whether he will make use of his Scissars, or his Razor. If he is cunning, he will be shaved at once. That the Romans in the first Ages did not shave, we have an undeniable Proof in the Statues; as Varro observes, B. 2. ch. 11. De Vita Rustica. Olim Tonsores non fuisse, adsignificant antiquorum Statuæ, quod pleræque habent Capillum, & Barbam magnam. And Livy makes the same Observation, when he is speaking of those venerable old Men, who, for the Prefer-

vation of their Country, delivered themselves up to the Fury of the Gauls, when they had made themselves Masters of Rome. One of the Barbarians, says the Historian, insulted Marcus Papirius, who wore a long Beard, according to the Custom of that time. Ut tum omnibus promissa erat.

129 See what we have said of the Custom among the ancient Romans, of eating lying upon Beds, B. 15. p. 83. of Vol. 2. Note 4. This Story of Terentius Varro, which we have taken from Frontinus, supposes that this Custom was now introduced into Rome. But some Authors guess, that it did not take place, till the time of Scipio Africanus. They think that this General first brought from Carthage a kind of little Beds, which Cicero, in his Oration for Murena, calls Punicani Lecti. This is the Account S. Isidorus of Seville gives us of it, in his Etymologies, B. 20. Punicani Lecti parvi & humiles primum a Carthagine advekti, & inde nominati. But be that as it will, there were Matresses laid on these Beds, which were more or less richly adorned, according to every Man's Circumstances. For their Ease, the Romans laid aside the Toga, when they lay down at Table, and put on a sort of Tunick, which was therefore called Vestis Canatoria, or Pallium Canatorium. And as it was customary to bathe, or at least to wash and perfume their Feet after Meals, it was usual with the Romans not to wear any Shoes in their Dining-Rooms. This appears by the Bas-reliefs, and the Testimony of all ancient Authors.

130 If we will believe Valerius Maximus, B. 1. c. 1. the Calamities of Rome did not so much proceed from Terentius Varro's Misconduct, as from Juno's

Year of for very different Reasons. The Victories he had gained with *Cneius* his Brother, gave her Hopes of more ¹³¹.

R O M E
DXXXVII.

M. JUNIUS
PERA, Dicta-
tor.
Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

§. XXVIII. ALL that now remained, was to fill up *Postumius's* Place, and chuse a second *Consul*: And it appears, that *Sempronius* had then two Points in View. The first was, to defer the filling up the Vacancy as long as possible, that he might continue the sole Head of the Republick: The second, to prevent *Marcellus's* being elected, lest he should be eclipsed by the Merit of such a Collegue. He had indeed sent *Marcellus* to the Camp, probably in order to keep him out of the Sight, and kind Thoughts, of the People, during the *Comitia*. But nevertheless, the Esteem of the Publick prevailed over the Artifices of *Sempronius*. The Commons obstinately resolved, that they would not proceed to an Election, till *Marcellus* was present. He therefore returned, and all the Suffrages were for him. Heaven, or rather the Superstition of the *Romans*, was what alone prevented his Promotion. Whilst the *Comitia* were assembled, a Storm arose, and it ¹³² thundered: and it is inexpressible, with what Greediness the *Augurs* took hold of this Accident, to declare that the Election of *Marcellus* was not agreeable to the Gods. They had a political Reason for disannulling it. Tho' *Marcellus* bore the Name of ¹³³ *Claudius*,

Juno's Anger, *Terentius*, says that Author, entertained the People with *The Circensian Games* in his *Aedileship*: and it being usual, to place a Centinel at the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, whilst the People were at these Entertainments, *Terentius* appointed a professed Buffoon to discharge that Office. He was a young Man, who had gained the Favour of the Magistrate by his great Beauty: and this odd Choice was an Insult on the Majesty of *Jupiter*, and the Modesty of *Juno*. The *Romans* afterwards remembered this Act of Disrespect; and immediately concluded, that the Goddess had revenged this Affront, with the Defeat of *Terentius*, at the Battel of *Cannæ*. But they did not consider this, till some Years after; and then they ordered Sacrifices by Way of Expiation, for the Injury done to *Juno*.

¹³¹ At the same time that the Magistrates were chosen, *Quintus Fabius Maximus* represented to the Senate, that it was time to appoint the Dedication of the Temple of *Venus Erycina*, in Discharge of the Vow he had made in his *Dictatorship*, after the Battel of the Lake *Thrasimenus*. And the Senate made a Decree, empowering *Tiberius Sempronius*, who was yet but *Consul* elect, to finish that Affair, as soon as he should enter upon the *Consulship*. He therefore addressed himself to the People, and proposed *Quintus Fabius* to them, to preside at that Ceremony; and his Proposal was received, and ratified. *Titus Otacilius* was appointed to perform the same Office, in the Temple newly built, in Honour to the Goddess of Good Counsel: And both were stiled *Duumviri*. Then, the *Curule Aediles*, *Lætorius*, and this *Tiberius Sempronius*, who was just chosen *Consul* for the next Year, entertained the People, three Days, with *The Roman Games*, which used to be celebrated in the Theatre, and *Circus*, in Honour to the Great Gods, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. The *Plebeian Aediles*, *Marcus Aurelius Cotta*, and *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, also entertained the People with the Games, which were called *Plebeian*; because they were instituted in Memory of the Reconciliation of the *Patricians* and People, either when the latter returned from the *Mons Sacer*, or, as some Authors conjecture, when they returned from the Hill *Aventinus*. But others think these Games were instituted, to perpetuate the Memory of the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*. This Festival lasted three Days together. It had been preceded, by the Celebration of *Funeral Games*, in Honour to the Manes of *Marcus Aemilius Lepidus*, the *Augur*, who had been thrice honoured with the *Consulship*. His three Sons, *Lucius*, *Marcus*, and *Quintus*, bore the Expenses of them. They entertained the Citizens with the cruel Pleasure, of seeing two and twenty Couple of Gladiators fight in the *Forum Romanum*. This barbarous Ceremony was generally performed

near the Funeral Pile, or the Place where the Deceased was buried. It had been substituted in the room of a yet more inhuman Custom, received among some Nations, which was that of cutting the Throats of Captives, at the Tombs of their Fathers. At last, the *Romans* gave these Wretches their Lives and Liberties, if they came off Conquerors. Some ascribe the Institution of *Funeral Games* to *Junius Brutus*, the first *Consul* of *Rome*.

He instituted them, say they, to appease the Manes of his Father, whom *Tarquin the Proud* had sacrificed to his Suspicions. The *Scenic Games*, or *Comic Pieces* acted in the Theatre, made a Part of the Entertainments of this Festival; which we only mention transiently here, but shall speak more particularly of them hereafter.

After these Rejoicings, the People were assembled to consider what to do, in relation to the three hundred *Campanian Knights*, who had served the *Roman Republick*, in the Wars in *Sicily*, with inviolable Fidelity. They were so far from joining in the Revolt of their Countrymen, that they had left their native Country, to devote themselves wholly to prosecute the Interests of *Rome*. The People therefore, as a Reward for their Services, granted them the Title of *Roman Citizens*. They were incorporated among the Inhabitants of *Cume*, which was then a *Municipal City*. And in this Quality, they were established in the Enjoyment of the Rights of *Roman Citizens*, reckoning from the Day, before the Revolt of the *Capuans*, and other *Campani*, in favour of *Hannibal*.

¹³² If it had thundered, while the *Comitia* were held, the Election of the Magistrates was deemed defective. This was what the *Augurs* called *Vitium*. If it lightened, and a Storm of Hail or Rain had happened to fall at the same time; this was one of those fatal Presages, which was called, in the Language of the *Augurs*, *Vitium & Calamitas*. The Gods were then said to reject the Choice that had been made of the *Consuls*. On the contrary, the *Augurs* adopted the Word *Silentium*, to signify a calm and serene Air.

¹³³ We have observed, in the former Volumes, That the *Claudian Family*, which was originally *Sabine*, settled at *Rome*, in the Rise of the Republick. It was then divided into two Branches. The first, which was *Patrician*, carried up their Origin to that *Atius Clausus*, a native of *Regillum*, who was afterwards called *Appius Claudius*, and made a *Patrician* at *Rome*. This Branch produced several Families, which furnished *Rome* with great Magistrates. The *Plebeian Branch* was probably descended from another *Claudius*, who, tho' a Relation of the former, was not honoured with the same Marks of Distinction.

yet his Family was *Plebeian*; and as *Sempronius Gracchus* was a *Plebeian* likewise; had the Election been confirmed, *Rome* would now first have seen two *Plebeian Consuls*, at the same time, contrary both to Law and Custom. Nevertheless, the *Augurs* durst not openly pronounce *Marcellus's* Election unlawful. They were afraid their Efforts would prove vain, when opposed to the earnest Desires and Favour of the People. But *Marcellus* then shewed himself to be as zealous a Republican, as he was a great Commander. He voluntarily laid down the *Consulship*: or rather, he refused to accept of the *Fasces*, since he could not receive them, but contrary to the Will of the Gods, and the Inclinations of the Nobility.

AND so uncommon an Act of Generosity did not pass without some Reward. *Rome* still kept *Marcellus* in an Employment, and with the Title of *Pro-Consul*. She gave him the Command of an Army. His Place of *Consul* was filled by *Fabius Maximus*, the most illustrious *Roman* then living. He was now raised to the *Consulate* a third time, was made Collegue to *Sempronius Gracchus*, and was once more employed against *Hannibal*. Such were the several Elections made in a Year, which both *Greek* and *Latin* Authors have distinguished, by the Names of four different *Consuls*.

§. XXIX. WHILST the Republick was busy inmaking these Elections, and Preparations for War, *Hannibal* subdued, or gained over to him, some Cities and Provinces. *Consentia* ¹³⁵, a considerable City on the ¹³⁶ *Crathis*, had, after a poor Defence, already surrendered to the *Carthaginian*. *Crotona* ¹³⁷ formerly one of the most populous Cities in *Italy*, but now reduced to a small Number of Inhabitants, had been already forced to surrender to the strongest Party. And *Locris*, or *Locri*, betrayed by her perfidious Magistrates, had followed the Example of the *Bruttii*, and submitted to *Hannibal*.

NAY, the Contagion had spread as far as *Sicily*. *Syracuse* was divided between *Hiero*, that very faithful King to the Republick, and *Gelo*, his eldest Son. This rebellious Prince, in order to usurp the Kingdom before the Death of his Father, had entered into a Correspondence with *Hannibal*, and gained himself a Party in the Capital. But his Death put an End to the Revolt. It happened so seasonably, that the King his Father was suspected of having been the Cause of it.

IN the mean time, the *Romans* began to be in Motion. The Provinces of the Governours were changed, after *Fabius's* Election. This brave General was put at the Head of the Troops which the Dictator *Junius* had commanded. *Sempronius* took the Command of the new Levies ¹³⁸ that were made in *Rome*, and of twenty five thousand Auxiliaries. *Valerius Laevinus* the *Prætor*, was ordered to over and preserve *Apulia* with the two *Legions* ¹³⁹ that had been brought out of *Sicily*. The *Pro-Consul Marcellus* again commanded the Army which he had

commanded

¹³⁴ The Beginning of this Year 538, was likewise, according to *Livy*, no less remarkable for the pretended prodigies, the News of which alarmed the *Romans*. According to him, a great Fire was seen burning in the Sea. A Cow brought forth a Colt, near the City of *Sinuessa*. At *Lanuvium*, the Buckler and Pelin of *Juno*, surnamed *Sospita*, bled. And lastly, the People fancied that it rained Stones, round the Temple consecrated to that Goddess. In order therefore to avert the Effects of these Prodigies, the Senate made the usual Expiations, which were repeated, for nine Days together, according to the Institution of King *Tullus Hostilius*, who instituted this Ceremony, on such another Occasion.

¹³⁵ *Consentia*, or *Consentia*, was formerly the Capital of *Bruttium*. It still subsists, and is called *Cosentino*. See Vol. 2. This City was watered to the North, by the *Crathis*; and to the South by the *Sento*.

¹³⁶ We have said enough of the *Crathis* already.

¹³⁷ The *Croton*, or *Crotona* here spoken of, was a City of *Bruttium*, which still retains the same Name, and is in *Calabria*, a Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

¹³⁸ These new Levies were raised, according to *Livy*, among the Slaves, and were called *Voluptes*. We have explained this Term above, when we

VOL. III.

spoke of the eight hundred Slaves who were enlisted in the Service of the Republick, after the Battel of *Cannæ*, and were distinguished by that Name.

¹³⁹ *Livy* affirms, B. 23. that besides the two *Legions* which had come into *Italy*, from *Sicily*, the Republick gave the *Prætor Marcus Valerius Laevinus* the Command of the Army, which *Terentius Varro* had collected together, out of the Remains of the Battel of *Cannæ*. It had been first given to the *Prætor Appius Claudius*, who commanded in *Sicily*: But this Appointment was afterwards changed; and these Troops committed to the Care of *Laevinus*. He made a separate Army of them, and ordered one of his Lieutenant-Generals to command it, under him. Five and twenty Gallies were also ordered this General, to enable him to defend the Coasts from *Brundisium* to *Tarentum*. And the like Number of Ships were reserved for the *Prætor Urbanus, Quintus Fulvius*; who had Orders to guard the Coasts, at the Extremities of the *Roman* Territory. As for *Titus Otacilius Crassus*, after he had presided at the Dedication of the Temple, erected on the *Capitol*, in honour to the Goddess of *Good Counsel*, he immediately set out for *Sicily*, in Quality of Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet, which was cruising round that Island.

Whilst these Regulations Abroad, and Preparations at Home, were making, for the next Campaign, there

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVIII
The Sempronius
Gracchus, Q. Fabius
Maximus, C. Marcellus,
C. Claudius, C. Sulpicius

Liv. B. 23.
c. 30.

Year of commanded at *Nola*; except the fugitive Soldiers who had escaped at the Battle of *Cannæ*, and who were ordered for *Sicily*. But this Diminution was doubtless supplied by other Troops. And lastly, *Terentius Varro* marched his Army into *Picenum*, to defend that Country, and raise ¹⁴⁰ Recruits.

TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, Q. FA-
BIUS MAXI-
MUS, Consuls.

IN the first place, the *Consuls* caused the Senate to order all the Farmers in the Country to remove their Corn into walled Towns, before the first of *June*, under pain of having their Farms plundered and burnt, and their Slaves sold. And then all that remained to be done, was to guard the Coasts. Each of the two *Prætors*, *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Valerius Lævinus*, were therefore assigned twenty five Gallies; the latter, to defend the maritime Countries from *Brundisium* to *Tarentum*; the former, from *Ostia* to *Campania* and *Hetruria*. The rest of the Roman Fleet was committed to the Conduct of *Otacilius*, with Orders to go to *Sicily*, and guard the Ports of that Island. Rome never made a more judicious Disposition of her Forces. She recovered the Losses of the last Year, and raised herself from her low State, more by her Conduct, than the Valour of her Soldiers, or her Generals.

§. XXX. THE *Prætor Valerius Lævinus* began the Operations of the Campaign with a very unexpected Enterprize. As he lay encamped at *Luceria*, and was there guarding *Apulia*, which was committed to his Care, he was surprized to see a Company of *Macedonians* brought before him, who were not expected in *Italy*. An *Athenian*, named *Xenophanes*, the Son of *Cleomachus*, appeared at the Head of them, and was their Speaker. These Strangers had landed ¹⁴¹ near *The Lacinian* ¹⁴² Promontory, which was famous for a Temple ¹⁴³ dedicated to *Juno*; and

Livy, B. 23.
c. 33.



Silver

there were two Regulations of less Importance made at *Rome*. The *Consuls* fixed the Gate *Capena*, for the Place where the Senate should assemble this Year: And the *Prætors* settled their Tribunals for this Year, near the Publick Fish-pool, which was a great Reservoir of Water, in which the young Romans learnt to swim, before they ventured into the *Tyber*. The Ground round it was appropriated to Wrestling, and other bodily Exercises. Some think this Reservoir was made between the Quarter of the Hill *Calius*, called *Calimontium*, and the Hill *Aventinus*. Others place it between *The Great Circus*, and *The Gate Capena*. But be that as it will, the *Prætors* thought this Quarter, which was one of the most populous, and most frequented of any in *Rome*, a proper Place for the Administration of Justice. In *Festus's* time, there were no Footsteps left of the Place where this Publick Fish-pool was; nothing of it remained but the Name. It had been deserted, ever since *Augustus* had left the People *The Baths of Agrippa*, by Will. *Piscine publicæ hodieque nomen manet. Ipsa non extat, ad quam & natatum, & exercitationis aliqui causa veniebat populus.*

¹⁴⁰ These Motions of the Roman Republick, gave *Hannibal* Uneasiness. His Brother *Mago* was lately gone into *Africa*, to sollicite Succours; and had obtained of his Republick, twelve hundred Foot, fifteen hundred Horse, sixty Gallies well fitted out, twenty Elephants, and a thousand Talents * of Silver: that is, about a Million of French Crowns. He was preparing to embark for *Italy*, with this Reinforcement, when the News came from *Spain*, of the Conquests of the two *Scipio's*. It was affirmed, that most of the Nations in that Country, had

declared for the Romans. At this, the Senate of *Carthage* was alarmed: She was greatly concerned for the pressing Wants of these Provinces, and ordered *Mago*, who had already prepared to go into *Italy*, to carry his Succours into *Spain*.

¹⁴¹ It was natural, says *Livy*, B. 23. for the Ambassadors of King *Philip* to have landed at the Port of *Tarentum*, or that of *Brundisium*, in order to go to *Hannibal* at *Capua*. But the Roman Fleet, which was cruizing on those Coasts, would not suffer them to take that Road.

¹⁴² *The Lacinian Promontory*, now *Capo della Colonne*, jets out into *The Ionian Sea*, beyond *The Gulph of Tarentum*. We have spoken of it, B. 21. p. 419. of Vol. 2. Note 29.

¹⁴³ The Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, stood to the North of *The Lacinian Promontory*, six Miles from *Crotone*, according to the Description given us of it, by *Diodorus Siculus* and *Livy*. This Temple was famous for the Concourse of People who came thither from all Countries, to pay their Homage, and make their Offerings to the Goddess. It was surrounded with a thick Wood of Fir-trees. In the adjoining Pastures, were fed a great Number of Cattle, consecrated to the tutelary Goddess of those Places. And, according to the Fables of Tradition, they were preserved safe from Robbers, and wild Beasts, tho' not watched by any Shepherd. In the Evening, after the Sun was down, they went, of their own accord, to the Stables appointed for them. Out of the large Revenues which these Cattle produced, the Ministers who presided over the Worship of *Juno*, had erected a Column of massy Gold in her Temple. And *Cicero*, *De Divin.* B. 1. says that the Sight of this rich Monument excited the

* 193750 l.
Arbutnot.

and were from thence making their Way by Land to *Hannibal* at *Capua*. It was in Embassy which King *Philip* of ¹⁴⁴ *Macedon*, then twenty Years ¹⁴⁵ of Age, had sent to the *Carthaginian*, at the Persuasion of that famous ¹⁴⁶ Traitor, *Demetrius* of *Pharos*, whom the *Romans* had driven out of his native Country. The Ambassador and his Attendants, had been intercepted in their March, by the Scouts of *Lævinus's* Army, who had brought them to his Camp. The *Prætor* examined them about their Country, and Business; and the *Greek*, who spake for the rest, made no Scruple of concealing the Truth by a Lie. *Philip* of *Macedon*, said he, *has sent me to the Roman Senate; and I am going to treat with the Republick in his Name.*

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVIII.
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, Q. FA-
BIUS MAXI-
MUS, Consuls.

UPON which, *Lævinus* could not dissemble his Joy. He foresaw the great Advantages of an Alliance between *Rome* and *Macedon*. This Alliance alone was sufficient to compensate the Loss of the many Allies of *Rome* which had forsaken her. And the Ambassador therefore received all the Respect due to the Minister of a great King, whose Advances were so very acceptable to a distressed Republick. Any other Person might have been deceived by him as well as the *Consul*; who furnished the Ambassador with a Guard and Guides to conduct him safe thro' the Countries which were infested by the *Carthaginians*. And by what Artifice the *Greek* escaped out of the Hands of his Conductors, History does not inform us. All we know is, that he entered *Campania*, and was carried to *Hannibal's* Camp. The *Carthaginian* was extremely rejoiced at the Arrival of this Minister, who promised him a larger and more certain Reinforcement, than he could hope to receive from the Senate of *Carthage*; and all things were got ready for signing the Treaty, which was publickly and solemnly done. A Treaty which is preserved to this Day, and we will here give the Reader a verbal Transcript of it. It shews us what Ceremonies were used in making these Sort of Alliances, and how unfaithful the *Latin* Historian has been in the Account he has given us of it. It was drawn up in these Words.

A Treaty of Alliance which was confirmed by Oath, between Hannibal, the General of the Carthaginians, Mago, Myrcal, Barmocal, and the Senators and Soldiers of the Carthaginian Army, on the one Part; and the Son of Cleomachus the Athenian, named Xenophanes, sent Ambassador to us by King Philip, the Son of Demetrius, not only in his own Name, but also in the Name of the Macedonians, and their Allies, on the other Part. We have made this Alliance in the Presence of Jupiter, Juno, Apollo, the tutelary God of Carthage, Hercules, Iolæus, Mars, Triton, Neptune, the Gods who accompany us in our Expedition, the Sun, the Moon, the Goddess Thetis, the Gods of the Meadows, Rivers, and Fountains, and of all the Gods who rule over Carthage; as likewise in the Presence

Polyb. B. 7. c. 2.

Hannibal's Avarice. Doubting whether the Pillar was really Gold, he caused it to be tried; and after he was satisfied it was, the Value of it made him resolve to apply it to his own Use. But, says *Cicero*, or rather *Cælius*, whose Authority he quotes for it, *Juno* appeared to the *Carthaginian* General in a Dream; and, with an angry Air, seemed to threaten him with putting out the Eye he had left, if he presumed to put his sacrilegious Design in Execution. *Hannibal*, terrified at this Vision, laid aside his Project, and thought of nothing but reconciling himself to the Goddess. With this View, he made the Figure of a little Cow, of the Piece of Gold he had taken away, to make an Effay of it, and placed this Image on the Top of the Pillar. Of all the rich Ornaments which embellished the Inside and Outside of this Temple, the Marble with which the Roof of it was covered, soonest attracted the Eyes of Strangers. We find the Head of a *Juno Lacinia*, as it is represented above, on some Medals of the City of *Crotona*, who paid a particular Worship to this Goddess.

¹⁴⁴ The old Kingdom of *Macedon*, contained all that large Country, which was bounded by *Thessaly*, *Epirus*, *The Adriatick Gulph*, *Illyricum*, *Dardania*, *Thrace*, and *The Aegean Sea*. The Eastern Part of it retains the Name of *Macedonia*, to this Day. The Western Part of it is now called *Alba-*

nia. *Thessaly* was also a Part of the Dominions of King *Philip*.

¹⁴⁵ All Chronologists agree in placing the first Year of the Reign of *Philip*, the Son of *Demetrius* the third, in the 533d Year of *Rome*; when *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, and *Marcus Valerius Lævinus*, were *Consuls*. So that *Philip* mounted the Throne about the End of the 139th *Olympiad*, or the Beginning of the 140th; and two hundred and twenty Years before the *Christian* Æra. He was then fifteen Years of Age; so that in this Year of *Rome* 538, he was about twenty.

¹⁴⁶ *Demetrius* of *Pharos* had fled to *Philip* for Refuge, in the Year of *Rome* 534, when *Marcus Livius Salinator*, and *Lucius Æmilius Paulus*, were *Consuls*.

¹⁴⁷ Fable makes this *Iolæus* to have been the Nephew of *Hercules*, by his Sister. He had always attended this Hero in *Greece*; followed him in his Travels; and was his Second in his Battel with the *Hydra* of *Lernæ*. The *Athenians* had erected an Altar to *Iolæus*, and divided their Worship between the Uncle and the Nephew. The Feast which they called *Heraclea*, was common to both; and therefore the *Thebans* called it *Iolia*. It was celebrated with several Sorts of Games. The Conqueror in the Games was rewarded with a Crown of Myrtle. See *Memfius's Græcia Feriata*, B. 3.

Year of of the Gods who preside over Macedon, and Greece, and in short, of all the Gods
 R O M E of War. Hannibal, and with him the Senators, and all the Soldiers of his Army,
 DXXXVIII. said, It is our Intent and Meaning, and yours, That there shall be a strict Friend-
 ship and good Intelligence between us and the Macedonians, in such a manner
 that we shall all be Brothers, upon these Conditions. The Republick of Carthage,
 Hannibal her General, her Army, her Soldiers the Governours of the Carthaginian
 TIB. SEMPRO- Provinces, all the People subject to her Laws, particularly Utica, and the other
 NIUS GRAC- Nations, which are the Demesns of Carthage, and lastly, her Allies, and her Friends,
 CHUS, Q. FA- and particularly the Nations which are come over to her, in Italy, Gaul, and Ligu-
 RIUS MAXI- ria, and all those which shall join her hereafter, shall be protected and defended by
 MUS, Consuls. King Philip and his Macedonians, and the Nations of Greece, which are his Allies.
 Polyb. Ibid. And on the other hand, King Philip, his Macedonians, and the Nations of Greece,
 which are his Allies, shall be protected and defended, by Carthage, Utica, the other
 Carthaginian Cities, the Nations under the Dominion of Carthage and her Allies, and
 Polyb. Ibid. all the Cities and Nations in Italy, Gaul and Liguria, which are at present in Al-
 liance with Carthage, or shall be so hereafter. We have no fraudulent, insidious
 or clandestine Designs against each other. We will, without Delay or Fraud, and
 with sincere Friendship, immediately commence Enemies to all those who are Enemies
 to the Carthaginians, except such Kings and Cities, as are in Alliance with us. We
 will also be Enemies to all the Enemies of King Philip, except the Kings, Cities,
 and Nations, which are in Alliance with us. As to our War with the Romans,
 Polyb. Ibid. which for the future will be yours, Macedon shall share it with Carthage, and not
 put an End to it, till the Gods have brought it to an happy Issue, both for us and
 you. You shall furnish us with the Succours we shall demand of you, according
 to our Stipulations. But if the Gods do not prosper our and your Designs
 against Rome, and we shall be obliged to make Peace with her, you shall enter
 into the same Treaty with us, and the Romans shall become your Friends, upon Con-
 dition that they surrender up to you the Dominion of ¹⁴⁸ Corcyra, ¹⁴⁹ Apollonia,
¹⁵⁰ Dyrrachium, ¹⁵¹ Pharos, Dimaes, ¹⁵² Parthenia, with its Territory, and Atin-
 tania; and provided they restore to Demetrius of Pharos, all his Relations and
 Friends, which shall be in their Dominions. And if the Romans shall make War
 on either of the two Nations, we will mutually assist each other against them, and
 against all our other Enemies, except those who shall be our Allies. And lastly, if
 we shall be inclined to change any Clause in this Treaty, nothing shall be added to it,
 or taken from it, but by mutual Consent ¹⁵³.

SUCH was the Treaty which Hannibal and Xenophanes signed; and which may
 be called an offensive and defensive Alliance between Carthage and Macedon. Who
 therefore would not have thought that Rome must have been over-powered with
 the Multitude of her Enemies? Yet we shall see the Treaties made against her turn
 to the Disadvantage of the Confederates, and draw them on to their Ruin. But
 to return to the Ambassador of King Philip.

As soon as he had finished his Commission, he returned to his Fleet, which
 he had laid up safe under The Lacinian Promontory. Three Ambassadors from
 Hannibal, Mago, Bostar, and Gisco, embarked with him. They sailed for Ma-
 cedon; but were scarce got out to Sea, before Fulvius Flaccus's Fleet, which
 guarded the Coast, got Sight of the Macedonian Ship. Upon this, he instantly de-

¹⁴⁸ The Island of Corcyra here spoken of, was
 in The Adriatic Sea, near Illyricum. It is now cal-
 led Cursola, or Cursoli. The other Island of this
 Name, now called Corsu, is in The Ionian Sea.
 We have spoken of both, in the second Vo-
 lume.

¹⁴⁹ We have already described Apollonia, Vol. 2.

¹⁵⁰ See our Account of Dyrrhachium, now Du-
 razzo, p. 21. of this Vol. Note 44.

¹⁵¹ The Cities of Pharos and Dimaes, or Di-
 mallum, have been already described, p. 21, and 43.
 of this Volume.

¹⁵² Parthenia was the capital City of the Par-
 thini, a People of Illyricum, described p. 22. of
 this Volume, Note 48. as well as the Atintani, who
 took their Name from Atintania, a Province situ-
 ated between Illyricum and Macedon. According

to Appian, the latter inhabited a Part of Illyricum
 properly so called.

¹⁵³ Livy's Account of the Words and Condi-
 tions of this Treaty, B. 23. is this. King Philip en-
 gaged to go into Italy, with a Fleet of at least two
 hundred Sail; to ravage all the Sea-Coasts; and in a
 word, to make War with the Romans, with all his
 Forces, both by Sea and Land. By virtue of this
 Treaty, Hannibal was, in the Name of the Repub-
 lick of Carthage, to be put in Possession of the City
 of Rome, and its Dependencies, and of all Italy, and
 the Spoils taken there. And after this Conquest, the
 Carthaginians were to make War in Greece, in fur-
 vour of King Philip; and to give him the Dominion
 of all the Cities to be subdued there, and of the
 Islands overagainst and near Macedon.

atched away some ¹⁵⁴ light Frigates, which came up with her; and tho' she crowded all the Sail she could to escape, forced her to strike to them. Then *Xenophanes* being brought on Board the Admiral, endeavoured to escape the present Danger by a new Lie. *I am come, said he, from Macedon, by Order of King Philip, to treat with the Roman Senate and People. I have not indeed been able to reach the Capital, by reason of the Enemies which infest the Roads. But I have at least negotiated my Business with the Prætor Lævinus: And will you then retard my carrying back an Answer?*

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVIII.
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, Q. FA-
BIUS MAXI-
MUS, Consuls.

AND perhaps the Greek would have once more imposed on a Roman Commander, if the Habits and Language of the three *Carthaginian* Ambassadors had not betrayed them. But upon these just Suspicions, the *Præfect* of the Roman Fleet took aside the Persons who served *Hannibal's* Ambassadors, examined them, terrified them, and made them confess, That they were carrying to *Macedon*, Letters from the *Carthaginian* General to King *Philip*; and That they were charged with a Treaty of Alliance between *Macedon* and *Carthage*. This Discovery then appeared to be of such Consequence, as to require that the Examination into it, and Decision of it, should be left to the Roman Senate, or the *Consuls*, wherever they were: And the Admiral therefore sent away a Squadron of five Gallies, under the Command of *Valerius* ¹⁵⁵ *Antias*, to transport the Ambassadors, and their Retinue, to *Rome*. He was ordered to keep them separate in different Ships, to have them always in his Sight, and to hinder all manner of Communication between them. The Passage was long. It was necessary the Squadron should sail a great Way about, from the *Ionian* to the *Tyrrhenian* Sea; and we will therefore leave them in their Voyage, in order to give an Account of the Condition of the Land-Forces employed against *Hannibal*.

§. XXXI. It must be confessed, that the Beginning of the Campaign favoured a little both of the Weakness of the *Romans*, after their Losses the last Year; and of the Indolence of *Hannibal*, who was unmanned by the Pleasures of *Capua*. There appeared no more of the former Eagerness of the *Consuls*, to hazard every thing in Battel, on the one Part; or of the Enemy's indefatigable Expedition, in hunting after the *Romans*, to fight them, on the other. Both Parties were governed by the present Circumstances of things; and undertook no Enterprizes, but occasionally: and this Disposition of Mind very much favoured the *Romans*, who were so weak, that they would have run too great Hazards, if they had exposed themselves too much.

CAMPANIA was then the chief Seat of the War. *Hannibal* was in Possession of its Capital; and some other Cities there, had come over to him. Yet the *Romans* still continued possessed of several considerable Places in this rich Province. Among others, *Naples*, *Nola*, and *Cumæ*, persevered in their old Fidelity to the Republick. And now, the *Campanian* Rebels appeared more earnest than *Hannibal* himself, to bring all *Campania* over to him. They raised an Army of about fourteen thousand Men of their own Nation, and put ¹⁵⁶ *Marius Alfius*, who was then their chief Magistrate, at the Head of it.

THE first Expedition the new General attempted, was against the City of *Cumæ*; and he first made use of Sollicitations, to gain over the *Cumani* to the *Carthaginian* Party. But their Fidelity prevailed; and the Negotiations of *Alfius* proved fruitless. After this, the *Campanian* General formed a Design of surprising the City, by a Stratagem. The whole Nation of the *Campani* used to meet every Year at a solemn Sacrifice, which was made in a Place called *Hamæ* ¹⁵⁷, pretty near *Cumæ*: and the Senators of all the Cities, taking hold of this Occasion of the Festival, used to assemble together, and hold a sort of Diet, wherein they deliberated about the general Affairs of the Province. *Alfius* therefore now invited the *Cumani* to come

¹⁵⁴ *Livy* calls these light Frigates *Cercuri*, or, according to other Editions, *Cercyri*, and *Coreyri*. They seem to have been used by the Inhabitants of the Island of *Coreyra*. But *Pliny*, B. 7. ascribes the Invention of them to the *Cyprians*.

¹⁵⁵ This *Valerius Antias* was not that *Valerius Antias* who wrote a great Volume of historical Annals. The latter was, according to *Velleius*, Contemporary with *Lucius Sisenna*, *Rutilius*, and *Qua-*

drigarius. Now *Lucius Sisenna* wrote the History of the Civil War of *Sylla*, which is generally said to have begun, in the Year of *Rome* 666.

¹⁵⁶ In some Editions we read *Marius Alfius*, instead of *Marius Alfius*.

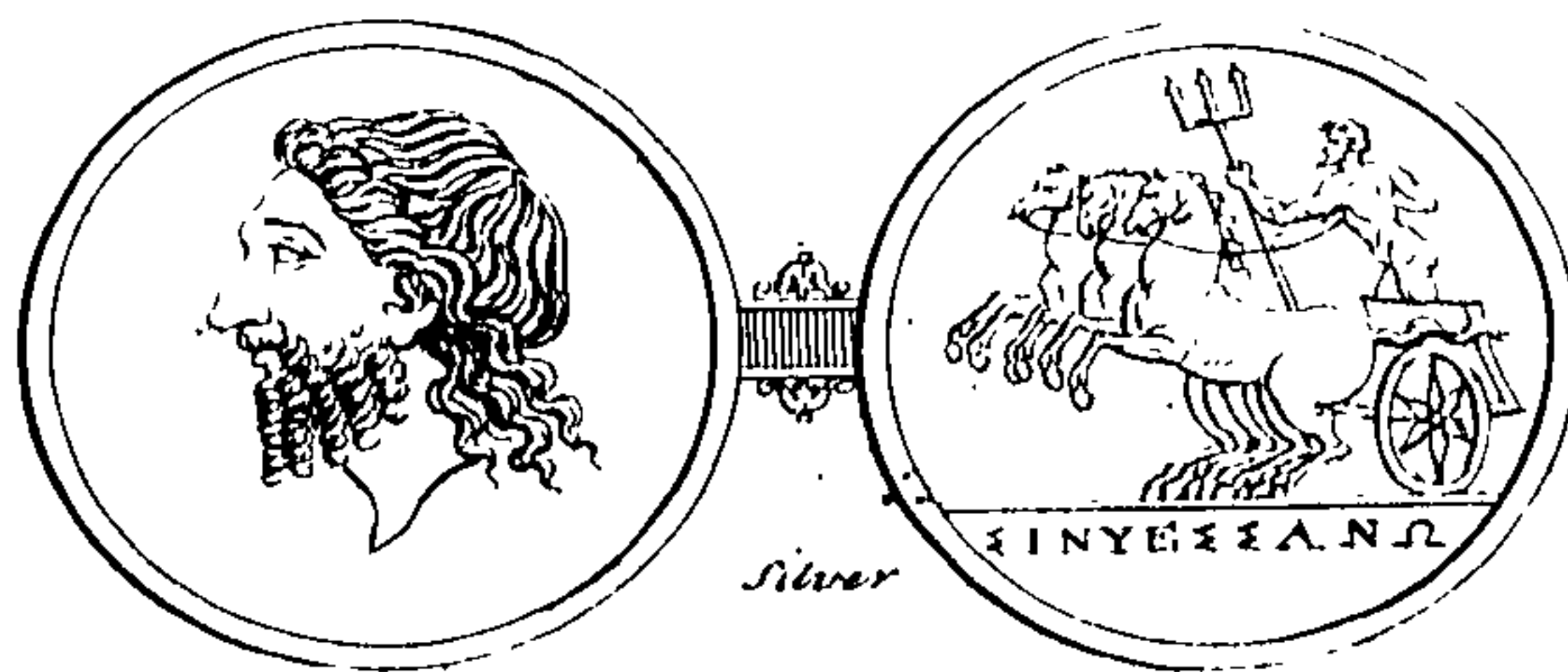
¹⁵⁷ *Hamæ* was in the extreme Parts of the Territory of the *Cumani*, on the Side of *Capua*. The neighbouring Forest is still called *Selva de Hami*.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVIII.
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, Q. FA-
BIUS MAXI-
MUS, Consuls.

thither with their Magistrates, and gave them notice of these two things. First, That such Resolutions would be taken in the Diet, as were necessary to preserve Unanimity; and That it would be debated there, whether it was proper to side with the *Romans*, or the *Carthaginians*. And secondly, That an Army would be in a readiness in the Neighbourhood, to preserve the Gods, and the Diet, from being insulted, either by *Hannibal*, or the *Consuls*. But tho' the Invitation was well disguised, the *Cumans* suspected some Fraud in it. Nevertheless, they dissimulated their Suspicions, for fear of discovering their Design, and promised to be there, at the Day appointed.

It was well known at *Cumæ*, that the *Consul Sempronius* was encamped in the Neighbourhood, about six Miles from the City. He had gone directly from *Rome*, to ¹⁵⁸ *Sinuessa*, the general *Rendezvous* of the *Roman* Forces. And when they had been distributed, and each General conducted his *Corps*, to the Post assigned him, *Sempronius* passed the *Vulturnus*, and came and encamped at *Liternum* ¹⁵⁹, in *Campania*. There he enjoyed the Quiet, *Hannibal's* Inaction afforded him, and wholly employed himself in disciplining his Troops. As they were, for the most part, new-raised Men, or Soldiers not inured to War, or some of those Slaves who had voluntarily entered into the Service, and were called *Volones*; the General did his utmost to instruct and form them. He taught them to know their Colours, follow them, keep their Ranks, make their Motions, and rally. But what *Sempronius* had most at heart, was to establish Union and Concord in his Camp. The few old Soldiers he had, despised the new-raised Levies; and the Slaves in his Army, were the Contempt and Scorn of the Soldiers of free Condition. Hence arose continual Quarrels and Disputes. The *Consul* therefore ordered the *Tribunes*, or *Centurions*, to make no Difference between them; and to assure their Troops, that the Republick would not suffer any Distinction to be made between those whom she employed in her Service. *It is Valour*, said he, *and not Age or Birth, that is truly honourable. Rome has committed her Safety, and her Glory, to us. No one is any further superior to another, than as he can render himself more useful to his Country, by his Services, and his Obedience.* These Sentiments, by being often inculcated, were at length imprinted on all their Minds; and none any longer reproached his Neighbour, or assumed the Preference to himself. And when this kind of Politeness was introduced among the Soldiers, it left no room for any Contention among them, but an Emulation of Merit.

Thus by his Application and Prudence, *Sempronius* had made the worst Army



¹⁵⁸ We have spoken of *Old Sinuessa*, a City of *Campania*, in the preceding Volumes. It stood, according to *Livy*, between Mount *Massicus*, and The *Tyrrhenian Sea*. The Purity of its Air, and the Excellency of its Waters, made it a delightful Place. There was a Gulph near it, which emitted pestilential Vapours. *Pliny* speaks of it, B. 2. c. 93. and calls it, a Vent-Hole of Hell. *Spiritus letales alibi, aut scrobibus emissi, aut ipso loci situ mortiferi, alibi volucribus tantum ut Soracte, vicino urbis tractu; alibi præter hominem ceteris animantibus, non nunquam & homini, ut in Sinuessano Agro & Puteolano. Spiracula vocant alii, Charoneas Scrobes, mortiferum spiritum exhalantes.* On the Face of a Medal which bears the Name of the Inhabitants of *Sinuessa*, we see the Head of *Neptune*; and on the

Reverse, the same God, driving a Chariot drawn by three Horses. It is either a Monument of some Sea-Victory gained by the *Sinuessani*; or of the Wreath, they paid to this God.

¹⁵⁹ The City of *Liternum*, or, as others corruptly call it, *Linternum*, stood at the Mouth of a River of the same Name. There is to this Day, near the same Place, a Tower, which the Natives call *Torre di Patria*. Near it is a Marsh, made by the Overflowings of the *Liternus*, and called at present, *Lago di Patria*. At a little distance from thence, was the Forest which the *Latin* Authors call *Silva Gallinaria*. It reached from the Mouth of this River, to that of the *Vulturnus*. *Juvenal* says, Sat. 3. that it was a Retreat for Robbers.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVIII.
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, Q. FA-
BIUS MAXI-
MUS, Consuls.

ever *Consul* commanded, a tolerable good one; and in this Situation, the Deputies ¹⁶⁰ of *Cumæ* found him, when they arrived in his Camp, and informed him of the Artifice the *Campani* were going to make use of, to wrest their City out of the Hands of the *Romans*. They told him, that on the Day appointed for the Festival, the *Campanian* Senate would meet at *Hamæ*, and that an Army of fourteen thousand Men would come and encamp in the Neighbourhood to guard the Diet, and the sacred Ceremonies. And this Account made the *Consul* take proper Measures to catch the Enemy in their own Snare. He first ordered the *Cumans* to remove all their Effects out of the Country into the City; and to continue in their City, without stirring: and then so managed his own Affairs, as to arrive at *Cumæ*, the Eve of the Festival. He entered the City with his Troops, without the Enemy's perceiving it; and set *Roman* Guards to all the Gates, lest any of the Inhabitants should go out, and discover his Design. The Sacrifice at *Hamæ* was always repeated three Nights successively; for it did not begin till the Close of the Day; nor did it end till Midnight. And whilst the Preparations were making for it, the *Campanian* Senators arrived from all Parts. *Alfius's* Army also took its Post, near the sacred Place; and the Soldiers, who thought themselves safe, and imagined they were come only to assist at the Celebration of a Festival, discharged their Duty very negligently; whilst *Alfius* thought only of finding out proper Means to surprize, and secure the Senators of *Cumæ*.

BUT in the mean time, *Sempronius* formed his Scheme, and conducted it with much greater Dexterity. At three in the Afternoon, he assembled his Soldiers, and or-



Brass

¹⁶⁰ The City of *Cumæ* was then, and long after, one of the most considerable Cities in *Campania*. *Agathias, Hist. B. 1.* gives us this Account of it. It is, says he, one of the strongest Places in *Italy*. It is, with regard to its Situation, in a manner impregnable. It stands on a Hill, (which the Natives now call *Monte Cistello*) and is very difficult of Access, on all Sides. At a distance, it looks like a Tower of a Castle, which commands *The Tyrrhenian Sea*, the Waters of which dash against the Hill. And to this Advantage of Situation, Art has been added, to strengthen it. It was fortified, on the Outside, with a solid Rampart, and flanked with Towers at proper Distances; so that it was safe against the Insults of an Enemy.

This City is said to have been founded by a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Chalcis*, who landed in this Country, under the Command of *Hippocles* and *Megasthenes*. The *Campani* seized it, in the Year of *Rome* 335. and drove out the rest of the old Inhabitants, after they had made some of them Slaves. The *Greeks* kept Possession of it, for a great Number of Years, notwithstanding the Attempts of the *Ætrurians*, and *Osci*, who in vain endeavoured to make themselves Masters of it. *Dion. Hal.* says, *Antiq. B. 7.* that the Riches and Power of this City, which was Mistress of the most fruitful Part of *Campania*, raised the Jealousy of the neighbouring Nations. By the Convenience of the neighbouring Ports, the Inhabitants were enabled to extend their Trade to foreign Nations. *Puzoli* or *Puteoli*, belonged to this great City, and was a kind of Arsenal to it. Four Miles from thence, there is to this Day a Cave dug in the Rock, which is now known by the Name of *The Sybil's Grotto*. According to the most ancient Tradition, she lived there. *Justin Martyr*

says, in his *Oratio Parænetica*, that he saw three Baths in this Grotto; and affirms, that the Tradition of the Country was, that *the Sybil of Cumæ* used to bathe in them. After which, she put on a Linen Tunic, and retired to the innermost Part of the Cave; where there was a little Temple, in which she uttered her Oracles. The same Author adds, that there was here a little Tomb of Brass, in which the Ashes of the Prophetess were deposited. Others say, the *Sybil* dwelt in another Grotto, in which here was a Passage from *Cumæ* to the Lake *Lucrinus*. This the *Italians* now call *Grotta di Pietro di Pace*. On the Top of the Hill, on which the City of *Cumæ* had been built, there was a magnificent Temple consecrated to *Apollo*. *Dædalus* was said to have been the Architect of this stately Edifice. It is probable, that *Diana* had also a Sanctuary there. At least, it's certain, the *Cumani* worshipped her in a particular manner. We have one Proof of it, in a Medal, which bears the Name of the *Cumani*. The Face of it is a *Diana*, with her Quiver on her Shoulder.

There were three Lakes near *Cumæ*. The *Latin* Authors call one of them *Palus Acherusia*; which was made by the Overflowings of the Sea, between the City and Promontory of *Misenum*. It is now called *Lago di Collucia*. The Lake *Avernus* was another, of which we have spoken, *Vol. 2.* Its present Name is *Lago d' Averno*, or *de Trepergole*. The third was the Lake *Lucrinus*, of which nothing now remains, but a muddy Marsh. It formerly had a Communication with the Lake *Avernus*, by a very narrow Canal. It was separated from the Sea, by a Bank of eight *Stadia* in length. It produced Oysters, and other Fish, which the Ancients greatly commend.

Year of *R O M E* DXXXVIII. TIB. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, Q. FABIVS MAXIMUS, Consuls. dered them first to go to Supper ¹⁶¹, and then to Sleep, till they were called. A little after Sun-set, his Army marched silently out of the City, fell on the Enemy's Camp, forced the Out-works, which were but negligently guarded, and made himself Master of them. As it was now quite dark, some of the *Campani* were fast asleep. Others, which had assisted at the Ceremony without their Arms, were returning to the Camp, and did not foresee their Danger. So that some were killed in their Sleep, and others amidst the Joys of a Festival. Above two thousand Men perished in this Surprize; and among the rest, *Alfus* the General. His Camp was taken, and plundered; and the *Romans* carried off thirty four Standards.

NEVERTHELESS, *Sempronius* did not continue long on the Place of his Victory. *Hannibal* was not far off; and the *Consul* was afraid to expose his unexperienced Troops to the Danger of a Battel. He therefore returned to *Cumæ*, and sheltered them behind its Ramparts: And what he expected, came to pass. *Hannibal* was encamped on Mount *Tifata*, near his dear *Capua*, which he could not leave without Reluctance: But at the Sight of the many Fugitives, and Wounded, who escaped from the Slaughter at *Hama*, he awaked out of his Lethargy. He marched away his Troops with all possible Expedition, in hopes of finding the *Consul's* Army busy in pillaging the Camp, and stripping the Dead: But the Foresight of *Sempronius* disappointed him. *Hannibal* found nothing but dead Bodies on the Field of Battel: the *Romans* were retired with their General to *Cumæ*. The *Carthaginians* therefore had a mind to make an Assault upon the Place immediately; and since he could not seize *Naples*, he was willing to make himself Master of some other maritime City at least, in order to facilitate his Correspondence with *Carthage*: which Design was the Remains of that enterprising Valour, whereby *Hannibal* had formerly distinguished himself. But this Spark shined but for a Moment. Under pretence that he had left his Camp in haste, and wanted Machines for a Siege, he immediately returned to *Tifata* ¹⁶².

§.XXXII. And then it appeared how much this Hero was changed. He, whose martial Ardor led him at first, wherever the Shadow of Glory called him, was

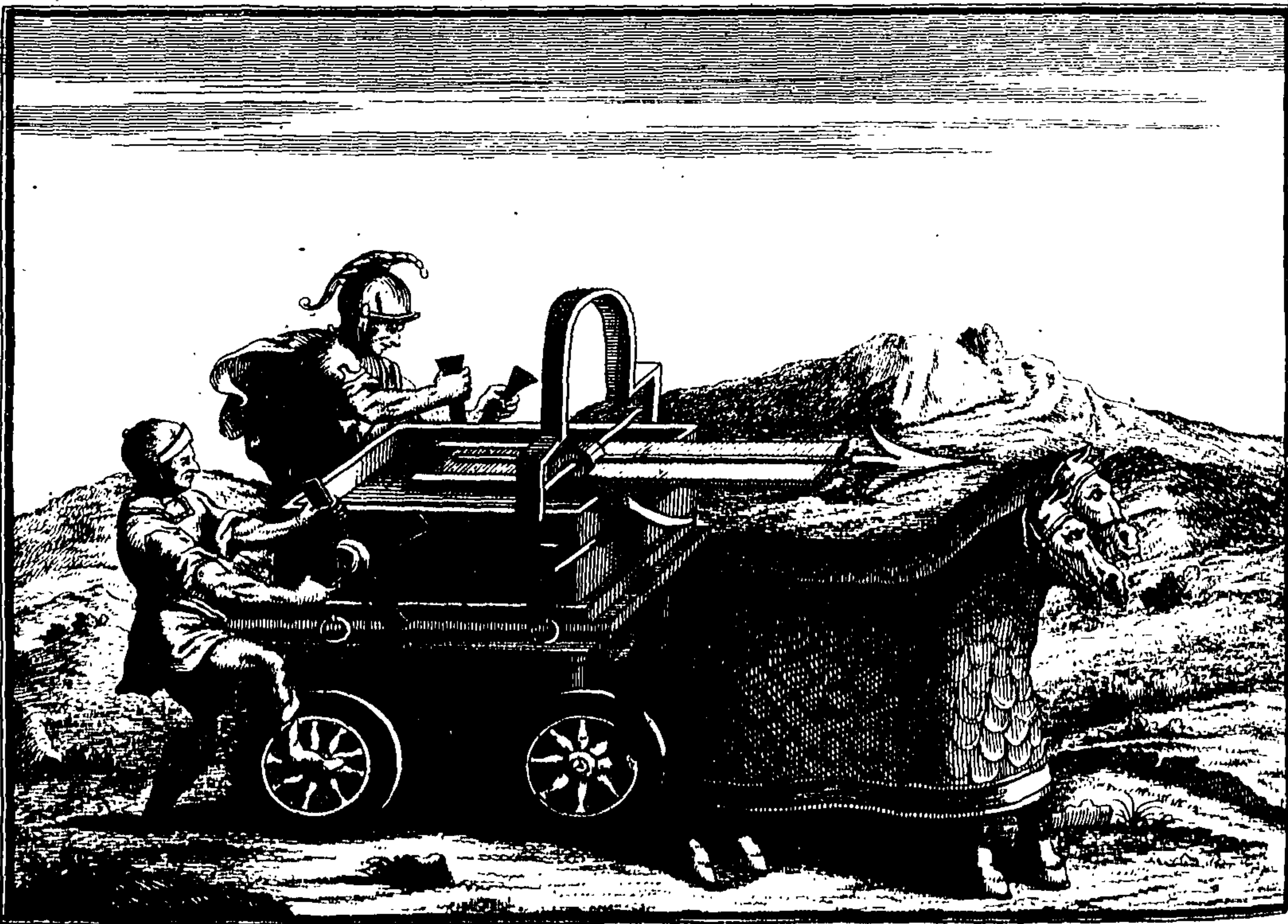
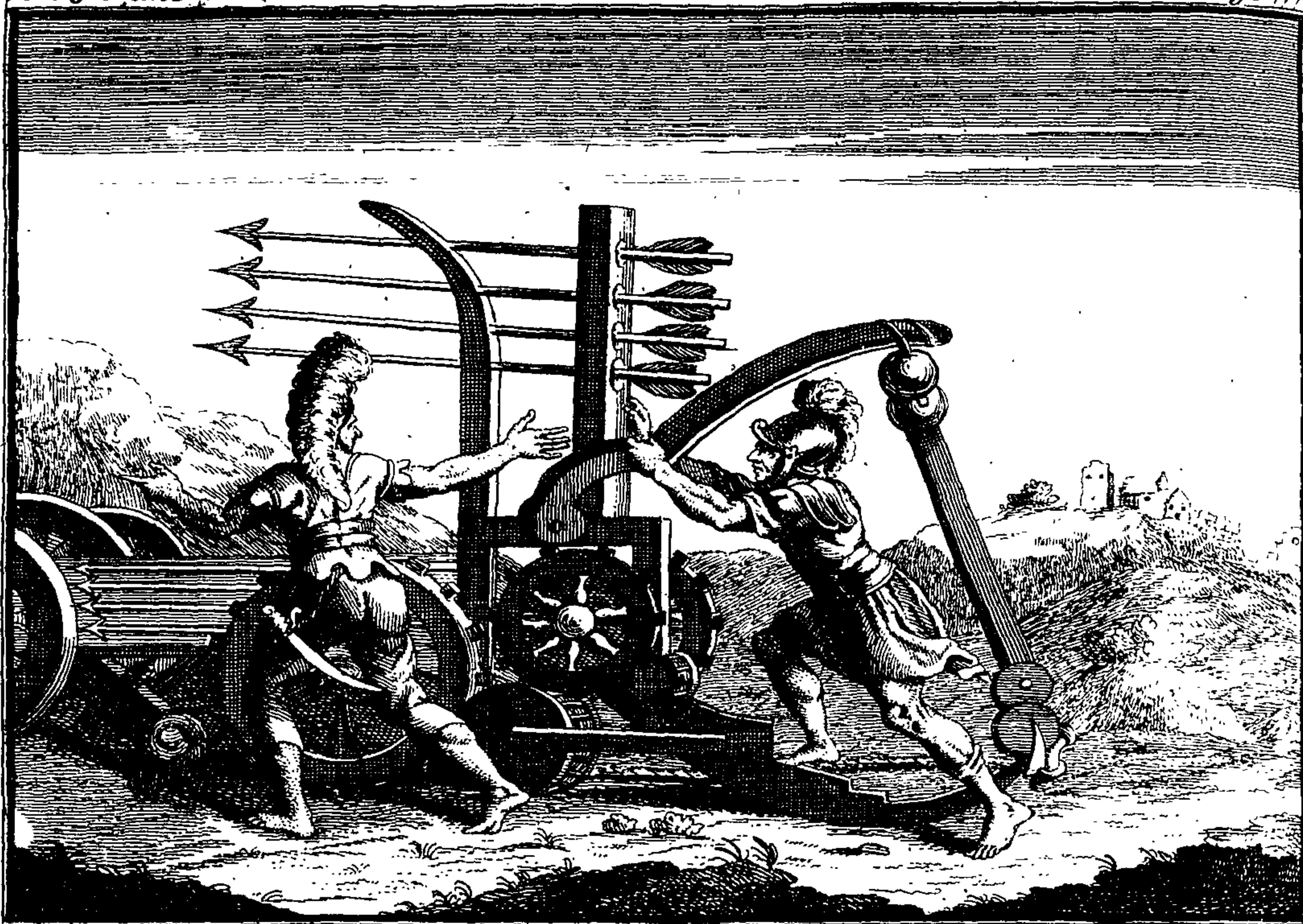
¹⁶¹ *Livy* says, that *Sempronius* ordered his Soldiers to eat, at the ninth Hour of the Day; that is, about three in the Afternoon, according to our Way of reckoning. In order to understand this, it is necessary to observe, that the *Romans* divided the civil, or artificial Day, into twenty four Hours. They began at Midnight, and ended at the Midnight following: In which they differed from the *Chaldeans*, *Babylonians*, and *Hebrews*, who reckoned the civil Day, from Sun-rising to Sun-rising. Whereas, the *Athenians*, on the contrary, reckoned the Day from Sun-set to Sun-set: and the present *Italians*, *Bohemians*, and several other Nations, follow that Custom, to this Day. The *Umbri*, according to *Pliny*, B. 2. c. 79. begun their artificial Day at Noon, and reckoned to the Noon following; which the Astronomers and *Arabians* still do. The ancient *Romans* divided the twenty four Hours of their civil Day, equally between the natural Day, and the Night. By the natural Day, we mean that Space of Time in which the Sun describes that Portion of a Circle, which he makes in his Passage above the Horizon, from East to West. So that the *Romans* always reckoned twelve Hours from Sun-rising to Sun-set, and as many from Sun-set to Sun-rising. Whence it came to pass, that except in the two Equinoxes, the Hours of the natural Day were always unequal, growing longer or shorter, according to the Differences of Seasons and Climates. And for this Reason, they are called planetary, or varying Hours. The first began at Sun-rising. The second was longer or shorter, according to the Length or Shortness of the Day. The third answered to our nine in the Morning, the fourth to our ten, the fifth to our eleven, the sixth to our Noon; and so on, to the twelfth Hour, which ended at Sun-set. The *Romans* used to make their common Meal, at their tenth Hour in Winter; and their ninth, in the long Days in Summer. We have Proofs of this in most

ancient Authors. According to *Pliny the Younger*, B. 3. *Epist.* 1. *Spurinna*, whom he proposes, as a Pattern for regularity of Life, followed this Custom inviolably. This venerable old Man, says he, goes one constant Round every Day. He regularly discharges every Duty, at its appointed time. A Slave tells him, when it is bathing-time, which is generally at the ninth Hour in Winter, and the eighth in Summer. After bathing, he lays down to eat. *Ubi hora balnei nunciata est, est autem hyeme nona, aestate octava . . . lotus accubat.* And *Martial* lays down the same Rule, B. 4. *Epigr.* 8.

*Sufficit in nonam nitidis octava palestris,
Imperat extractos frangere nona toros.*

To anticipate this Time, or postpone it till the Night was far advanced, was deemed great Intemperance. Yet it must be confessed, that the *Romans*, as well as *Greeks*, often varied in this Particular, according to every one's Inclinations, Wants, Circumstances, or different Method of living. The twelve Hours of the Night were divided into four Watches. Each Watch contained three Hours, which were longer or shorter, according to the Season of the Year. The first Watch began at Sun-set, the second at Midnight; and the other two lasted from their Midnight till Sun-rising. Add to this, that we have already observed in the preceding Volumes, that the *Romans* knew not how to divide their Hours exactly, till they knew the Use of the Sun-Dial, which was utterly unknown to them for above four Centuries, after their City was founded. It is certain, *The Twelve Tables* mention only Sun-rising, and Sun-setting.

¹⁶² Mount *Tifata* stood near the ancient City of *Capua*, and that which is now called *Caserta*. See what we have said of it. B. 10. p. 135. of Vol. 2. Note 5.



The Catapultoe of the Antients.

now dead to his own Interest. The *Capuans* were forced to intreat and importune him to appear before *Cumæ*, and lay Siege to it. The next Day therefore, he came again before that Place, with all the Appearance of designing some great Expedition. He encamped a Mile from *Cumæ*, ravaged its Territory, and prepared his Machines. And it must be confessed, that *Sempronius* then repented a little of having shut himself up there. He had little Confidence in his Troops; and his Colleague did not seem inclined to relieve him, tho' he had pitched his Camp at *Cale*, which was in the Neighbourhood.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVIII.
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, Q. FA-
BIUS MAXI-
MUS, Consuls

FABIUS's Dilatoriness, and Obstinacy not to run any Hazard were well known; and Superstition furnished him with fresh Pretences, to authorize his Inaction. The Reports of some Prodigies, which had lately been seen in the *Roman* Dominions, filled the Minds of all the *Romans* with a religious Dread. It was said, That a Cow had brought forth a Colt; That Flames of Fire had suddenly burst out of the Sea; and That it had rained Stones at *Lanuvium*. And perhaps the Senate, or *Fabius* himself, gave a Sanction to these Reports, whether true or false, in order to keep the *Roman* Generals, and Soldiers, in a proper Diffidence. But be that as it will, the *Augurs* in *Fabius*'s Camp declared, That it was difficult to avert the ill Effects of so many inauspicious Presages.

Zon. B. 9. c. 3.
Liv. B. 23.
c. 35.

THESE Informations had therefore given *Sempronius* some Apprehensions; but they had not discouraged him. He continued in *Cumæ*, lest he should be reproached with having deserted his faithful Friends; and this Army, as contemptible as it appeared to be to its own General, made *Hannibal* sensible, that it was actuated by a *Roman* Spirit. It first sustained the Fatigues of the Siege with Constancy. The *Carthaginians* raised a Tower of Wood higher than the Wall; and the *Romans* opposed it with another, which was the whole Height of the Wall, higher than that of the Enemy. *Hannibal* set his *Ballistæ*¹⁶³ at work, to batter the Place; and the Besieged defended it, by throwing Stones, Darts, and Beams, on the Besiegers. Then the *Romans* made all their Efforts to destroy the Tower of the Besiegers; and threw so many Torches, and so much combustible Matter into it, that it at length took fire. Upon this, the Consternation into which it threw the *Carthaginians*, who were fighting on the Floors of the Machine, was inexpressibly great; and whilst they were leaping down from it, to avoid the Fire, *Sempronius* made a Sally at two Gates, and fell so suddenly on the Enemy, that he put them into Disorder. Those who were carrying on the Works, were repulsed with Vigour, and retired to the Intrenchments, where the main Body of their Army lay: and then it was uncertain, whether *Hannibal* was besieging *Cumæ*, or the *Romans* were besieging his Camp. The Action was bloody; *Hannibal* lost

¹⁶³ We have shewn the Origin, Differences, and Uses, of those formidable Batteries, which the Ancients call *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ*, Vol. 2. What remains then, unless to give a particular Description, of the several Springs and Parts of these Machines of War? But we leave it to the Machinists to give this Analysis, which has cost those who went before them, so much Pains. Besides, we honestly confess it is extremely difficult to give an exact Account of this Matter. This is plain from the Commentators of *Vegecius*, and *Vitruvius*. They all agree, that their Authors are so obscure, that nothing certain can be learnt from them. This Confusion arises from the great Number of moving Powers, in the *Ballista* and *Catapulta*. Besides, the Names which the ancient Writers give to all the Parts of the Artillery of the Ancients, are either unknown, or ambiguous. And lastly, the Letters used in old Gravings, to point out each Part to the Eye, are for the most part worn out. *Vitruvius* indeed treats particularly of the manner of building these Machines, B. 10. But all that can be learnt from his Explanation, is, that in the *Catapulta*, there were two Arms which were strained by Cords and Wind-laces. He has not told us how these Arms were let down, and in what manner they drove the Dart. Had he taken the Pains to shew us the several Parts of the Machine, and explain the Uses of them, Posterity would have been indebted

to him for his Labour. But instead of that, he says as little of the *Ballista*, or *Patterero* of the Ancients, as of the *Catapulta*. Nor are the Descriptions which are given us by *Hero*, a famous Engineer among the Ancients, by *Athenæus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Vegecius*, *Stevechius*, *Jucundus*, and *Valturius*, more intelligible than his. Nevertheless, we have thought it proper, for the Satisfaction of the Reader, to shew him two Figures of them. The first is that which *William du Chou* says, he took from an ancient Marble. All its Force seems to have consisted, in the fastening back a crooked Piece of Timber, by the Help of Cables and Wheels; so that, by its returning to its Place with great Violence, it struck the Dart, and gave it all its Force. The second is taken from the Book, entitled, *Notitia Imperii*. There are two Horses barbed with Iron fastened to it; which is a Proof that the *Catapultæ* were used in Field-Battels, as well as in besieging Places. As for the *Ballistæ*, it is conjectured, that the moving Powers, by which they threw Stones of such a prodigious Bigness, were Levers and Weights. *Justus Lipsius* has engraven some Figures of them: but he has only guessed at something from the Text of the Ancients, and his Remarks are of no Help in explaining the Use of the *Ballistæ*; and therefore we did not think it proper to burden this History with an useless Plate.

Year of thirteen hundred Men upon the Spot, exclusive of the fifty nine, whom the *Romans* made Prisoners of War. But nevertheless, *Sempronius* did not think proper to trust an Army of Slaves, and new Levies, too long in the Enemy's Presence; and therefore he founded a Retreat, and they all returned to the City.

TIB. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, Q. FABIVS MAXIMUS, Consuls.

THIS ill Success confounded *Hannibal*. He thought that the *Consul*, flushed with his Advantage, would at least venture a pitched Battel; and the next Day, drew up his Troops in Battalia, between the Camp and the City, as it were by way of Defence. But *Sempronius* was too wise to accept the Challenge. His Army did not stir out into the Field; but contented itself, with its Success the Day before; and forced *Hannibal* to return ingloriously to *Tifata*, and with Loss.

Livy, B. 23.
c. 37.

§. XXXIII. WHILST *Sempronius Gracchus* was thus defending *Cumæ* with Success, another *Sempronius*, surnamed *Longus*, received Orders to command a Body of Troops in *Lucania*, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*. This *Longus* was probably the same General whom *Hannibal* had formerly beaten on the Banks of the *Trebia*. So that after his Defeat, he was no longer continued in the Command; and the Commission he now received was an extraordinary one, to which he was not elected by the *Centuries*. Nevertheless, as if designed to shew that the Conquered sometimes gained the Superiority over their Conquerors, when enervated by Debauchery, this *Roman* General gained the Ascendant over one of *Hannibal's* Generals. *Hanno* engaged *Longus* with equal Forces, but with such ill Success as shewed the Change that was made in the *Carthaginians*. The Battel was fought near ¹⁶⁴ *Grumentum*, a City of *Lucania*, on the Banks of the *Aciris*. *Hanno* had near two thousand Men killed upon the Spot; and the *Romans* took two hundred and eighty Prisoners, and forty one Standards. In short, *Hanno* was driven out of *Lucania*, and forced to take Refuge among the *Bruttii*, a furious People, who had gone over to the *Carthaginians*. The *Prætor Lævinus* likewise had the same Success against three ¹⁶⁵ Cities in the Country of the *Hirpini*, which had embraced the *Carthaginian* Party; and then he exercised a Severity against the Authors of the Revolt, which was at that time necessary. *Lævinus* beheaded them; reduced all those of *Hannibal's* Party, whom he found in these Cities, to Slavery; gave up the three Cities, and their Territories, to be plundered by his Soldiers; and then led them back into *Apulia*, which he had Orders to preserve. Thus the Arms of the *Romans* prospered in all Places. Indeed no decisive Battel had yet delivered *Italy* from the Enemy that infested it. It was not Prudence to hazard all in one general Action. But the Great *Fabius*, with his unactive Army, posted at *Cale*, beyond the *Vulturnus*, was a Terror to the *Carthaginian* General, and watched him narrowly. By doing nothing, he did every thing. He by that means facilitated the Victories which the Generals of his Republick gained one after another, and gave them an Opportunity to weaken the Enemy gradually by small Losses.

§. XXXIV. DURING these military Expeditions, the Ambassador of King *Philip*, and those which *Hannibal* had sent to *Macedon*, and had been taken at Sea by the *Romans*, were pursuing their Course, and the five Galleys which convoyed them appeared off *Cumæ*. The *Consul Sempronius* was still there; and not knowing whether the Squadron which appeared in sight of the Port was *Roman*, or *Carthaginian*, he sent out some Ships of his Fleet, to inform him. By them *Valerius Antias*, who was conducting the Prisoners, learnt that one of the *Consuls* was at *Cumæ*; and he therefore sailed into the Port, and landed. There *Sempronius* examined the intercepted Letters of *Philip* to *Hannibal*, and of *Hannibal* to *Philip*; and did not think it proper to trust them a second time to the Accidents of the Sea. He sent them in a Packet to the Senate by Land; and immediately dispatched away the Squadron, with the Ambassadors, to the Capital. They had so good a Passage, that the five Ships arrived at *Ostia*, from *Cumæ*, as soon as *Sempronius's* Courier arrived at *Rome*. The Senate examined *Hannibal's* Letters, and

¹⁶⁴ *Cluver* places the City of *Grumentum*, between the *Apennines*, and *The Gulph of Tarentum*, at an equal distance from the Cities of *Thurii* and *Potentia*, in *Lucania*. He guesses it stood near *Clavimonte*, on the Banks of the *Siris*, now the *Sivo* or *Senno*. But *Holstenius* thinks, with more probability, that *Grumentum* stood on the right Bank of the *Aciris*; a River which the *Italians* now call *Agri*.

He thinks he finds some Footsteps of it, in the Place called *Agrometo*, above the City of *Tursi*, in the *Basilicata*.

¹⁶⁵ *Livy* gives these three Cities the Names of *Vercellum*, *Viscellum*, and *Sicilium*. It is thought that *Vicilium*, or *Viscellum*, was not far from *Gompfa*, a City of the *Hirpini*. The Situation of the other two Cities is not known.

und that the Treaty was certainly concluded; and tho' in her present low Condition, she found herself overburthened with the additional Weight of this new Enemy; yet she did not lose time in Complaints, or Reflexions on her Distress. She was instantly resolved to keep this new Enemy out of *Italy*, by carrying the War into his own Territories. A Resolution so extraordinary, and so generous to the *Romans*, that no Man can consider it, without confessing, that no People better deserved to command the World. As for the four Ambassadors, they were kept in close Prison, and their Attendants made Slaves, and sold by Auction.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVIII.
TIB. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, Q. FABIVS MAXIMUS, Consuls.

IN the mean time, News was brought to *Macedon*, of the Misfortune of *Xenophanes*, and of the intercepting *Hannibal's* Letters. One of the two Ships which had carried the *Macedonians* into *Italy* had escaped, and brought *Philip* an Account of the Misfortune of his Envoy. But he was not thoroughly apprized of the Terms of the Treaty; and therefore sent a second ¹⁶⁶ Embassy to *Hannibal*. This returned more successfully than the former; and then *Philip* made Preparations for the War, which he could not begin till the next Year. The *Romans* were beforehand with him. They soon sent away a Fleet of fifty Galleys. To the twenty five Galleys *Valerius Flaccus* commanded in the Name of the *Prætor Lævinus*, they added twenty five others, which were ready equipped; and embarked on board this Fleet the Troops that *Terentius Varro* had gathered together, out of the Remains of the Battel of *Cannæ*, and that *Lucius Apustius* then commanded in the Territory of *Tarentum*. An extraordinary Commission was given to *P. Valerius Flaccus*, to command them; with Orders to guard the Coasts of *Italy*, watch the *Macedonians*, and give *Lævinus* Notice of King *Philip's* Motions, if he arrived. *Lævinus* was commanded to go himself, and embark at *Tarentum*, to sail for *Macedon*, and to find King *Philip* Employment enough in his own Dominions, to hinder his landing in *Italy*.

BUT *Rome* wanted Money for this new Expedition. She therefore got King *Hiero* to consent, that the Republick should postpone the Payment of the Debts she owed him, and was ready to have paid him. The good Prince consented to every thing; and for the Subsistence of the *Roman* Fleet, sent it two hundred thousand *Modii* of Wheat, and one hundred thousand of Barley. By these wise Dispositions, the Republick guarded against the Evils that threatened her on every Side: and the Constancy of her Senate was well supported, by the Vigilance, and Ability of her Generals.

§. XXXV. THE great *Fabius* had hitherto artfully made use of the Pretences of Religion, to countenance his continuing inactive in his Camp at *Cale*; where he doubtless studied *Hannibal's* Designs. He suspected this new Languor of the *Carthaginian*; it was natural to impute this sudden Change in the Hero, to Dissimulation. But when he had given himself time to search thoroughly into the true Causes of his Rival's Remissness, he changed his Measures. *Fabius* boldly passed the *Vulturnus*, to go and join his Collegue *Sempronius* at *Cumæ*. He was willing to act in Concert with him: and this March of *Fabius* was a kind of Insult on *Hannibal*.

BETWEEN Mount *Tifata*, on which the *Carthaginian* was encamped, and the City of *Capua*, there was a large Plain, which *Fabius* crossed with his Army; and neither *Hannibal* on one Side, nor the *Capuans* on the other, durst attack him. The two Consuls had a Conference concerning the State of *Campania*, thought it necessary to retake the Cities, which had fallen off from *Rome*; and went upon different Exploits. As for *Nola*, where there was yet some Leaven of Dissention remaining, they thought proper to send *Marcellus* thither, who having formerly defended it, knew the Condition of the Place, and the Dispositions of the Inhabitants. *Marcellus* obeyed, and relinquished his Camp at *Vesuvius*, to the Consul *Fabius*. From thence this prudent General marched, and recovered three ¹⁶⁷ Cities by Force, made the *Carthaginian* Garrisons Captives, and

¹⁶⁶ According to *Livy*, B. 23. the Heads of the new Embassy, which King *Philip* sent to *Hannibal*, were *Heraclius*, surnamed *Scotino*, *Crito* of *Berea*, a City of *Macedon*, and *Sositheus* of *Magnesia*, a

Province of *Thessaly*, dependent on the *Macedonians*.

¹⁶⁷ The three rebellious Cities, which were retaken from the *Carthaginians* by *Fabius*, are called, in

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVIII.

TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, Q. FA-
BIUS MAXI-
MUS, Consuls.
*Plut. Life of
Fabius.*

*Livy B. 23.
c. 42.*

and only reduced a Multitude of *Campani* to Slavery. It was *Fabius's* Maxim, That the Nations which had been constrained by the Necessity of the Times, to surrender to *Hannibal*, were to be won over by gentle Methods.

§. XXXVI. As for *Marcellus*, as soon as he was in his new Post, he did not suffer his Troops to languish in Idleness. *Hannibal's* former Activity seemed to be transferred to him. Insomuch that he was called *The Sword of the Republic*, as *Fabius* was *The Buckler of Rome*. One was more upon the offensive; the other upon the defensive. From *Nola*, where *Marcellus* encamped, he made incursions into the Country of the *Hirpini*; and from thence into *Samnium*, as far as to the Neighbourhood of ¹⁶⁸ *Caudium*. Indeed all *Samnium* joined *Hannibal*, out of Hatred to the *Romans*. These untractable People were very glad to find the *Carthaginians* revenge their Quarrel; but were surprized to see their Protectors so little zealous in their Defence. They immediately sent Deputies away to *Hannibal's* Camp, to complain of his Inaction. *We*, said they, ¹⁶⁹ *made War upon the Romans, with our own Forces only. By our Losses, our Strength was exhausted; and we had recourse to Pyrrhus. But he deserted us; and we were forced to submit to Rome. It is now fifty eight Years since we were first enslaved. At length you appeared; and we flattered ourselves, that we had found a Deliverer in you. But what is become of your former Valour? Marcellus has burnt our Country, in your Sight; and the Smoke of our Houses has reached to you. Did you or Marcellus conquer at Cannæ? Are you like a Bee, that can sting but once? Formerly, being emulous of the Romans, and often their Conquerors, we kept them in awe, when they entered our Lands. But now we are become a Prey even to a Prætor, a subaltern Officer; and we see his Soldiers indiscreetly dispersed over our Country in small Bodies, committing Violences and Robberies there. And to whom can we impute these Misfortunes, but to you alone? You don't defend us; and you deprive us of the Means of defending ourselves. Our Youth continue idle with you in your Camp. We should not know you to be what you are, if it was not for past Victories. We intrude you not to abandon us. A Body of Numidians will be sufficient to drive the undisciplined Enemies far from us, and perhaps from Nola.*

ALL these Reproaches were necessary to draw *Hannibal* out of his Indolence. The General answered, That they ought to have acquainted him with their Misfortunes, before they made such open Complaints; and promised them, not indeed to come into their Territory, to drive the *Romans* from thence; but to carry the War into the Countries of the Allies of *Rome*, in order to draw the Enemies elsewhere, by that means. Then with an Air of Ostentation, which Men generally affect most, when they have least true Valour; *In the Victories I have gained*, said he, *the last has always been the greatest: That of the Lake Trasimenus was more considerable than that of the Trebia; and the Battel of Cannæ eclipsed them both. I promise you a fourth Victory, superior to all that are past.* And in one Point at least, *Hannibal* kept his Word. He left the *T. fata*, and the Neighbourhood of *Capua*, in order to attack *Marcellus* in his Post at *Nola*. *Hanno* also came thither from the Country of the *Bruttii*, to which *Longus* had confined him. He brought a Reinforcement of Troops to the *Carthaginian* Camp, and some Elephants, which had lately been sent to *Italy* from *Carthage*. And upon the Union of all these Forces, *Hannibal* depended on the

in *Livy*, *Combulteria*, *Trebula*, and *Saticula*. We have shewn the Situation of the two latter, *Vol. 2.* and as for *Combulteria*, it is difficult to say exactly where it stood. It was unknown to *Cluver*. *Hollstenius* says, the Memory of this City was preserved on an antique Stone, found at *Calatia*: And this Discovery made him conjecture, that *Combulteria* stood near it, not far from the Place now called *Santa Maria di Covulture*, on the Western Borders of *Campania*.

¹⁶⁸ See what we have said of *Caudium*, p. 234. of *Vol. 2.* Note 2.

¹⁶⁹ In the Discourse *Livy* makes for the Deputies of *Samnium*, we read *per centum prope Annos*; as if the *Samnites* had maintained the War with the *Romans*, for near an hundred Years. But it is plain

the Envoys increased the Number of Years with more Ostentation than Truth. *Florus* abates half of it, *B. 1. c. 16.* *Eutropius* and *Orosius* make this War to have lasted only forty nine Years; *Appian*, fourscore. But in order to know its Duration exactly, we must fix the Beginning of the *Samnite* War to the Year of *Rome* 410, when *Marcus Valerius Corvus* was Consul the third time, and *Anulus Cornelius Cossus* the first. From this Epoch, to the Year 473, in which the War with *Pyrrhus* began, was sixty three Years. Then the *Samnite* Nations joined their Arms to those of the King of *Epirus*, and acted against *Rome*, after two Years Interruption, to the Year 481. So that, in the whole, the *Samnites* were at War with the *Romans* about seventy Years.

Defeat of *Marcellus*, whom the *Samnites* had represented to him, as an unwary General, who suffered his Soldiers to ramble about in Disorder. But when he drew near the *Roman*, and examined his Conduct more narrowly, he found that he had been deceived. He found the *Prætor* to be an Officer capable of undertaking any thing with Prudence; and incapable of doing any thing rashly. The excursions he ordered, were always made, according to the Rules of War, after he had known the Country, and appointed a proper *Rendezvous*, and convenient Retreats. Besides, upon *Hannibal's* Approach, *Marcellus* had retired behind the Walls of *Nola*, and would not hazard a Battel. In all this, he discovered no Sign of Rashness.

HANNIBAL therefore had recourse to a Negotiation with the Inhabitants of *Nola*, before he would attack the Place openly. Some Senators of the City were accidentally, or by *Marcellus's* Order, taking the Rounds upon the Ramparts, and observing the *Carthaginian* Camp; and *Hanno*, who from the Foot of the Wall saw two of them, invited them to an Interview. The faithful Magistrates would not accept of it, without the Approbation of the *Romans*; but with *Marcellus's* Consent, they came to a Conference with *Hanno*. *Will you always languish*, said the *Carthaginian*, *in a Slavery to Rome? Your Countrymen the Campani, and almost all the rest of Italy, have experienced, how advantageous it has been to them, to prefer an Alliance with Carthage, to the Roman Yoke. If you consider things seriously, how can you hope to avoid falling a Conquest to Hannibal? If both the Consuls of Rome were here present, and had joined their Armies to defend you, could you hope for any better Success, than they had at the Battel of Cannæ? Can you then place any Confidence in a single Prætor, and his weak Army? You must either come over to Hannibal, as Capua did, or be reduced by Force, as ¹⁷⁰ Nuceria was. Nola is near enough to both these Cities, to know the different Treatment they met with. Avoid then the Misfortunes of the latter, and enjoy the Advantages of the former. If you will submit to us at once, and deliver up the Roman General, and his Troops, you shall make your own Terms. You shall command, and we will obey.*

BUT this Discourse, as enticing as it was, made no Impression on faithful Minds. *Herennius Bassus*, one of the Senators, answered in few Words; *Our Affection for Rome is of no late Date; and yet we have never had any reason to repent of it. Would we have called the Romans to our Assistance, to betray them? We have entered into Engagements with them; and they are irrevocable.* This brave Resolution therefore obliged *Hannibal* to begin the Siege in Form. The Place was surrounded, and battered on all Sides; which was the Time for which *Marcellus* waited. He had defended *Nola* once already; and had not forgotten the Art of driving the Enemy from it. In the first Siege he had made three Sallies, at three different Gates; but now he contented himself with one. It was made very seasonably, and with such Vigour, that thirty *Carthaginians* lost their Lives in the first Shock.

HANNIBAL opposed the *Romans* with Troops enough to begin a Battel; which would have become very furious, if a Storm, which overtook them, had not driven the one to the City, the other to their Camp. The Rain continued till nine in the Morning of the next Day; so that notwithstanding their mutual Animosities, both the Besiegers, and the Besieged, continued inactive all the rest of that Day. The Day after, *Hannibal* sent a considerable Detachment from his Army, to ravage the Neighbourhood of *Nola*: and the able *Marcellus* wisely seized this happy Moment. He had furnished his Infantry with Arms, never used at Land, but only at Sea, and chiefly in boarding of Ships. These were long Pikes, which he had taught his Foot to push against the Enemy, ¹⁷¹ without letting them out of their Hands: and before he marched out of the City, he exhorted his Men to behave themselves well, and gave them great Hopes. *Hannibal*, said he, *is not invincible. I myself have already seen him fly from Nola; and you have seen him full of Terror for some Days past. He was very lately forced to retire from Cumæ with Disgrace; and Sempronius obliged him to return to*

¹⁷⁰ The City of *Nuceria* in *Apulia*, had been destroyed by *Hannibal*, the last Year; as we have observed above.

¹⁷¹ *Plutarch* observes, in his *Life of Marcellus*, That the *Carthaginians* fought only with very short Swords.

Year of his dear Capua. He comes from thence, low in Courage, and weak in Body. No
 R O M E are his Soldiers formidable for their Numbers. He has, like an unskilful General
 DXXXVIII. dispersed them abroad.

TIB. SEMPRO-
 NIUS GRAC-
 CHUS, Q. FA-
 BIUS MAXI-
 MUS, Consuls.

THUS spake *Marcellus*; and the Alacrity of his Soldiers was a happy Omen of Victory. Even some of the Inhabitants of *Nola*, whose Fidelity he had suspected, offered to assist him in the Action; but he only thanked them for their Good-will and placed them in the *Corps-de-reserve*, with Orders to do nothing, but convey the Wounded into the City.

AFTER these Orders were given, the *Roman* General marched out his Army into the Plain. The Country about *Nola* was a flat Country; and *Hannibal*'s Camp was not above a Mile from the City. In this Space therefore, the two Armies were drawn up in Battalia. There the *Carthaginian* General, in Words at least, reassumed his ancient Fierceness. It is not to be expressed, with what Contempt he treated the *Romans*, and what Reproaches he cast on his own Soldiers. *I see*, said he, *the same Order of Battel, and the same Standards, I saw on the Banks of the Thrasimenus, and at Cannæ. But I no more discern those invincible Troops which cut their Enemies in pieces. The Romans are not become brave since their Defeats; but what a Change has Capua wrought in the Carthaginians! How are they altered by quartering one Winter there! Formerly, two Consular Armies did not terrify them. Now, one single Legion, commanded by a Prætor, makes them retreat. Marcellus dares attack us a second time, with only an Handful of Romans raised in haste, and with only common Citizens for his Corps-de-reserve. What is become of that Army which defeated the Consul Flaminius, and cut off his Head? Where are those brave Men, who the last Year mowed down so many Roman Legions, without sparing the Consul Æmilius? Prodigious! Before Cannæ, the Number of your Enemies was no Check to your Valour. Before Nola, tho' superior in Number, you give way to an Handful of Romans. I was formerly overjoyed, to see your Eagerness to go and lay Siege to Rome. Try your Strength now in the Reduction of Nola. If you reduce it, I will grant your Desires, and lead you; or rather, you shall lead me, where you please.*

Liv. ibid.

BUT the gaining of this Battel did not depend on the Reproaches or Praises of a General. Nothing could revive the Courage of these Men, who were weakened by Debauchery. Besides, the Reproofs of their General fell more directly on himself, than on them. In the mean time, the Trumpets, and Shouts of the *Roman* proclaimed the Battel begun; and they were increased by those of the *Nolans*, whose Zeal and Alacrity *Marcellus* had reason to admire. Upon the first Onset, the Victory inclined to favour the less numerous. The *Roman* Infantry armed with long Pikes, stabbed the Enemy with them at a distance, and would not suffer them to come near them. As for the *Carthaginians*, who carried only short Javelins, which they had not used to throw, they could only fight near: and finding it impossible to close with the *Romans*, they retired, and lost Ground. Then a Rout, and after that a Flight, ensued. They left above five thousand Men, and two ¹⁷² Elephants, dead upon the Spot, and with them nineteen Standards. Two Elephants were also taken alive, and six hundred Prisoners. But *Marcellus* did not lose above a thousand Men. As for his *Romans*, they were so eagerly desirous of Victory, that they asked leave to go and insult *Hannibal* in his Camp: but the wise General would not suffer it. He sounded a Retreat, and returned to *Nola*, with the Acclamations of those very Citizens, who a little time before had preferred *Hannibal* to the *Romans*. *Marcellus* had as much Religion as Bravery; and as he had made a Vow, to consecrate the Spoils of the Enemy to the God *Vulcan*, he burnt them all; and thereby taught his *Romans* to make War, not so much for Interest, as Honour.

THIS great Advantage gained *Marcellus* Credit even among his Enemies. His Reputation rose upon the Ruins of that of *Hannibal*; and this made twelve hundred and seventy two ¹⁷³ of his best Horse desert him all at once. *Marcellus* was surprized to see this fine Troop come to *Nola*, and desire leave to serve in

¹⁷² Besides the two Elephants which the *Romans* took alive, *Livy* says there were four left dead upon the Spot.

¹⁷³ *Plutarch* reduces these twelve hundred and

seventy two *Spanish* and *Numidian* Horse, who deserted from *Hannibal*, and went over to *Marcellus*, to three hundred.

the *Roman* Army. They were partly *Numidians*, and partly *Spaniards*, and of the Number of those who had passed the *Alpes*. Perhaps some Discontent was partly the Occasion of their Revolt. *Hannibal* was severe to his Troops, and coverous. But he that as it will, he was as much concerned at the Departure of these first Companions of his Glory, as at the Loss he had suffered before *Nola*. Ever since his Arrival in *Italy*, no *Corps* of his Army had gone over to the *Romans*, except in appearance only, and to betray them. But now these brave Men revolted, out of Esteem for the *Romans*: And they continued faithful, and did the Republick important Services, for which they were rewarded. After the Conquests of *Africa* and *Spain*, *Rome* granted them large Estates, in their own Countries, where they spent their old Age, in Wealth. At present, *Hannibal* was so much vexed at this Loss, which was a Reproach to him, that he abandoned *Nola*, and marched away from *Capua*, out of mere Vexation of Spirit. He went and encamped in *Apulia*, near *Arpi*, after he had sent back *Hanno* to *Bruttium*. It may be affirmed, that when the *Carthaginian* was become so much stronger, by the Surrender of so many Cities, he was the less in a Condition to obtain a Victory. His Army was filled up with *Italians*, who were less disciplined, less inured to War, and Men of less Resolution, than his old Troops. The Weakness of the new Levies, often gave the *Romans* much Advantage; and were at the same time, but a small Addition to *Hannibal's* Army.

§. XXXVII. WHEN he was gone from *Capua*, the General *Fabius* drew near to that City; and laid this fruitful Country waste, which *Hannibal* had, by his Presence, preserved. Then the *Capuans* marched out of their City themselves, and formed a Camp without their Walls, in order to defend their Fields. But their Infantry was neither strong, nor numerous. It did not amount to more than six thousand Men. Their Cavalry was pretty tolerable; and on them was their chief Dependence. They often harrassed the *Romans*, who were dispersed about the Plains, to plunder; and when the Horse of both Parties met, slight Skirmishes generally ensued, with equal Success.

It happened one Day that a *Capuan* Trooper, named *Jubellius*, challenged a *Roman* Trooper, named *Claudius Asellus*. An old Emulation for Glory, stirred up the *Capuan* against the *Roman*. *Jubellius* had formerly made a Figure in the *Roman* Armies, and acquired the Reputation of being inferior to no Man, in Combats on Horseback, but *Asellus*. And this was the first Opportunity he had ever had, of trying his Strength with his Rival; for single Combats were not suffered in the *Roman* Armies, but with Enemies. It must be owned, that *Jubellius* was a Man of Skill, and was justly esteemed among the *Campanian* Cavalry. He called out to the *Romans* with a loud Voice, and asked for *Asellus*. *Let him appear mounted*, said he, *and let a single Combat determine, whether he shall have my spoils, or I his*.

THE brave *Roman* did not delay accepting the Challenge, longer than was necessary to get his General's Consent. After this, both Champions rode out of their Entrenchments, and appeared in the Plain. The *Romans* inclosed the Lists on one Side; and on the other, the *Capuans* appeared on the Ramparts of their Camp, and the Towers of their City. All Eyes were fixed on the two Combatants, and every Heart interested itself in the Success of the Battel. They first bitterly reproached, and severely threatned each other; and then starting at the same Instant, ran with Violence at one another, with their Lances rested. But both avoided, or warded off the first Blow. Then they soon separated, to return to the Attack. As they wheeled about, each had his Eyes fixed on his Adversary, watching for an Opportunity to fall upon him. But these were only feigned Flights, and brisk Returns. The Spectators were kept long in Suspence, before any Blood was shed. As the Rivals were equal in Skill, they seemed to be at play. But at length the *Capuan* cried out: *What are we doing? Why do we lose time, in making a shew of the Skill of our Horses? Let us go down into this hollow Way, and come to a close Fight, in a narrower Place*. At which Words, *Asellus* rode full speed into the hollow Way; but the *Capuan*, instead of following him, came off with a Jest, which served him instead of Valour. *I have thrown my Ass into the Ditch*, said he, *and that's enough for me*. He alluded to his Adversary's Name of *Asellus*. Then the *Roman*, without Loss of time, came out of the Hole;

Year of
R O M
DXXXVIII
TIB. SEMPR
NIUS GRAC
CHUS, Q. F
BIUS MAXI
MUS, Consul
Zonaras, B. 9
c. 3.
Livy, B. 23
c. 46.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVIII.
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, Q. FA-
BIUS MAXI-
MUS, Consuls.

Hole; but his Enemy was gone. *Jubellius* had rode off towards the City. Upon this the *Romans* proclaimed *Asellus* Conqueror, and received him with Applause. And from that time, *Jubellius's* Jest became proverbial among the Country-People; who usually said, *My Ass is in the Ditch*, when they had evaded the Pursuits of their Adversaries at Law, without coming to a Trial.

As for *Fabius*, after he had ravaged the Territory of *Capua*, he left it, and came and encamped at ¹⁷⁴ *Suessula*. He was willing to give the *Capuans* time to sow their Lands, being fully resolved to come and seize their Corn, for Forrage, as soon as it was grown up. Accordingly, he did so, and laid up Magazines of Forrage at *Suessula*, in order to spend the Winter there. But in the mean time, he sent Orders to *Marcellus* to disband his Troops, leaving only a sufficient Garrison in *Nola*, to defend it. I dare not assert, that the *Consul* was jealous of the illustrious *Pro-Consul*. But it may be affirmed, that the great *Fabius* could not always conquer this unjust Passion. Every new Star that began to shine in *Rome*, dazzled his Eyes. This will appear more evidently in his Conduct towards young *Scipio*, whose rising Glory seemed likely to eclipse his. However, in the present Case, he had at least plausible Pretences for depriving *Marcellus* of his Army. *Nola* had no reason to fear *Hannibal* would make a third attempt upon it. Besides, so many Armies in the Field at once, exhausted the Treasures of the Republick. She payed her Troops, only during the Time they were in the Field. And lastly, it was now almost time to put an end to the Campaign. Nevertheless, *Marcellus* did not return to *Rome* with his disbanded Troops. Tho' ambitious of the *Consulship*, he would not go thither, and canvass for it. He would owe his Promotion to his Virtue and Services, and not to his Sollicitations of the People. This great Man had, in a very critical Year, contributed more to re-establish the Glory of his Republick, and discredit *Hannibal*, than all the Generals of *Rome*, and even than *Fabius* himself. He therefore spent the Winter in Tranquillity at *Nola*, and disdained to offer himself as a Candidate to the *Comitia*.

¹⁷⁴ According to *Livy*, *Fabius* pitched a Camp near *Suessula*, a City of *Campania*, in order to be within reach, to succour *Naples* and *Nola*, in case they were attacked. He fortified it with strong Entrenchments, and committed the Defence of it to a

Detachment of his Troops. As for himself, he came and encamped almost within Sight of *Capua*, with the greatest Part of his Army. And thence he marched out, and destroyed all *Campanian* with Fire and Sword.



A

CRITICAL and HISTORICAL DISSERTATION ON THE GALLEYS of the ANCIENTS.

IT is not enough that we have described several Sea-Fights in the Course of this History, unless we also give the Reader an Account of what the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers have said of the marine Affairs of the Ancients. This is absolutely necessary, if we would make our History truly complete. This vast Work, which we resolve to go thro' with, would be defective, without a methodical Dissertation on one of the most material Points of *Roman* Antiquity, and which the Learned of these last Ages have thought worthy of their Researches.

ALL the Ships of War the *Greeks* and *Romans* used, were built like the modern Gallies: And it is universally agreed, that they were called *Uniremes*, *Biremes*, *Triremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, *Quinqueremes*, *Hexaremes*, *Septiremes*, *Octiremes*, &c. according to their different Sizes, and the Number of *Ranks of Oars* in them. The *Triremes* had three *Ranks of Oars*; the *Quadrirèmes*, four; the *Quinqueremes*, five; the *Hexaremes*, six; and so on, to the *Octiremes*, *Noneremes*, *Decemremes*, &c. But the Difficulty is, to know what is to be understood by *Ranks of Oars*; whether Oars, or Rowers, or Benches of Rowers; and how those Oars, or Rowers, were disposed. Concerning which there are these four Opinions.

1st. SOME reckon the Number of *Ranks*, by that of Oars; that is, that a Galley of three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, or ten *Ranks*, had three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, or ten Oars, on each Side.

2^{dly}, OTHERS think that there were as many Oars belonging to each of the three Classes of Rowers, as the Ship was said to have *Ranks*. That is, that in the *Quinqueremes*, for instance, there were five Oars, on each Side of her, belonging to the *Thalamioi*, who sat in the lowest Part of the Ship, next the Water; five more on each Side, for the *Thranitai*, who were placed in the uppermost Row; and five more on each Side for the *Zygioi*, who sat in the middle Row, between the *Thalamioi* and the *Thranitai*.

3^{dly}, A third Opinion is, that there were as many Rowers to each Oar, as the Ship is said to have *Ranks*. And consequently, that the *Triremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, and *Quinqueremes*, &c. were so called from the Number of Men that belonged to each Oar.

4^{thly}, and lastly, SOME have thought, that there were as many *Stages* of Rowers, one above another in each Ship, as she is said to have had *Ranks*. So that the *Quinqueremis* had five, the *Octiremis* eight, and the *Decemremis* ten, different *Ranks of Rowers* placed upon different *Stages*.

THE FIRST OPINION, OR CONJECTURE, Concerning the Gallies of the Ancients,

Is not at all probable. *Memnon*, in a Fragment mentioned by *Photius*, speaks of an *Octiremis*, which was admired by all that saw her. She had eight hundred Rowers of a Side. And if then the Ancients called their Gallies *Triremes*, *Quinqueremes*, *Octiremes*, only on account of the Number of Oars they carried; it will follow, that the Galley of eight *Ranks*, or the *Octiremis*, which *Memnon* mentions, had but eight Oars of a Side; and consequently, that in order to make up her Crew sixteen hundred, there must have been a hundred Rowers to each Oar. In the famous Ship built by Order of *Ptolomy Philopator*, there were at least forty *Ranks*, according to *Plutarch*, and *Athenæus*; who have described all the Parts of

this enormous Vessel: And they say she carried four thousand Rowers. But according to the Opinion we are now examining, she must have had no more than forty Oars, on each Side of her, and consequently fifty Men at each Oar. *Pliny* tells us that a *Quinqueremis* of *Caius Cæsar* carried four hundred Rowers: And if then we take Oars to signify the same thing as *Ranks of Oars*, she must have had but five Oars of a Side, and forty Rowers to each Oar.

AGAIN, the Poet *Silius* mentions a Ship that sailed out of the Port of *Carthage*, which carried two hundred Oars on each Side of her; and shall we say that this was a Galley which had two hundred *Ranks* of Rowers? This no one will allow, who in the least considers, that the Ancients have not told us of any Ship they had, that equalled *Philopator's* in Bigness. Yet the Historians we have quoted say she had but forty *Ranks* of Rowers; tho' at the same time they represent her as a Ship made for Shew only, and of no Use in long Voyages. And who can believe, that the Ancients applied Words so ill, as to make *Ranks* and *Oars* signify the same thing? Nor can any conceive it possible to place forty or fifty Rowers at one single Oar.

AND to all this we may add, a Quotation out of the seventh Chapter of the fifth Book of *Vegetius*. He there gives the ancient Gallies, known by the Name of *The Liburnian Ships*, no more than two, three, four, or five *Ranks of Oars*; and says the same thing in proportion, of the *Biremes*, *Triremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, &c. Whilst at the same time he mentions bare Sloops which he allows to have had twenty Rowers on a Side. Whence it is natural to conclude, that the Number of *Ranks* mentioned did not barely signify that Number of Oars, or Rowers; otherwise the *Triremes*, or Ships of War of three *Ranks*, must have been less than mere Barks. The Number of *Ranks* then that the ancient Gallies are said to have had, on each Side of them, is not to be understood of that Number of Oars on each Side of them.

WHAT remains then, is clearly and analytically to explain the three other Opinions, omitting nothing of the Proofs that are brought in Defence of each of them. And we will therefore faithfully state the Reasons which are to be urged for, or against them, without adopting either Opinion; but leave the Reader to determine for himself. As to the

SECOND CONJECTURE,

Concerning the Gallies of the Ancients.

THEY who adopt it, alledge that the Scheme of those who reckon as many *Stages* as *Ranks*, is utterly impracticable; especially with regard to Ships of ten, twenty, thirty, and forty, *Ranks*. The Advocates for the second Opinion cannot conceive how forty *Stages* could be built over one another, as in the Ship of *Ptolomy Philopator*. Some indeed admit of this Hypothesis of the *Stages* only for small Ships; and dispose of the Oars and Rowers in a different Manner, in the Ships of the first Rate, which the Ancients mention. But this is evidently a vain Distinction; since it is certain that the Ancients placed their Rowers in little Ships, and those of a moderate Size, in the same Manner as in the biggest. This appears from the Affinity of the Names of *Biremes*, *Triremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, *Quinquerèmes*, *Decemrèmes*, &c. which suppose the same Disposition of the *Ranks* in the small, as in the great. This *Scaliger*, *Palmerius*, *Scheffer*, and *Fabretti*, who contend for the *Stages*, ingenuously confess. And this Confession involves them in the beforemention'd Difficulty, from which they cannot easily extricate themselves. It is difficult to conceive how the Ancients could raise thirty or forty *Stages* of Rowers, one above another, in a Galley, if they observed an exact mathematical Proportion. Nor is it more easy to conceive, that Oars, of different Sizes, could be ranged by *Stages*, without crossing one another. Nor is this all. It is urged, that in this Case, the Rowers on the fortieth Stage would not be able to stir those heavy Oars, or rather long Beams, which it was necessary they should have, in order to reach the Water. And lastly, it is doubted whether Ships of forty *Stages* high, with high Towers built upon them, which was generally done, could have been made strong enough to resist the Force of the Wind.

Nor that all those who contend for the Opinion of the *Stages*, agree in placing the Rowers of every *Stage* perpendicularly over the Heads of those in the *Stage* below them. They for the most part place them obliquely, like Stairs, as *Isaac Vossius* does; who leaves the Space of seven or eight Foot between each *Stage*, but does not raise them more than a Foot and half above one another.

BUT this Way of avoiding one Difficulty, starts new ones. If we leave seven or eight Foot between each *Stage*, the Ranks will indeed be the less embarrassed: But then we must lessen the Number of Oars and Rowers accordingly. Besides, this Way of staging would have been useless in *Triremes*. Without having Recourse to *Stages*, all the Oars and Rowers in a Ship of three *Ranks*, might have been as conveniently placed for rowing, as they now are in our Galleys. What Necessity then was there for these *Stages*, when the Ship was long enough to place all the Rowers conveniently upon a Level? Besides, if, with *Vossius*, we leave the Space of seven or eight Feet, between each *Stage*, we must necessarily say, that in *Memnon's Octiremis* the sixteen hundred Rowers would have taken up about eight hundred Feet in length; which is utterly improbable, unless we make this Galley longer than it could have been. The same may be said of the *Quinqueremis* of the Emperor *Caius*. It must have been three hundred Foot long, according to *Vossius's* Principles, without reckoning the Extremities of the *Poope* and *Prow*.

IN this Manner some Moderns object to this Opinion of the *Stages*; and, on account of real or seeming Contradictions which flow from it, propose another, which they think more simple and natural. Nevertheless, they propose it only as a Conjecture, which has all the Advantages, and none of the Inconveniences, of all the other different Schemes.

BUT before we explain their Opinion, we must distinguish between Ships of War, and those which were called *Naves Onerariae*, or *Ships of Burden*. The former were called *Biremes*, *Triremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, &c. and were built in a different Manner from other Boats. They had both Sails and Oars; and this made a second Difference between them and the *Ships of Burden*, which, generally speaking, had only Sails. In Sea-Fights, all the Success of the Engagement depended on the Dexterity of the Rowers; and for this Reason, the Ancients took the Names of their Galleys from the Number and Order of the Oars they carried.

IN the Sterns of the *Biremes*, *Triremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, &c. there was a Deck, which the *Greeks* call *κατάσπωμα*. It was not always of the same Bigness, but greater or less, according to the Size of the Ship. When Navigation was first practised, it was built only at the two Ends of the Ship, the *Prow* and *Stern*; as *Pliny* and *Thucydides* observe. But afterwards it was carried the whole Length of the great Ships of War. Only in the *Uniremes*, *Biremes*, and *Triremes*, they were sometimes not so. At least several Passages of *Polybius*, *Cæsar*, *Livy*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, incline us to make this Exception. *Hesychius* says the Soldiers were all drawn up in Battalia, on the same Deck; tho' this Deck was so built as to be higher at the Stern of the Ship, than any where else. In this upper Part of the Ship, the *Thranitai* were placed on Benches, which the *Greeks* called *θράνοι*. In the lowest Part of the Ship, next the Water, were those Rowers the *Greeks* call *Thalamioi*; from the lowest Part of the Ship, called by them *Thalamos*. The inner Part of the Ship sunk lower, and grew narrower, towards the *Prow*, as our modern Galleys do. This Way of building Ships was of great Use in Sea-Affairs. The greatest Advantage the Ancients had in their *Triremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, &c. consisted in the Strength and Use of the Beaks. They were made Use of to break and bulge the Enemy's Galleys. It was therefore necessary that the *Prow* should be lower than the rest of the Ship, that its Beak might without fail strike the Ships which it was designed to sink, at least between Wind and Water. In the *Prow* of the Galley, there was generally built a kind of Castle, and Machines and Soldiers were placed in it, as there was Room: And the Bottom of the Ship, that answered to this Castle, was what was called *Thalamos*, or *Thalamia*, according to *Pollux*, and the *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes*. The Rowers called *Zugioi*, took their Name from their Seats, which were called *Zuga*, by the *Greeks*; and were placed lower than those of the *Thranitai*, and higher than those of the *Thalamioi*.

THESE three Orders of Rowers, are placed by the Advocates for the Opinion now under our Consideration, (which is, that the *Triremes*, &c. were so called from the Number of Oars belonging to each Order) in this manner: The *Thranitai* in the Stern, the *Thalamioi* in the *Prow*, and the *Zugioi* between them. And upon this Supposition, they think there is no Necessity for the Hypothesis of the *Stages*, in order to place the Rowers one above another.

THE *Uniremis*, say they, had on each Side of it only one Bench of *Thranitai*, another of *Zugioi*, and a third of *Thalamioi*. The *Ranks of Oars*, in these little Vessels,

Vessels, were divided from one another; and there was only one Oar to a Bench; or one Oar to each of the three Orders of Rowers. But nevertheless, five or six Men might be placed at each Oar. So that these *Uniremes* might have fifteen or eighteen Men of a Side. It is indeed surprizing, that the *Uniremes* should only carry six Oars in all, when Skiffs and single Sloops carried twenty Oars. But to this it is answered, that the *Uniremes* and *Biremes* were the least Ships then used in Sea-Fights. The *Triremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, *Quinqueremes*, and *Hexaremes*, of which the Fleets of the Ancients consisted, were the Vessels that answered to our *Ships of the Line*. And in the second Place it is to be considered, that thirty or forty Rowers might have been placed to the six Oars of the *Uniremes*, and consequently, they might carry as many or more Rowers than the Barks. Add to this, that it was not only her Number of Oars, but her Size, and the Manner in which she was built, that distinguished a Galley or Ship of War, from another Vessel. And lastly, these light Sloops, called *Naves Præcursoriæ*, *Nuntia*, *Exploratoriæ*, *Leves*, and *Fugaces*, being designed only for Swiftneſs, nothing can be inferred from them, with regard to great Ships, that were designed for other Uses.

THE *Biremes* had two Oars to a *Rank*, or six on each Side; that is, two for the *Thranitai*, two for the *Zugioi*, and two for the *Thalamioi*. So that if we allow five Men to an Oar, the *Biremis* will have had sixty Rowers on both Sides.

IN like manner, the *Triremes* are supposed to have had three Oars to each Class of Rowers, or nine in all, on each Side of the Ship; three for the *Thranitai*, three for the *Zugioi*, and three for the *Thalamioi*. And if we allow five Men to an Oar, this brings the whole Number to forty five on each Side. Upon this Supposition, these two Verses of *Virgil's* fifth *Aeneid*, may be very rationally explained.

———*Triplici pubes quam Dardana versu
Impellunt, terno conjungunt ordine remi.*

The Words *Triplici versu*, shew the three Orders of Rowers placed in a Line, from the *Prow* to the *Stern*; or the three Classes of *Thranitai*, *Zugioi*, and *Thalamioi*; and the Terms *terno ordine*, allude to the Number of Oars in each Order or Rank, which were three; one *Rank* towards the *Prow*, a second in the Middle, and a third towards the *Stern*.

BUT indeed these Verses are not a decisive Proof in favour of any one of the three Opinions. It is universally agreed, that in *Aeneas's* Time, of which the Poet speaks in that Place, the *Triremes* were not in Use. They were not invented till long after. *Thucydides* gives the *Corinthians* the Honour of the Invention. Nor can it be said, that *Virgil*, in his Description of a Sea-Fight, intended to describe the Ships of War in Use at the Time he wrote: For *Triremes* were not then used by the *Romans*. They had then laid aside all distinct Orders of Oars, whether placed along the Ship, from *Prow* to *Stern*, or perpendicularly over one another, or obliquely, like Steps. After *Augustus* had seen the Advantage and Convenience of the *Liburnian* Ships, at the Battel of *Actium*, he laid aside the *Triremes*, and substituted those new Gallies in their room, the Oars of which are thought to have been all disposed in one Line, from the *Prow* to the *Stern*.

THE *Quadrirémis*, according to this Hypothesis, had four Oars, for each Class of Rowers; that is, twelve Oars on each Side of her; and consequently, forty *Thalamioi*, forty *Zugioi*, and forty *Thranitai*; or a hundred and twenty Rowers, in all. And the same may be observed in proportion, of the *Quinqueremes*, *Hexaremes*, &c.

BUT this Observation of these Gallies with several *Ranks*, cannot be applied to the Ships the Ancients called *Myoparones*. These were Frigates which the *Corſairs* built for cruizing. *Cicero* mentions one of these Ships, (*Orat. against Verres*) which had six Oars. *Navigium quod erat factum sex remorum numero*. From whence *Baifus* concludes, that it was an *Hexaremis*, or Galley with six *Ranks*: But *Scheffer* very justly contradicts this Opinion. 'Tis certain these Boats of the Pyrates were only double Sloops, which were much less than the least Ships of War. *Cicero* himself furnishes us with one Proof of it, when he says that a *Quadrirémis* in the Midst of a Fleet of the Pirate-Boats, looked like a great City to them. *Erat illa [centuripina Quadrirémis] navis constrata, & ita magna, ut si in Prædonum turba versaretur, urbis instar habere inter illos Pyraticos Myoparones videretur*. Yet it does not follow from thence, that these Ships had but six Rowers. It is evident from
Tully

ally, that they were little *Brigantines*, which were of a middle Size, between Barks, and Ships of War. Some think they were like those Ships which *Appian* calls *Phaseli*; for these are the same that *Plutarch* calls *Myoparones*. It is probable that these Ships had but one *Rank* of Oars, which distinguished them from Ships of War; and that they had several Rowers to each Oar, which distinguished them from common Barks.

THIS Opinion of the three Orders of Oars placed the whole Length of the Ship, once admitted, explains, as is pretended, some difficult Passages of several Writers concerning the marine Affairs of the Ancients. The Historians tell us, the *Decemremes* were the largest Ships of War formerly used. These Galleys with ten *Ranks* must therefore have had thirty Oars on each Side, ten for the *Thranitai*, ten for the *Zugioi*, and ten for the *Thalamioi*. In them, as in the *Galeasses*, or Great Galleys, now used in the *Mediterranean*, there were generally seven or eight Rowers to one Oar. Five of these at least sat down upon Benches; and two others stood to reach the End of the Oar. Upon this Hypothesis, we can easily find room for the three hundred Rowers, whom *Polybius*, B. 1. places in a *Quinqueremis*. We need only suppose, say the Advocates for this Opinion, that the *Quinqueremis* had fifteen Oars of each Side, five for each of the three Orders of Rowers. Unless the Greek Historian included under the Name of Rowers, all the Seamen employed in working the Ship. In that case the *Quinqueremis* had about five or six Men to an Oar. Much the same thing may be said of the *Novemremis* of *Pausanias*. He speaks of it, in *Atticis*, as the largest Ship he had ever seen. There is no Necessity, say the Advocates for this Opinion, of having recourse to the *Stages* to find room for the Rowers in this Galley. They might all be placed along the Ship, at fifty four Oars; which is the Number there must have been in a *Novemremis*, if it took its Name from the Number of Oars which belonged to each of the three Orders. There were more or fewer of these Rowers at each Oar, according to the Bulk of the Ship.

WHAT is observed of increasing the Number of the Rowers to each Oar, deserves our particular Attention. It is surprizing that *Scaliger* among others, and *Scheffer*, should place but one Man to an Oar. Their own Hypothesis of the *Stages* necessarily requires a Number of Men to an Oar, especially on their tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, and fortieth *Stages*. It is not to be imagined, that one of the *Thranitai* could move the long Beams they had in their Hands. Which would be still more incredible, if, as *Isaac Vossius* pretends, the Oars of the fortieth *Stage* were two hundred Foot long. It is to little Purpose to quote *Athenæus's* Authority, and say with him, that the Oars had Lead at the Ends of them, to enable the Rowers to move them the more easily. The Motion one Man gave to these heavy Logs, must have been a very slow one, and very disproportionate to that of the other Oars. And consequently it could have been of no Use in driving the Ship forward. *Fabretti*, after having managed his Room with all possible Frugality, is forced to allow that the Oars of the sixth *Stage* must have been fifty Foot long: What then must have been the Length of those of the thirtieth or fortieth *Stage*?

NONE of the Ancients indeed expressly say, that there were several Rowers to an Oar. But the Principles of naval Architecture furnish us with an incontestable Proof of it. The bare Sight of a Galley is sufficient to shew, that the Length and Thickness of the Oars must be proportioned to the Bulk and Height of the Ship. Thus we see, in our common Galleys, five or six Slaves are placed upon one Bench. One Man's Strength would not be sufficient to give an Oar the Motion that is necessary. And if then two or three Men are placed to an Oar in our *Galeots*, what must we think of the *Quinqueremes*, *Octiremes*, and *Decemremes* of the Ancients, which certainly were higher built, than our modern Galleys? The Ancients were therefore under a Necessity of taking this Method; which was indeed much the most convenient. For by this means they avoided crowding the Galleys too much with Oars, without abating the Swiftmess of their Motion. In *Ptolomy Philopator's* Ship there were four thousand Rowers. Will it therefore be said, that this Ship had four thousand Oars, and but one Man to an Oar? This is a Paradox not to be maintained; the Absurdity of it is very evident, upon the least Knowledge of marine Affairs.

BUT to apply these Principles to what the Ancients have told us of the *Quinqueremis* of *Caius*, the *Octiremis* of *Memnon*, and particularly the famous Ship of *Philopator*. This last Ship had, according to this second Scheme, an hundred and

twenty Oars of a Side, or rather forty Oars to each of the three Orders of *Thalamioi*, *Zugioi*, and *Thranitai*; which hundred and twenty Oars might easily be placed in a Line four hundred and twenty Foot, or two hundred and eighty Cubits, long; which is the Length *Athenæus* gives this great Ship. There would have been at least three Foot Distance between every *Bank* of Rowers. The four thousand Men who were the Crew of this vast Ship, are supposed to be distributed in the three Classes of Rowers, at the rate of about sixteen Men to each of the hundred and twenty Oars: unless we chuse rather to suppose, that these four thousand Rowers being divided into two Parts, only one half of them worked at a time; so that they alternately relieved one another.

NEVERTHELESS, a very strong Objection arises against this, from the Account *Silius Italicus* gives of the *Carthaginian* Vessel beforementioned. It is not easy to conceive how it could contain two hundred Oars in one Line from *Prow* to *Stern*. At that rate, this Galley must necessarily have been above six hundred Foot long; if we allow the Space of three Foot between each Oar. It is therefore urged, that *Silius's* Account is a mere Fiction, or at least an Hyperbole, which is very pardonable in an Author chained down to Measure, who exceeds the Bounds of Truth, for the sake of Versification. If there ever was such a Ship as the Poet describes, why is it not mentioned by *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Plutarch*, who are so exact in telling us the Sizes and Sorts of the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* Ships, in other Instances? Was it natural for them to omit a Vessel of this extravagant Bigness? It seems therefore probable, say some, that *Silius* indulged his poetical Genius, and improved upon the true Story, to give his Poem a Stroke of the *Marvellous*. It is indeed granted, that *Athenæus*, *Appian*, and *Suetonius*, mention Ships of six hundred Foot long: But we may defy any body to prove, that they were used in naval Armaments.

NEVERTHELESS, it is certain, that they who contend for different *Stages* over one another, have taken Advantage of the Account *Silius* gives of the burning of this Ship. His Words are these.

*Intrat diffusos pestis Vulcania passim,
Atque implet dispersa foros. Trepidatur omisso
Summis remigio. Sed enim, tam rebus in arctis,
Fama mali nondum tanti penetrârat ad imos.*

Summi, say they, are the Rowers posted in the uppermost *Stages*: *Imi*, those in the lowest. But to this, those who oppose the Opinion of *Scheffer* and *Fabretti*, answer; That this Passage of the Poet is nothing to their Purpose; That *Silius's* only Design was to describe the Mischief the Fire did, and the Confusion of the Rowers, who were forced to leave their Oars to avoid the Fire, which seized the Deck, before those who were in the *Hold*, *Imi*, knew what Mischief it had done; and That he does not say, that the Rowers in the lower *Stage* continued to row, after those in the upper had been driven from their Oars by the Fire.

ALL that now remains, is to range the eight hundred Rowers which were on each Side of the *Oëtiemis* of *Memnon*, which was called *Leontophorus*. And in order to do this, it must be supposed, according to this *Conjecture*, that in this Galley there were at least thirty three Rowers to an Oar. It was an *Oëtiemis*, and consequently had eight Oars for the *Thalamioi*, eight for the *Zugioi*, and eight for the *Thranitai*. Now if we allow thirty three Men to an Oar, almost the whole sixteen hundred may have sat in one Line, along the Ship; and in order to place them the more conveniently, the Ranks may be supposed to have been doubled, so as to place the Rowers belonging to the same Oar, Face to Face: and in that case there would not be above sixteen or seventeen Men on one Seat. But then what is by this means taken from the Breadth of the Ship, must be added to the Length of it. Or else, it may with less Difficulty be supposed, that in this Number of sixteen Rowers, were comprehended the Sailors employed in working the Ship, and other necessary Offices, in a Vessel which carried near three thousand Men.

NOR is this all. In order to remove the Difficulty of placing so great a Number of Men to one Oar, some reduce them to one half. It is urged, that it is impossible for Men to continue always at so painful a Work as that of the Oar, without some Relief. And from thence it is inferred, that only one half of the Rowers work'd at a time, whilst the others rested. Some indeed honestly confess the Disproportion of sixteen

ixteen hundred Rowers, to the Size of an *Oëfiremis*, how big soever it may be supposed to be; and grant, they cannot conceive how room should be found to dispose them in such a Ship. But they save themselves by saying, that there is perhaps some error in the Text. They suppose that *Memnon* comprehended all the Ship's Crew, in this Number of sixteen hundred Men, and not barely the Rowers.

THE Passages that are usually quoted from the *Emperor Leo's Tactics*, in relation to this Matter, are little to the Purpose. This Prince reigned at *Constantinople* about the Beginning of the tenth Century: and all allow, that many Changes had been made in marine Affairs, before that time. The Form and Manner of building of Ships then, were very different from what they had formerly been. This Emperor compares some Ships, which he calls *δρόμωνες*, to the *Triremes* of the Ancients; and yet says, that they had but two *Ranks* of Oars. *Let every Dromon, says he, be of a just Length, and proportionable Breadth; and let it have two Ranks of Oars, one above, and the other below; ἔχων ἐλασίᾳς δύο.* And he supposes, that there was a sort of wooden Tower erected in the middle of the Ship, from which the Soldiers played their Machines. This Tower divided the Ship into two Parts; one above the Mast towards the *Poop*; the other below it: So that the Rowers that were ranged to the Right and Left of the Tower, were divided into two Bands, which made two Ranks of Oars on the same Line. In the common *Dromones*, there was an equal Number of Rowers in each Rank; but in the largest Ships, those in the upper Rank were three times as many as was usual. *Leo* orders two hundred Rowers for them, and only an hundred for common Galleys. For the smallest of all he appoints but one Rank of Oars, and therefore calls them *μονήρεις*. Whence it is inferred, that these were like our modern *Galeasses*. But this Emperor does not determine the Number of Rowers or Oars for each Ship. Yet it may be supposed, that the *Dromones* of the largest Size had about four or five Men to a Seat, as the modern Galleys have; and those of a middle size, about two or three Men to an Oar, as our *Galeots* have.

AND lastly, the Advocates for this second Opinion don't think themselves much affected, by the Proof which the Defenders of the Hypothesis of the *Stages* draw, in favour of their own Opinion, from *Trajan's Pillar*. We there see *Biremes* and *Triremes*, say the latter, which have their *Ranks* of Oars placed in *Stages*, one above another to the Top of the Ship. But the former will not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the Antiquity of this Monument. They answer, that the Figures of Ships on the Pillar are merely the Fictions of some Workmen, who did not understand naval Architecture. Because *Biremes* and *Triremes* are there represented without Masts or Sails, ought we from thence to conclude, say they, that these Ships had none? Others, add they, have already observed, that every thing on the Pillar, except the Figures of Men and Animals, and especially what relates to Perspective and Architecture, is very lamely represented. In the Plan *Ciaconius* has given us of this Pillar, there are a sort of *Biremes*, the Oars of which seem indeed to be raised above one another, but the Rowers are all placed upon a level. At least they fancy so. But be that as it will, against the Authority of this Monument, they set that of several Medals, which represent Ships, and even those which were called *Naves Prætorie* with only one *Stage* of Oars. And they prefer *Bartoli's* Plan, which they think more exact than the former. He only gives us the Figures of *Biremes*, in which all the Oars are so ranged, that they may be all worked by Rowers, on a level, or upon the same *Stage*. And lastly, they contend, that whatever Inferences may be drawn from *Trajan's Pillar*, in favour of the Hypothesis of the *Stages*, it can at most relate only to the *Biremes* and *Triremes*: and absolutely insist, that this Hypothesis can never be admitted with relation to great Ships of War, till the Difficulties that attend it are removed. These are all the most plausible Arguments that are produced in favour of the second Opinion, That the *Triremes*, &c. were so called, from the Number of Oars allotted to each Order of Rowers; and That these three Classes of Rowers were placed lengthways, from the *Proze* of the Ship to the Stern, and not above one another, in different *Stages*. Let us now consider,

THE THIRD CONJECTURE

Concerning the Galleys of the Ancients;

Which is, That the *Triremes*, &c. took their Names from the Number of Men at each Oar.

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IN order to represent it in a stronger Light, the Defenders of it lay down some Observations as Principles, upon the Credit of those who have treated of this Subject with most Accuracy.

1. It is probable, according to *Isaac Vossius*, that the Ancients observed the same Proportions in building their Ships of War, as we do in our Gallies, which are seven times as long as they are broad. But they did not follow this Rule in their Ships of Burden. *Lucian* describes one of these which was only four times as long as it was broad; but it only sailed. *Meibomius* and *Gregorio Gyraldi* agree with *Lucian* in this Particular.

2. WHEN *Vitruvius* says, *B. 1. ex interscalmii magnitudine colligenda est navis totius magnitudo*, he does not mean, that the Distance of the Holes for the Oars was a Rule to judge of the Bigness of a Ship, because he places them at an equal Distance in all Gallies. *Interscalmii* signifies the inner Part of the Oar, from the Hole of the Ship to the End of the Oar. And *Vitruvius* only means, that that Part of the Oar which came within the Ship, should be proportioned to the Bigness of the Ship.

3. IN the ancient Gallies there were Gang-Ways left by the Ranks of Rowers; which Ways the *Greeks* call *Parodoi*, and the *Latins* *Ageæ*. They may be divided into two Sorts; the *inner*, which reached the whole Length of the Ship from *Proa* to *Stern* in the middle; and the *outer*, which were as it were two Balconies, one placed on each Side of the Ship, over the Holes for the Oars. *Athenæus* mentions these three different Gang-ways, when he says, that the great Ship of Burden, built by King *Hiero's* Order, was *Triparbodos*.

THESE Observations being premised, the Authors of this third Scheme propose the following Conjectures. In the first place, they range all the Oars in one Line; then they place the three Classes of *Thranitai*, *Zugioi*, and *Thalamioi*, almost upon a Level, only with this Difference, that the Bench of the *Thranitai* is half a Foot higher than that of the *Zugioi*, and that of the *Zugioi* as much higher than that of the *Thalamioi*. And lastly, they suppose, that the Number of Rowers to each Oar, was increased in Proportion to the Number of *Ranks*, and that the Galley took its Name from thence. So that, according to this Hypothesis, the *Biremes*, *Triremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, *Quinquerèmes*, &c. were not so called, from the Number of Oars, or *Ranks* on *Stages* that they carried; but from the Number of Men that worked each Oar. Thus, according to them, the *Biremes* had two Men to a *Rank* or Oar, the *Triremis* three, the *Quadrirémis* four, the *Quinquerémis* five, &c. and so on of all other Ships of War, in the same manner.

THE Favourers of this Opinion build it upon a Passage of the second Book of *Xenophon's Hellenics*, where he calls those Gallies which had one, and two Rowers to an Oar, *Monocrotous*, and *Dicrôtous*, that is, *Uniremes*, and *Biremes*. And this they confirm by the Authority of *Vegetius*, who, *B. 5. c. 7.* has these Words. *Minimæ Liburnæ remorum habent singulos ordines, paulo majores binos, idoneæ mansuræ ternos, vel quaternos, interdum quimos sortiuntur remigum gradus Scaphæ tamen majoribus Liburnis exploratoriæ sociantur, quæ videnos prope remigis in singulis partibus habent.* That is, according to the new Construction that some put upon this Passage; *The smallest Liburnian Ships had but one Rower to an Oar; those a little larger had two; those of a considerable Bigness, three, four, or five. The largest Ships had likewise their long Boats for making Discoveries; and in each of these Boats were near twenty Rowers of a Side, which had each Man his Oar.* Wherein it is taken for granted, that *Vegetius* used the Words *Remorum* and *Remigum* as synonymous; and consequently means the same thing by his *Ordines Remorum*, as by his *Ordines Remigum*. But does not this Interpretation seem to be a little forced? And will not those, who contend for different *Stages*, claim a Passage, which they seem to have a Right to?

INDEED, it is difficult to conceive that *Vegetius* should take three, four, or five Men at an Oar, for three, four, or five Orders of Rowers. And yet, without that Supposition, the Words *Minimæ Liburnæ remorum habent singulos ordines, paulo majores binos, &c.* may be constructed in this Sense. We may say, that when *Vegetius* says the *Uniremes* had one *Rank* of Oars, and the *Biremes* two; he only meant, that the *Uniremes* had but one Oar, and the *Biremes* but two, &c. which is utterly improbable.

THEY who are of a contrary Opinion, do likewise contend, that this Hypothesis cannot be true of the Gallies of twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty *Ranks*; which, according to this Interpretation, must have had twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty Men at an Oar. How, say they, could so many Rowers be so conveniently placed at an Oar, that they might all row? But this, which the Objectors think an unanswerable Objection, is not thought so difficult, by those who favour this third Opinion. Where is the Necessity, say the latter, of placing forty or fifty Men to an Oar, in a Ship of that Number of *Ranks*, at the same time? We need only suppose one half rested, while the other half worked, and the Difficulty will vanish. And they think this Supposition must be admitted on any other Hypothesis. They cannot conceive that any Men are strong enough to be able to continue always at such laborious Work as rowing, without any Intermision.

YET it must be observed, that this Supposition of the Rowers alternately relieving one another, is only made with regard to great Ships of War, which had a certain Number of Oars, and were designed for long Voyages. It would be difficult to apply it to *Uniremes*; and it would be needless in short Voyages. So that here is half the Difficulty removed at once. At this rate, there were but twenty five Men to an Oar, in the famous Ship of *Ptolomy Philopator*. But the Objectors reply, that this is little to the Purpose, since it is difficult to conceive how twenty five Rowers could be conveniently placed at an Oar.

To which the Advocates for this Scheme rejoin, that indeed there would be no less than twenty five Men to an Oar, if we follow *Athanasius's* Account, who says there were four thousand Rowers in the Ship: But that, according to the Opinion of those who reckon there were not more than three thousand Rowers in the Ship, (which Opinion they embrace) there were only twenty Men to an Oar. But would not even these twenty Men to an Oar have much encumbered a Galley? Not at all, for they took up but the room of ten in Breadth, if they were placed upon two Benches, one half facing the other.

By the Help of this Way of placing the Rowers, the Advocates for this Scheme think that twenty five Men might very well sit at one Oar. In *Ptolomy Philopator's* Ship, that Part of the Oar which was within the Ship, was at least nineteen Foot long; which, say they, is more than room enough for thirteen Rowers of a Side, which would not take up above fifteen Foot three Inches, at the rate of fifteen Inches for each Man.

ACCORDING to this Scheme then, if we suppose that there were four thousand Rowers in a Galley of forty *Ranks* at least, and of fifty Oars of a Side, such as that of *Philopator* was, we must first allow forty Men to each Oar; and then reduce them to half, upon a Supposition that they only worked by Turns. And the same may as well be applied to the *Octiremis* of *Memnon*. This was a Galley of eight *Ranks*; it had therefore eight Rowers to each Oar. Supposing then, that she had a hundred Oars of a Side, this accounts for the eight hundred Rowers which *Memnon* says was her Quota. In this manner likewise, the four hundred Rowers which *Caius's Quinqueremis* is said to have carried, may be accounted for; since she was a Galley of five *Ranks*; that is, according to this Hypothesis, had five Men to an Oar. If she had forty Oars of a Side, that will make eighty in all; which Number multiplied by five, makes four hundred.

At first indeed, there seems, according to this Hypothesis, to have been no Proportion observed, between the Bulk of the Ships of War, and the Number of Oars, any more than between the Number of Oars, and that of the Rowers. As for instance, *Philopator's* Ship had four thousand Rowers to fifty Oars of each Side; and yet in *Caius's Quinqueremis*, there were but four hundred Rowers to forty Oars of a Side. But it is pretended, that this great Disproportion is of little Consequence in these Instances. *Philopator's* Ship was made more for Shew than Use. It served only for taking the Air upon the Sea; and an hundred Oars, worked by two thousand Men at a time, were more than enough for a Voyage of a few Hours. Besides, the many Apartments and Chambers which were built in this Ship, did not leave room for a greater Number of Oars.

NEVERTHELESS, if we make the Difference of the ancient Gallies to consist, in the different Number of Rowers in them, one Thing must necessarily be allowed, which most Men will not easily grant. It must be affirmed, that if in any Ship of

War, one Man was added to, or taken from, each Oar, the Ship immediately changed her Name. The *Quadriremis*, for instance, sometimes became a *Triremis*, sometimes a *Biremis*, sometimes a *Quinqueremis*, and sometimes an *Hexaremis*, without changing its Form, barely according as the Number of her Rowers was increased or diminished.

THE Criticks who contend for different *Stages*, do likewise here appeal to *Trajan's Pillar*; on which we see the Figures of Ships with two and three *Stages*; which, say they, unanswerably disproves this second Hypothesis. The Advocates therefore for it, do their utmost to destroy the Credit of this ancient Monument; and to the Arguments urged against it, in our Exposition of the former Hypothesis, they add these Reflections.

1. THE Writer's who mention this Pillar, don't all agree as to its Height. *Entropius* and *Cassiodorus* make it an hundred and forty Foot high; *Publius Victor*, but an hundred and twenty eight. The latter says it had eighty five Steps, and forty five Windows; whereas we find but eighty four Steps, and forty three Windows upon it.

2. IF we believe *Dio*, the *Triremes* were laid aside, after the Battel of *Actium*. In the time of *Zosimus*, and several Ages before him, the Manner in which the Ancients built their Ships of War, as he himself tells us, was very little understood. So that it was as unknown in *Trajan's* Time, as now.

3. IT is surprizing, that among the other Titles given the Emperor *Trajan*, on this Pillar, that of *Optimus*, with which he had been honoured, should be omitted.

ADD to this, that they who contend for this third Hypothesis, do likewise endeavour to shew the Defects of any other Scheme, with relation to this Matter. As for the second Hypothesis beforementioned, they say it is impossible to reconcile it with the Account *Polybius* gives of the Treaty concluded between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. It was thereby stipulated, that the latter should not have above ten *Triremes* at Sea, or put above ten *Banks* in a *Triremis*. Here then are ten *Banks* for one *Triremis*; whereas, according to the second Hypothesis, there could have been but nine of each Side, three for each of the three Classes of Rowers. And it is as difficult, upon that Scheme, to dispose of the three hundred Rowers, which *Polybius* gives the *Quinqueremes*. If it be said, that *Polybius* comprehends under the Name of *Rowers*, all that were concerned in working the Ship; they answer, that to reason in this Manner, is to put a forced Construction upon Words, and thereby give a reasonable Prejudice against the Opinion contended for. Nor are they more favourable to the beforementioned Interpretation of those two Lines of *Virgil*. To pretend that the Poet, by *triplici versu*, meant Rowers placed in three times three Rows, at nine Oars, is in effect to say, that *Virgil* knew not how to express himself properly. At least it must be granted, that he has arbitrarily changed the natural Signification of *Triplici versu*, and used those Words in a Sense which would have been better expressed by the Terms *ter triplici*, or *noveno versu*. So that in order to avoid Tautology in the Words *triplici versu*, and *terno ordine*, they make *Virgil* speak very incorrectly. Whereas the Advocates of the third Hypothesis boast that they avoid both these Inconveniences.

THEY consider the *Ranks* of Rowers either with respect to the Breadth, or the Length, of the Ship. In the former Sense, each *Rank* consisted of the Rowers, that were placed at nine Oars, on each Side of the Ship; and this agrees with the second Opinion. But not with the third, which supposes, that in *Virgil's Triremis* there were three Rowers to an Oar, and consequently three *Ranks* of Rowers along each Side of the Ship, tho' there was but one *Rank of Oars*; and this is what they understood by the *triplici versu*. They think the *terno ordine* alludes to the three Classes, of *Thranitai*, *Zugioi*, and *Thalamioi*.

As to the Hypothesis of those who contend for the *Stages*, placed obliquely, so that the Oars make the Figure of a *Quincunx*, the Advocates for the third Opinion, oppose that, as much as the former. But here we must observe by the by, that the last-named propose their Scheme differently. Some put an equal Number of Men to every Oar; others observe no such Equality. These pretend, that the Ship took her Name from the Number of Men placed at the Oars of the uppermost *Rank* only, and therefore they lessen the Number of Rowers to each Oar, according as the Oars are lower in the Ship.

PALMERIUS, who favours the Hypothesis of the *Stages*, does not doubt but that the Oars, even of the fortieth *Stage* in *Philopator's* Ship, were easily managed. He

He makes every Bank one Foot and a quarter high; so that in this Ship, which had seventy two Feet above Water, the forty Seats for the Rowers took up only fifty Feet; and lefty twenty Feet for Ornament. But the Advocates for the second and third Hypothesis, say this Scheme is absolutely impracticable, for these Reasons.

IN a *Decemremis*, the longest Oars must have been at least thirty Foot long; otherwise they could not have reached the Water, and have borne a due Proportion to the lower Oars. This appears from hence, that, in order to row conveniently, there must be at least three Foot Difference in Length, between the Oars above and those below them. If then the longest Oars in the *Decemremis*, were thirty Foot, those in the Ships of forty *Ranks*, must necessarily have been a hundred and twenty Foot long. And yet, according to *Callixenes*, as quoted by *Athenæus*, the longest Oars of the *Thranitai* in *Philopator's* Ship, were but thirty eight Cubits, or fifty seven Foot long.

AND to this Difficulty, they add another. *Palmerius* reserves twenty Feet at the Top of the Ship for her Ornaments, and all the fifty Feet, between them and the Water, for the forty *Stages* of Rowers. He therefore does not allow sufficient room for them to work their Oars; for, according to this Scheme, the lowest *Stage* must have been upon a Level with the Water. Whereas, in order to row conveniently, it is necessary that the Place on which the Oar rests, should be near five Foot above the Water. Shall we then allow fifty five Feet for the Rowers, instead of fifty? If we do so, the Oars of the uppermost Rank will be too short.

NOR does *Rivius's* Scheme meet with more Approbation. He places the *Ranks* of Oars on different *Stages*; but supposes, that the *Biremes*, *Triremes*, &c. took their Names from the Number of Men assigned to each Oar, in the uppermost *Rank*. For instance, in *Philopator's* Ship, he places ten Rowers to each Oar, in the lowest *Rank*; thirty to each Oar in the middle *Rank*; and forty to each Oar in the uppermost *Rank*. But this Disposition cannot take place in the *Quinqueremis* *Pliny* mentions, which had four hundred Rowers; and which *Rivius* himself allows to have had twenty five Oars in each *Rank*. For if we allow five Rowers to each Oar in the upper *Rank*, this will take up two hundred and fifty Rowers, on both Sides; and there will remain a hundred and fifty Rowers to be disposed of; which cannot be distributed in the lower *Ranks*, in that manner that the Number of Rowers to an Oar shall decrease in the Proportion *Rivius* requires.

LASTLY, *Monsieur Louchesini* has not been more happy, in reviving, in his learned Notes on *Demosthenes's* Orations, the Scheme which *Scheffer* had given up. He places the Order of Oars, from Top to Bottom, in a triangular Form: And he places as many Oars in each Order, and as many Rowers at each Oar, as the Name of the Ship imports. A *Biremis*, for instance, according to him, carried two Orders of Oars, two Oars in each Order, and two Rowers at each Oar; and consequently, eight Rowers on each Side. In like manner, the *Triremis* had three Orders of Oars, nine Oars, and twenty seven Rowers; and so on, of other Galleys of a larger Size. Nevertheless, this Author has thought it necessary to soften *Scheffer's* Scheme. He differs from it in this, That he allows all Galleys, from the *Uniremis* to the *Quinquiremis*, inclusively, to have taken their Names from the Number of the Orders of the Oars they carried. And this Rule, he thinks, will hold good, in relation to the largest Ships, except that of *Philopator*. But he supposes, that all Ships above the *Quinqueremis*, as the *Hexaremis*, *Septiremis*, *Octiremis*, &c. took their Names from the Number of the Rowers at each Oar, and not from the Number of the Orders of the Oars.

BUT besides, this triangular Disposition of the Orders of the Oars, is not easy to be conceived; it is incomprehensible how the four Oars on each Side of a *Biremis*, should be divided into two Orders, so as that there should be an equal Number of *Thranitai*, *Zugioi*, and *Thalamioi*, among the Rowers. Besides, this different Way of accounting for Things invented at Pleasure, purely to solve Difficulties, shew the Difficulties, and the little Solidity of the Scheme. If, as *Monsieur Louchesini* confesses, the Galleys which carried two Orders of Oars were called *Biremes*, those which carried three, *Triremes*, and so on to the *Quinqueremes*; he ought, for the same Reason, to have said that the *Hexaremes*, *Septiremes*, and *Octiremes*, were so called because they carried six, seven, and eight, Orders of Oars. He is forced himself to confess, that *Philip's* Ship, which *Livy* mentions, B. 33. had above five Orders of Oars. He endeavours indeed to guard against the Absurdities that might
be

be drawn from this Confession, by the Authority of this Historian, who says that this Galley was so big that it was of little Use. *Inhabilis prope magnitudinis.* But it is certain, that the *Consul Æmilius Paulus*, who conquered *Perses*, the Son and Successor of *Philopator*, in the Kingdom of *Macedon*, was carried to *Rome* on board this very Ship. From all which, the Advocates for this third System contend, that of all the different Schemes which have hitherto divided the Criticks in Opinion, theirs is the best. Nothing now remains, but to state the Reasons given by those who favour the Hypothesis, which supposes that Ships took their Names from the Number of the *Stages* of Rowers in them; which is

THE FOURTH CONJECTURE,
Concerning the Gallies of the Ancients.

IN order to clear the Way for themselves, and establish their own Hypothesis the more effectually, they first attack the second and third *Conjectures*. Against the second, which supposes that the *Triremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, &c. took their Names from the Number of Oars belonging to each Order of Rowers, *viz.* the *Thalamioi*, *Zugioi*, and *Thranitai*, they urge what has been already observed, That upon this Hypothesis, we must place thirty three Rowers to each Oar of the *Oëtiremis* of *Memnon*. A Thing difficult, not to say impossible, to be done. And they add, this yet stronger Objection.

IF we judge of the ancient Gallies by the modern ones, we must allow the Space of three Foot nine Inches *French*, between every Oar; especially in such a Ship as that of *Philopator*, in which there were at least sixteen Men to an Oar, according to the second Hypothesis. And if then we multiply three Foot nine Inches, by a hundred and twenty, the Number of Oars which are supposed to have been in this Galley, all the Oars together must have taken up the Length of four hundred and fifty Feet. But the Ancients make this Ship only four hundred and twenty Foot long.

THE *Carthaginian* Galley which *Silenus* describes, had two hundred Oars on each Side; which if divided between the three Orders of *Thranitai*, *Zugioi*, and *Thalamioi*, each Order will have sixty six; and therefore according to that Scheme, this Ship must have had sixty six Orders, or *Rows of Oars*. Whereas the greatest Ships mentioned in History, had not above fifty. It therefore is not credible, that the Ancients ever reckoned the Number of the Orders or Benches of Rowers in a Ship, by the Number of Oars which belonged to each Order of the *Thranitai*, *Zugioi*, and *Thalamioi*.

AGAIN, the *Quinqueremis* of *Caius Caesar* had two hundred Rowers on a Side; and since it was a Galley with five *Ranks*, it must have had, according to the second Hypothesis, fifteen Oars of a Side; that is, five for each Class of Rowers. And if then we divide two hundred by fifteen, it will appear that there were thirteen Rowers to each Oar. Now each Rower cannot be allowed less than one Foot and a half in Breadth: And according to this Computation, the twenty six Rowers, that is, thirteen on each Side, must have taken up the Breadth of forty Foot. To which if we add two Foot Breadth, for the Gang-way in the middle, and allow fifteen Inches for an empty Space, along the Sides of the Galley, it will follow that the *Quinqueremis* of *Caius* was about forty four Foot broad. Now the Breadth of the ancient Gallies was not a seventh Part of their Length; as appears from *Philopator's* Ship, which was four hundred and twenty Foot long, and but fifty broad. And this is much the same Proportion as is observed in our modern Gallies. And if then, the *Quinqueremis* of *Caius* was about forty four Foot broad, it must have been at least three hundred Foot long, according to this Rule. The Consequence of which will inevitably be this; either that the fifteen Oars of the *Quinqueremis* took up the Space of three hundred Feet; in which case the Oars must have been placed at twenty Foot distance from each other: or else, that a hundred and twenty Feet were sufficient for placing fifteen Oars; since if we allow eight Foot distance between each Oar, it is twice as much as is allowed in our modern Gallies. And in either Case, the greatest Part of this *Quinqueremis* must have been of no Use.

AGAIN, most of the Moderns who have written upon this Subject, allow that the ancient *Triremes* were of near the same Length as our Gallies; and consequently were,

were, like them, above a hundred and twenty Foot long. Whereas if the *Triremis* had but nine Oars of a Side, three for each Class of Rowers, two thirds of that Length will be useless. For if we allow three Foot nine Inches *French*, as in our Gallies, or four Foot, between each Oar, the nine Oars can take up but thirty six Foot; and there will remain at least eighty four Foot more, of no manner of Use.

As to the third Hypothesis, which explains the Number of *Ranks*, by the Number of the Rowers at each Oar, the Advocates for the *Stages* contend, that *Philopator's* Ship is a Proof, that this third Scheme is as defective as the second. This Ship, say they, had forty *Ranks*; there were therefore, according to that Hypothesis, forty Men to every Oar in her. Now each Rower, according to the Spaces in modern Gallies, could not take up less than one Foot and an half; and consequently the forty Rowers must have taken up sixty Foot in Breadth. Whereas those who give the most pompous Description of this Ship, don't allow it to have been more than fifty seven Foot broad. They likewise make all the Oars in this Galley to have been of the same Length: it was not possible therefore to place forty Rowers to an Oar in *Philopator's* Ship. To say, that half of the Rowers rested, whilst the other half worked, is to acknowledge the Insufficiency of the Scheme contended for. The Silence of Authors, and the contrary Custom always practised by our Galley-slaves, give us room to dispute a Fact, which is built only on an arbitrary Supposition. Besides, it is certain, that in the *Quinqueremis* of *Caius Caesar*, the four hundred Rowers all rowed at a time. But supposing that one half of the forty Rowers did alternately work, while the other rested; it will then follow that there were twenty Men at each Oar, on each Side of the Ship: and consequently, that these Rowers made in all a Line of forty Rowers in Breadth: and then this Difficulty will still remain, how the Space of fifty seven Feet could be sufficient for forty Rowers, who cannot now row conveniently in less than the Space of sixty Feet.

In answer to this, the Advocates of the third Scheme have been forced to invent a new Disposition. They place one half of the Rowers at the same Oar, facing the other half. But besides that there is no Foundation for this Order in any of the Ancients, it is manifest that one Part of the Rowers would be placed the wrong way. They would be forced to lean so very far backwards that they would have no strength to drive back the Oar, but would rather retard than quicken the Motion of the Galley.

It may have been already observed, that upon the Principles of this third System, it will follow, that the *Octiremis* of *Memnon* had twice as many Oars as *Ptolomy Philopator's* Ship. Whereas it is not at all probable, that a Galley of eight *Ranks* had twice as many Oars, as a Ship of at least four *Ranks*. Nor is this all. The Ship *Silius* mentions, had two hundred Oars on each Side of her: and if then it be supposed, with the Advocates for the second and third Hypothesis, that they were all placed in a Line from *Poop* to *Stern*, without having Recourse to this Hypothesis of different *Stages*, it will necessarily follow, that she must have been even hundred and fifty Foot long. Two hundred Rowers in one Line, would not take up less than seven hundred and fifty Feet, allowing only three Feet nine Inches to each Oar: and consequently, this Galley must have been larger every way, than *Philopator's* Ship, which was so very large, that the Historians mention it as one of the Wonders of Antiquity.

FROM making these Objections against the second and third Conjectures concerning the Gallies of the Ancients, the Advocates for that of the *Stages* proceed to establish their own Opinion, upon the Ruins of the others, with such Reasons as appear to them convincing and irrefragable. In the first place, they collect the strongest Proofs they can find among the Ancients, upon this Subject.

LUCAN, speaking of a Ship belonging to *Brutus*, says her uppermost Oars were at a very great Distance from the Water: *Summis longe petit æquora remis*. *Thucydides*, B. 6. says that the *Thranitai* had better Pay than the rest, because their Oars were longer, and consequently more difficult to manage, than those of the *Argioi*, and *Thalamioi*. *Pausanias*, in his *Atticks*, speaks of a great Galley of *Delos*, which had nine *Ranks* of Rowers, placed above one another. The ancient *School* of *Aristophanes* and *Arrian* say, that the Length of the Oars was proportioned

to the Height of the Rowers above the Water : And it is argued, that these Authors would not have expressed themselves in that manner, if the Oars had been all placed in one Line along the Ship. So that several of those who have written of the marine Affairs of the Ancients, honestly confess, that no other Interpretation can naturally be put upon those Expressions. Only they confine the Hypothesis of the *Stages* to the *Biremes*, *Triremes*, and perhaps the *Quadrirèmes*. But they think it utterly impracticable in Gallies of ten, twenty, thirty, and forty *Ranks*. Yet those who, on the other hand, contend for it, don't despair of proving the Possibility of it, even in a Ship of forty *Ranks* ; I mean that of *Philopator*. This Galley, of which *Plutarch* and *Athenæus* boast so much, had fifty *Ranks*, according to the old Editions of *Pliny* ; but we will adhere to that Edition which is most correct, and most agreeable to the ancient MSS. and this gives her but forty ; in which it agrees with the two first-mentioned Authors. This Ship was four hundred and twenty Foot long, and fifty seven broad. She was seventy two Foot deep before, and about eighty behind. The Length of the largest Oars which were worked by the *Thranitai*, was not more than fifty seven Feet. Besides four thousand Rowers, she carried two thousand eight hundred and fifty Soldiers, four hundred Seamen for working her, and a like Number of Men for other Offices.

THE Business therefore is to shew, that in *Philopator's* Ship, two thousand Rowers on each Side of her might be placed upon different *Stages*, one above another, so as that they could all conveniently row at a time. Nor is this all. It is likewise pretended to be demonstrable, that the Rowers, when so placed, left more than Room enough, besides what they took up themselves, to place all her Rigging, and a sufficient Quantity of Provisions, for the Subsistence of so great a Multitude.

ACCORDING to the Scheme we are now explaining, every horizontal Rank had ten Oars. These were all placed in the same Line, at the Distance of thirty seven Foot and a half from one another, as will be observed hereafter. The ten Oars therefore took up the Length of three hundred and seventy five Feet. So that of the four hundred and twenty Feet which was the whole Length of *Philopator's* Ship, there were forty five Feet left for the two Ends. Now if each *Rank* had ten Oars, forty *Ranks* must have had four hundred Oars : And if we put five Rowers to an Oar, there will be two thousand in all, on each Side of the Ship.

THE Height of one *Rank* above another was seven Inches and a half. Whence it will follow, that the fortieth *Rank* was but twenty four Foot and an half above the first *Rank*. And if we add to these twenty four Feet and a half, four Feet and a half more, which was the Height of the first *Rank* above the Water, it will follow that the fortieth *Rank* was twenty nine Feet above the Water.

IN the Oars we are to distinguish that Part of them which was within the Ship, from that which was without her. For five Rowers, the Space of seven Feet was absolutely necessary ; and if to them we add fifteen Inches, for the Breadth of the little Space left by the Sides of the Ship, and twelve Inches for the Thickness of the Sides at the fortieth *Rank*, the inner Part of the Oar will be nine Foot three Inches ; and consequently, the outer Part of it will be about forty eight Foot long. In proof of this, draw a right-angled Triangle, one Side of which is perpendicular to the Horizon, and the other horizontal. If the *Hypotenuse* be forty eight Foot, and the vertical Side twenty nine, the horizontal will be more than thirty eight. So that the Oars of the fortieth *Rank* might reach the Water at an horizontal Distance of at least thirty eight Feet. This will appear, if it be considered, that the Height of the highest *Rank* above the Water, is equal to the vertical Side of the Triangle, and that the Length of the outer Part of the Oar, is equal to the *Hypotenuse* of the Triangle. And consequently, the horizontal Side of thirty eight Feet will shew the Distance between the fortieth *Rank* and the Sea.

AND that these Rowers, when so disposed, did not hinder one another in rowing, is endeavoured to be proved in this manner. It is supposed, that the Rowers in each of the *Ranks*, were placed at the Distance of seven Inches and an half behind one another, from the lowest to the uppermost ; that is, to the fortieth *Rank*, which was twenty four Foot and an half above the lowest. Every *Rank* was three Foot nine Inches behind that immediately before it ; so that the fortieth *Rank* was thirty nine times three Foot nine Inches ; that is, an hundred and forty six Foot three Inches behind the foremost.

THE Form of this kind of Stairs will appear, if we make a right angled Triangle, the vertical Side of which is twenty four Foot and a half high, that is, the Distance of the fortieth Rank from the first. The horizontal Side of this Triangle will be, as has been observed, an hundred and forty six Feet three Inches: and the Hypotenuse of the Triangle will shew the Stairs in Question. Again, let the horizontal Line of this right angled Triangle be divided into several equal Parts of three Foot nine Inches each; and draw perpendicular Lines from the Points where these Divisions are to the Hypotenuse; and they will reach the Hypotenuse at the Places where the Benches of Rowers must be placed.

As we have reckoned ten Oars in each horizontal *Rank*, each Side of *Philomator's* Ship must have had ten of these Stairs. They indeed did not all consist of ten Oars each. But there were as many supernumerary ones at one End of her, as there were defective at the other. So that there were just ten *Stairs* of Oars on one Side of the Ship, and as many on the other. Each Pair of Stairs consisted of forty Benches, and each Bench seated five Rowers. So that one Stair contained two hundred Rowers; and consequently the ten Flights on each Side of the Ship contained two thousand; and the whole Number four thousand.

THESE Flights were so disposed, that the nearest Benches in a horizontal Line were at the Distance of thirty seven Feet and an half from each other: And the Benches of each Flight were so managed, that the ten first Benches of the first Flight had no Rowers below them; but the eleventh Bench of this Flight answered vertically to the first Bench of the second Flight, the twelfth to the second, the thirteenth to the third, and so on to the fortieth of the first Flight, which was perpendicularly over the thirtieth of the second Flight: and the Benches of the second Flight from the thirty first to the fortieth, had none over them. So that there were but four Benches in a vertical Line. For instance, the first Bench of the fourth Flight, the eleventh of the third, the twenty first of the second, and thirty first of the first, made one vertical Line; as did the second Bench of the fourth, the twelfth of the third, the twenty second of the second, and the thirty second of the first; and so on, to the tenth Bench of the fourth Flight, which answered perpendicularly to the twentieth of the third, the thirtieth of the second, and the fortieth of the first.

THE *Ranks* considered perpendicularly were in Number an hundred, at three Foot nine Inches Distance from each other; and each of these vertical *Ranks* contained four Benches, which were six Foot three Inches above one another. All these perpendicular Benches made forty *Ranks* parallel to the Horizon, and seven Inches and an half distant from each other. In each horizontal *Rank*, the nearest Benches to each other were at thirty seven Foot and an half distance. As we have fixed the Height of each horizontal *Rank* to seven Inches and an half, ten together will make six Foot three Inches perpendicular. Whence it will follow, that the Benches which were perpendicularly over one another, were at that Distance from each other. And in that case, the Rowers above will be at such a Distance, as to be no Hindrance to those below them: And with respect to their horizontal Situation, they will have room enough, since the Benches considered horizontally, were three Foot nine Inches apart. This Distance agrees to a Division of the horizontal Side into equal Parts of three Foot nine Inches each; and this is as much room as is allowed the Slaves in our Gallies, where they have sufficient room to work their Oars without any Confusion.

WHAT we have said will be the more intelligible, if we not only consider, that every Bench was seven Inches and an half above that before it; but likewise that every Bench, if considered separately, was like a little Flight of Stairs, of five Steps, which were the Seats for the five Rowers which belonged to each Oar. In the first *Rank*, the Seat of the second Rower was three Inches above the first, the third as much above the second, the fourth above the third, and the fifth above the fourth. The Seats of the second *Rank* were three Inches and an half above each other; and the Height of those of the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth *Ranks* above one another, was greater and greater, in the same arithmetical Proportion. From the thirteenth *Rank* to the fortieth, the Seats were nine Inches above one another. Whence it is plain, that in the first *Rank* this little kind of Flight of Stairs was one Foot perpendicular; that

that those of each *Rank* were gradually each two Inches higher than that below it, from this first *Rank* to the thirteenth, which was three Foot perpendicular; and that from the thirteenth to the fortieth, their vertical Height was the same.

THE Rowers, when seated on these Benches, did not rest their Oars, so as to be parallel to the Horizon; the inner Part of the Oar was above an horizontal Line, and the outer Part below it. The Oars belonging to the highest *Rank* were fifty seven Foot long; and we have already observed, that the inner Part of each Oar was nine Foot, and the outer Part forty eight. One was therefore to the other, as nine to forty eight, or as three to sixteen; and consequently, for every Foot that the inner Part was raised, the outer was sunk five Foot and one third. So that, when the Oars were rested, the Extremity of the inner Part was three Foot above the horizontal Line, and that of the outer Part was sixteen Foot below it, and thirteen Foot above the Superficies of the Water. And in this Situation the Top of the inner Part of the Oar was above four Foot Distance from the Bench above it. And consequently, when the Top of this inner Part was raised these four Feet, the outer must have been sunk eighteen Foot and an half, and consequently five Foot of the Oar must have been under Water. It is easy to see, that the Oars could have had no Effect with only four Foot Play, if the Benches of the Rowers had not been made like Steps.

It is evident, that according to this Scheme of *Stages* of Rowers, the Oars of the lower *Rank* must have been shorter than those of the upper, since they fell into the Water at different Distances from the Vessel. And that the four Oars that were perpendicularly over each other, were no manner of Hindrance to one another, will appear, if we in the least consider their different Lengths. Those of the fortieth *Rank* were fifty seven Foot long, according to *Athenæus*: nine Foot of which was, as we have determined, within the Ship, and forty eight without. Now the inner Part of each Oar was longer in Proportion to the Thickness of the Side of the Ship: but the outer diminished in every *Rank*. The Oars of the thirtieth *Rank* were forty Foot long without, those of the twentieth thirty two, those of the tenth twenty four, and those of the first only sixteen: and the rest were longer or shorter in Proportion to their Height; that is, those of every *Rank* were four fifths of a Foot longer or shorter than those of the *Rank* above or below them.

IF we consider these different Orders of Oars as rested by the Rowers: in this Situation they were all of them held at least two Foot and an half above the Water. And when they were moved, there were none that did not fall four Foot into the Water: and the Oars of the perpendicular *Rank* reached the Water at six Foot Distance from each other. So that the Oars were worked without any Hindrance or Confusion; especially with regard to the Rowers who were placed horizontally, since each Oar was at three Foot nine Inches Distance, which is as much room as is allowed in our modern Gallies. Nor could those who were placed perpendicularly at all incumber one another, since each Bench was six Foot three Inches above that immediately under it, and since the Oars of each perpendicular *Rank* touched the Water at six Foot Distance; which was more than room enough for the Action of the Rower, and the Motion of his Oar. And the Oars in an horizontal Line had the same Advantage, since the room allowed to each Oar was proportioned to its Length. So that, according to this Plan, four thousand Rowers, divided into forty *Ranks*, might doubtless all row at the same time, without hindring each other.

It now remains to shew, that notwithstanding this great Number of *Ranks* divided into *Stages*, there was still room enough left in *Philopator's* Ship for four thousand Rowers, two thousand eight hundred Soldiers, four hundred Seamen, four hundred Persons to be employed in different Offices in the Ship; and lastly, for a great Number of Passengers, and Stowage for sixth Months Provisions for them all. Now the Disposition which naturally flows from this Hypothesis, is this;

THE fortieth *Rank* was twenty nine Foot above the Water; the Extremity of the Oar within was three Foot above the *Rank*; so that it was thirty two Foot perpendicular above the Water: and the Rowers, when they stood upright, were about four Foot above the Oar; so that the Bridge or Deck which covered the Rowers, and was called *Catastroma*, was about four Foot and an half above the

ars of the fortieth *Rank*. If then we add four Feet and an half to thirty two, it will follow, that this Deck was thirty six Foot and an half above the Water. That Deck which supported the lowest *Ranks* was about two Feet and a half above the Water: And if then we take two and a half from thirty six and a half, it will follow, that there was the Space of thirty four Feet between the lowest Deck and the uppermost. Now this Ship was fifty seven Foot broad; out of which we must deduct nineteen Feet and a half; seven and a half for the Rowers on each Side, fifteen Inches for the Breadth of the little Gang-way along the Sides of the Ship, and twelve Inches for the Thickness of each Side of the Ship, which make in all nine Feet nine Inches, on each Side of the Ship, that is, nineteen Feet and a half in the whole. Which being deducted out of fifty seven, there will remain thirty seven and a half: and consequently, we still have a Space left in the Ship, of four hundred and twenty Foot long, thirty seven and a half broad, and thirty four deep; besides the room taken up by the Rowers.

If then we divide this Space into five *Stages*, each will be six Foot nine Inches deep; out of which if we deduct three Inches for the Thickness of the Boards, there will still be six Foot and a half left. As to Light, we suppose each Floor had Windows between the Benches of the Rowers, and at each End of the Ship.

Now if we reserve thirty Feet in Length, on each Deck at the Stern, for the Officers, there will remain, on each Deck, a Space of three hundred and ninety Foot long, thirty seven wide, and six and a half deep, for Stowage, for lodging the Rowers, Soldiers, Seamen, Passengers, and in a word, the whole Burden. Five Rows of Beds, of six Foot long, might have been placed half a Foot above the Floor; and it was easy to make four Gang-ways of two Foot wide each, and ten little Cross-Ways of eighteen Inches each, for a free Passage from Place to Place. And three Foot higher, the same Disposition might be again repeated, since in our Ships two Men often lay at one Foot Distance above each other. So that the five Decks might have afforded room enough every Way to lodge ten thousand Men in this Ship: whereas she did not carry above nine thousand, even supposing she had no less than six or seven hundred Passengers on Board.

VIRGIL tells us, *Aeneid* 5. that the Rowers slept upon their Benches.

*Placida laxârunt membra quiete
Sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautæ.*

And this Practice is continued to this Day, in our Galleys, with this Difference, that the Slaves are covered with a Cloth, to guard them against the Injuries of the Air. Which was the more practicable in *Philopator's* Ship, in as much as the Decks over the Rowers served them for a Covering.

ATHENÆUS and *Pollux* affirm, that the Passengers generally lodged under the Seats or Benches of the Rowers. Now in *Philopator's* Ship, there were ten Flights of Benches of each Side: above thirty Persons might lodge in each flight; and consequently above six hundred Persons in the whole twenty Flights. Now it is plain, that this Space which we have reserved for the Passengers and Rowers, was but a very moderate one, in comparison of what might have been found in the vast Galley of *Philopator*: and yet there is room there for four thousand five hundred Men; and consequently more than enough in the other Parts of the Ship for four thousand, which were all we have left to lodge.

AND it is as easy to find room enough in the same Ship for Provisions for nine thousand Men for two Months. The upper Deck of this Galley was thirty six Foot and a half above the Water; to which if we add eight Feet and a half, for the Height of the Towers in the Forepart of the Ship, this will make the Foreship to have been forty five Foot above the Water. And if we suppose she drew twenty seven Foot Water, her whole Height will be seventy two Feet, which is exactly the Height *Athenæus* gives her. The *Poop* drew a little more Water, and was therefore a little higher.

THE old *Royal Sun* was an hundred and forty Foot long, about forty Foot wide, in the broadest Place; and drew twenty two Foot Water behind. So that this Ship was not above one fourth Part as big as that of *Philopator*: and yet the old *Royal Sun* had Stowage for Provisions for a thousand Persons, for above six Months. It is not therefore surprizing, that *Philopator's* Ship should be able to carry six Months

Months Provisions for four thousand Persons; and two Months Provisions for nine thousand.

ADD to this, that what we have advanced upon the Testimony of *Pollux*, that the Passengers were formerly lodged under the Benches of the Rowers, seems utterly irreconcilable with any Hypothesis but that of the *Stages*. If the Rowers were placed as our Galley-Slaves now are, it was impossible to lodge one single Man under their Benches. This appears plainly from our Galleys. The Sight of one of them is enough to shew how utterly irreconcilable *Pollux's* Account is with the second and third Hypotheses.

THE Principles laid down to establish this Hypothesis, in opposition to the two former, may likewise serve to justify the Carver of *Trajan's Pillar*. It is declared unreasonable to believe, that the *Triremes* carved on it had no Foundation, but in the Imagination or Ignorance of the Workmen; and the Advocates for this fourth Opinion conclude from this Pillar, that all the Passages of the Ancients that relate to marine Affairs, ought to be explained in such a manner, as confirms their Hypothesis. They interpret the *interdum quinos sortiuntur remigum gradus* of *Vegetius*; the *terno consurgunt ordine remi*, of *Virgil*; and the *quater surgens extructi remigis ordo*, of *Lucan*; all of different *Stages* of Rowers. *Pausanias*, when he speaks of a Ship which had nine *Ranks* of Rowers from Top to Bottom, is, according to them, to be explained in this Sense: and so likewise are *Florus's* Words, when he says that *Cæsar's* great Ships had six *Ranks of Oars*, and those of *Anthony* nine. *Cæsar's naves a Triremibus ad Senos, Antonii vero a Senis ad novenos remorum ordines, non amplius, creverant*. Nor can it be justly objected, say they, with the Authors of the second Hypothesis, that these great Ships of *Cæsar* had but eighteen Oars on each Side, since our smallest Galleys have above five and twenty. And lastly, the Emperor *Leo* is, according to them, to be understood of different *Stages*, when he says, in his *Tactics*, that his Galleys had but two *Ranks of Oars*; an upper, and a lower. And accordingly, the *Greek Stamps* we have of the Fleet which carried this Emperor, and the Patriarch, to the Council of *Florence*, represent the Galleys as having two *Ranks of Oars* on different *Stages*.

THE chief Objections that are made against this System, are these five.

First, it is not to be conceived, that five Persons could move Oars of fifty seven Foot long, and large in Proportion. But to this it is answered; 1. That the Oars must be allowed to have been of this Length upon any Hypothesis, since the express Testimony of *Athenæus* is not to be rejected. 2. That they were less and less, from the Side of the Ship to the End of them; which consequently must make them lighter, and more easy to manage. And 3. That *Athenæus* says, that there was a Piece of Lead on the inner Part of the Oar, which made it equal in Weight to the outer, and consequently much the easier to manage. A moderate Degree of Strength is sufficient to move a Lever upon a Rest, when the Ends on each Side the Rest are of the same Weight.

Secondly, it is affirmed, that a Ship, which was forty five Foot above the Water, and had forty *Stages* built in her, could not resist the Violence of the Wind. But this weak Way of Reasoning is as strong against *The Royal Lewis*, as against *Philopator's* Galley. The Stern of the former, which was perhaps the biggest Ship that was ever built in *France*, was raised about forty five Foot above the Water. And yet, she was so far from being the Sport of the Winds, as to be an excellent Sailer. Now the *Prow* of *Philopator's* Ship was just as much above the Water, as the *Stern* of *The Royal Lewis*, and both drew twenty seven Foot Water; so that the Wind must have had as great a Power over the one as the other.

Thirdly, it is objected, that it is not very credible, that the Ancients should place their Oars and Rowers in such a manner, as would be of no Advantage to them in working the Ship. But to this it is replied, that they had a double Advantage from this Order. 1. By Help of the *Stages*, the Ancients multiplied their Oars at Pleasure, which they could not have done, according to either of the two former Hypotheses. It is not possible to place four hundred Oars on each Side of *Philopator's* Ship, without having recourse to the Hypothesis of the *Stages*. Scarce one hundred could be placed in her long-ways, from *Poop* to *Stern*. 2. In Tempests, when it is necessary to bear few Sails, the upper *Ranks* supplied the Defect of the lower, which the Rowers were forced to relinquish by the Violence of the Waves.

Waves: And by that means, the Rowers of the upper *Stages* continued to direct the Motion of the Galley, and keep her clear of Rocks and Shoals. But in case the Rowers and Oars were all upon one Line, they must have been useless in great Distresses, and the Ship must have been abandoned to the Winds and Waves.

Fourthly, it is difficult to explain the Words of *Thucydides*, B. 6. consistently with this Hypothesis, when he says, that the *Thranitai* had the longest Oars. But this Objection will fall of itself, if we consider the different Heights of the *Stages*. The uppermost *Stages* were appropriated to the *Thranitai*, the lowermost to the *Thalamioi*, those in the middle to the *Zugioi*. The Oars of the first must therefore be longer than those of the rest, in Proportion, as they were raised higher above the Water. And this Situation agrees with *Pollux's* Account. The *Thalamioi* were, according to him, placed lower than the rest; the *Thranitai* were highest, and near the upper Deck, *prope Catastroma*; and the *Zugioi* were in the middle. And *Eustathius* is yet more express, when he says, that the Benches of the *Thalamioi* were under those of the *Thranitai*. He doubtless would not have expressed himself thus, if the *Ranks* had not been placed in *Stages*. We must likewise have recourse to this Order, if we would put a natural Construction upon this comical Expression of *Aristophanes*, *inferiori remigi in os oppedere*. The Insult the Poet mentions, could not have been offered, unless upon this Hypothesis of the *Stages*. Nevertheless, it must be owned, that one of the Scholiasts on *Aristophanes* places the *Thranitai* in the *Poop*, the *Thalamioi* in the *Prow*, and the *Zugioi* in the middle. But, without having recourse to *Scaliger's* Answer, who supposes the Text to have been corrupted, it is a sufficient Answer to say, that this Order is allowed to have been used in the *Uniremes*, before there were Ships built with several *Ranks of Rowers*; and no one can prove that the *Scholiast* is to be understood of all Galleys in general. Besides, the Authority of this *Scholiast* is of no more Weight than that of the Commentator on *Athenæus*. This ancient Author only says, that the Oars of the *Thranitai* were longest; and his Commentator concludes from thence, that the longest Oars were in the *Stern*. The *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes* may perhaps have proposed that as a Matter of Fact, which was only his own Conjecture.

Fifthly, say the Objectors, it is very strange, that the Art of building Galleys with these *Stages* should have been neglected, and lost, for so many Ages. And it is indeed acknowledged, that this is a Secret, which after all our Researches, is still hid in the Obscurities of Antiquity. It is like many other things, which are utterly lost in a long Course of Time. We still have the Cement of the Ancients, and their Paintings upon Glass, transmitted down to us, notwithstanding all the Ravages of Time and Weather; and yet we cannot possibly find out how to make either. We have only the Pleasure of admiring what we cannot imitate, in the Works of the Ancients. Every Age has its Measure of Knowledge, which after a certain Number of Years, is lost in the Crowd of new Discoveries; perhaps, because Men are so taken up with other Cares, as absolutely to neglect to cultivate it; or because Arts sink and are lost with the Fall of Empires; or lastly, because all things are subject to that universal Law, which sets Bounds to the Duration of all human Affairs, and therefore disappear as soon as that time is expired, to make room for others to succeed them.

It is with the ancient Galleys, as with the *Catapultæ*, *Ballistæ*, and other warlike Machines, which the Ancients used in defending and attacking Cities. Being become useless after the Invention of Gunpowder, Men took little care to preserve the Memory of them. So that the manner of building them, and the Mechanism by which they were moved, are utterly unknown to us. The Authors who lived, when they were laid aside, would not give themselves the Trouble to transmit to Posterity, Accounts of Things that were become useless; and afterwards, Men neglected to acquaint themselves thoroughly with those things which it was of little Consequence to know. And if then, according to *Zozimus's* Opinion, the naval Architecture of the Ancients was not understood so long ago, as before the tenth Century; it is no wonder that we should now be ignorant of an Art, which has been so long lost. Several learned Men have indeed endeavoured to discover what Sort of Ships the Galleys of the Ancients were; but after all their Enquiries, most of them have only offered such empty Conjectures, as make us almost lament the Pains they have taken about it. But to return.

If then this Scheme of the *Stages* be allowed to be practicable in *Ptolomy Philopator's* Ship, it must have been much more so in lesser Gallies. That which we have mentioned, after *Silius Italicus*, was a *Decemremis*. She had therefore in each of her horizontal *Ranks* twenty Oars, which were at eleven Foot three Inches Distance from each other. So that the twenty Oars took up two hundred and twenty five Feet of the Length of the Ship. And if we add to this forty five Feet for the two Ends, this will make her to have been two hundred and seventy Foot long from *Poop* to *Prow*. And as to her Height; if we suppose the *Ranks* were two Foot above each other, the uppermost will consequently have been twenty three Foot above the Water; and the longest Oars must have been forty nine Foot long. And if we put five Rowers to each Oar, every *Rank* of twenty Oars will require a hundred Rowers, and the whole ten *Ranks* a thousand, on each Side.

ACCORDING to these Proportions, the *Oëtiremis* of *Memnon* will also have been two hundred and seventy Foot long, will have had twenty Oars in each horizontal *Rank*, an hundred and sixty Oars on each Side of her, and eight hundred Rowers in all, at the rate of one hundred Men to each *Rank*; her uppermost *Rank* will have been nineteen Foot above the Water, and her longest Oars about forty five Foot.

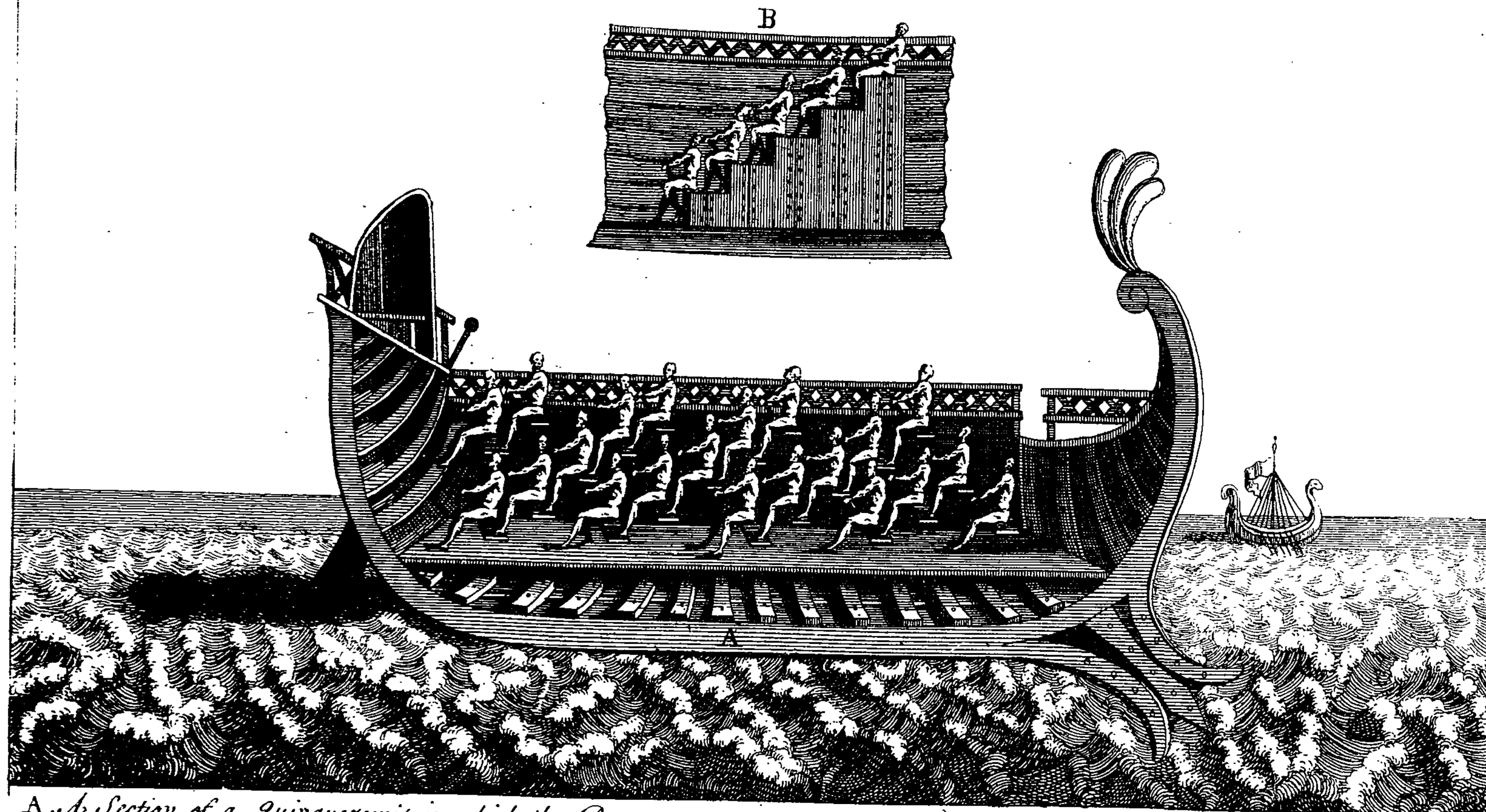
NOR is it at all surprizing, that these two Ships should be of the same Length, and yet of different Heights: We have seen Ships at *Brest* which have had a third Deck added to them, after they had been used for several Campaigns, with only two Decks.

BUT from all that has been said, in order to support this Hypothesis of the *Stages*, we don't pretend to infer, that the naval Architecture of the Ancients, was carried to as great Perfection as it might have been. In *Philopator's* Ship, for instance, it would have been more convenient to have placed the same Number of Oars on four *Stages* only, so that the fourth might have been but twenty four Foot above the Water. In order to which, the Flights of Benches ought to have been so placed, that the *Ranks* should have been six Foot three Inches above one another, and three Foot nine Inches behind one another. And the same may be said of the *Oëtiremis* of *Memnon*. All the Oars in the right *Ranks* of that Galley might easily have been placed in three; and then the third would have been but seventeen Foot above the Water. It is probable the Emperor *Leo* discovered, and corrected this Defect, when he reduced his Gallies to two *Ranks* of Oars.

AND lastly, the Objection our modern Seamen make to this Opinion is of no Weight at all. It is granted, that these perpendicular *Stages* cannot now be made, in our Gallies, especially those of the first Rate. But nevertheless, this Disposition cannot be questioned by unprejudiced Persons. It were indeed very unjust to judge of the Gallies of the Ancients by the Plans of modern ones. Besides, the Opinion of our Sailors is of no more Weight in this Case, than that of our Land-Officers is with regard to the Machines used by the Ancients in Sieges. Both may very well understand the present naval and military Architecture; but this Knowledge is not sufficient to ascertain the Customs of the Ancients.

BUT before we conclude this Dissertation, we think it our Duty to declare, that we are indebted to Father *de la Maugeraye*, Jesuit, for the Substance of this System, which is so well connected in all its Parts, and thoroughly sifted with that Accuracy and Penetration, which are the happiest Fruits of mathematical Studies.

THE adjoining Plate, which represents the Section of a *Quinqueremis*, and a *Bank* of Rowers, placed above one another, as on a Flight of Stairs, will greatly help to explain this Scheme.



A. A Section of a Quinqueremis, in which the Rowers are ranged on 5 Stages, obliquely dispos'd, like Stairs.
 B. A Bank of Rowers placed one above another, as on a flight of Stairs.

T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XXIX.

THE Republick was already recovering her Losses in all Places. Even in this Year, which immediately followed that in which the Battel of *Cannæ* was fought, she gained many Victories in *Italy*: and the News she now received from *Sardinia*, and *Spain*, revived her Confidence. In *Sardinia*, the Year had not begun very favourably for the *Romans*. The News of their Defeat near *Cannæ*, had caused the greatest Part of the Island to rise up against them. *Hampsicora*, a *Sardinian* of some Weight in his own Country, had put himself at the Head of the Revolt; and he privately sent some Persons in whom he could confide, to *Carthage*, to represent to the Senate there, the Dispositions of the *Sardinians*, with respect to *Carthage* and *Rome*. *Sardinia*, said these Messengers, is at last weary of the Yoke of a proud, and a vanquished Republick. Her heavy, and often repeated Exactions, have alienated our Minds from her. The Time is come for *Carthage* to recover her ancient Dominion. A favourable Opportunity presents it self for it. The Prætor Mammula has obtained leave to return home; and the Man *Rome* designs for his Successor, will neither have any Interest in our Island, nor understand how to govern it. Depend on our inviolable Attachment to you; and be assured of Success. Upon which, the *Carthaginian* Senate thinking this an important Conquest, immediately dispatched for *Sardinia*, one *Asdrubal*, surnamed *The Bald*, with about twelve thousand Foot, fifteen hundred Horse, twenty Elephants, and a thousand Talents* of Silver. This Army, joined with that of the Malecontents, was, without doubt, sufficient to drive the *Romans* out of a Country, where they could scarce subsist, and at a time when *Rome* was not in a Condition to send them any Succours. But nevertheless, the *Roman* Republick did not absolutely despair. Her Constancy raised her above all her Misfortunes. She ordered *Mucius Scævola*, to whose Lot the Prætorship of *Sardinia* had fallen, to go thither; and he embarked with a Courage and Resolution worthy of his Name. But his Valour could not preserve him from a languishing Distemper, with which he was seized, almost as soon as he arrived there; the Air of *Sardinia* being unwholesome, and its Waters bad. As soon as this Accident was known at *Rome*, the *Conscript Fathers* deliberated both about the State of the Island, and the Necessity of substituting another Person in the room of *Mucius*. They were a little recovered from the first Shock which the Battel of *Cannæ* had given them; and Fortune seemed now to become a little more favourable to them. They therefore came to two Resolutions. First, That it was necessary to send Succours to *Sardinia*, since a War was so much expected there. And Secondly, That it was necessary to appoint some Deputy to command there, in the room of *Mucius*, till such time as he should be perfectly recovered. So that a *Legion* was raised; one thousand Horse was added to it; and this Reinforcement was committed to the Conduct of *T. Manlius Torquatus*, an illustrious *Roman*, who was not a Stranger to *Sardinia*. He had commanded there in his first Consulship, and had triumphed over the *Sardinians*.

As for *Asdrubal*, an Accident befell the Fleet he was leading to *Sardinia*; and this gave *Torquatus* time to prepare his Embarkation, and to be beforehand with

* These thousand Talents amount to the Sum of three Millions of French Livres.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVIII.

TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, Q. FA-
BIUS MAXI-
MUS, Consuls.
Liv. B. 23.
c. 34.

* 193750 l.
Arbutnot.

Livy, ibid.

Year of the Enemy. A violent Storm had arisen at Sea, soon after *Asdrubal's* Departure from *Carthage*; had much damaged his Ships; and had obliged him to put in at the *Baleares* Islands, where he had spent a great deal of time in refitting them. So that *Manlius* appeared on the South Coasts of *Sardinia*, before *Asdrubal*. He secured his Fleet in the Port of ² *Cagliari*, and was the more expeditious in taking upon him the Government of the Island, because *Mucius's* Illness had forced him to neglect it. He new-manned his Fleet, put himself at the Head of the *Prætorian* Army *Mucius* had commanded, added to it the Recruits he had brought from *Italy*, and formed a Body of twenty two thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse. With these Forces, he entered into the Enemy's Country, and drew near to the Place where the Army of the Rebel *Hampsicora* was encamped. This General was then absent, and had left the Command of his Troops to his Son *Hioftus*, whilst he went into the Heart of the Island, to procure an Insurrection among the ³ Barbarians there, who yet wore no Cloaths, but the raw Skins of the Beasts they bred, or killed in hunting. *Hioftus* was young, and greedy of military Glory, but knew little of the Art of War, and was chiefly guided in the Pursuit of it by that natural Ferocity with which his Youth, and the Air of his Country, inspired him. He ventured to give the *Prætor* Battel; but his Army immediately gave way, was routed, and fled to the Forests for Refuge, after about three thousand *Sardinians* had been killed on the Spot, and near three hundred had been made Prisoners of War. The young Commander retired to ⁴ *Cornus*, a City in the middle of the Island, where the Fugitives joined him; and this single Victory would have reduced the Revolters to Despair, if the *Carthaginian* Fleet had not arrived soon enough to keep up their Courage.

Livy, B. 23.
e 40.

UPON *Asdrubal's* Arrival, he had at least the Advantage of causing *Manlius* to retire from the Place where he had conquered, to the Territory of *Cagliari*, which was well affected to the *Romans*; and when joined with *Hampsicora*, the *Carthaginian* General did not long deliberate about following the *Roman*, even into the Country of his Allies. But *Manlius* shortened their March, and came to meet them. The brave *Prætor* thereby prevented the *Carthaginians* from entering into, and laying waste, a Country that he protected; and he first encamped within reach of *Asdrubal*, and harraßed him with Skirmishes; till at length he was forced to come to a general Action; which ended in a very glorious, and very great Victory to the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians* indeed suspended the Success of the Battel for some time, and kept it undetermined for four Hours. But at last, the weakest Part of their Army gave way; an entire Wing of *Sardinians* was repulsed, and routed; the *Carthaginian* Army was surrounded on that Side; and then it was no longer a Battel, but a terrible Slaughter: Infomuch that the *Romans* were tired with killing; and therefore made it their whole Business to take Prisoners. Among whom, *Asdrubal* himself, with *Hanno* and *Mago*, his chief Officers, surrendered to them; and *Manlius* carried them to *Rome*. Twelve thousand Men lay dead upon the Plain; so that the Slaughter was, proportionably, as dreadful to the *Carthaginians*, as that of *Canne* to *Rome*. Young *Hioftus* was slain in the Battel; and his Death occasioned that of *Hampsicora*, who loved him tenderly. This unfortunate Father stabbed himself with his own Sword, in the Night after the Battel, for fear of being diverted from it by his Friends.

Entrop. B. 3.

By these two Victories of *Manlius*, *Sardinia* was quieted, and no body then disputed this useful Conquest with the *Romans*. And certainly, if *Rome* had been in as flourishing a Condition as formerly, and if her present Misfortunes in *Italy* had not plunged her into fresh Grief, *Manlius* had triumphed over the *Sardinians* a second time. He had brought valuable Spoils to the *Quæstors*, a great Quantity of Corn to the *Ædiles*, and had delivered up the Enemy's General, and a great Number of his Officers, in Chains, into the Hands of the *Prætor* of *Rome*. What

² *Cagliari*, the Capital of *Sardinia*, was the same City which the *Greeks*, and, in Imitation of them, the *Latins*, called *Caralis*. *Mela* the Geographer calls it *Calaris*. It gave Name to the neighbouring Gulph and Cape, called to this Day, *Capo Cagliari*.

³ *Cicero* calls these Barbarians *Sardi Mastrucati*. The Latin Word *Mastruca* signifies that kind of sa-

vage Dress, which was formerly used by the Mountaineers of the Island of *Sardinia*.

⁴ *Ptolomy*, and *Antoninus* in his *Itinerary*, as well as *Livy*, mention the City of *Cornus*, in *Sardinia*. It was a great way from the Sea; and is thought to have stood in the Place which the Natives now call *Corneto*.

needed he to have done more, to merit a Triumph, if the times would have permitted it?

§. II. ON the Side of *Spain*, the *Romans* likewise gained as great Advantages, as in *Sardinia*. The two *Scipio's*, *Publius*, and *Caius*, had met with such Success, that the Republick did not at all repent of the Expence which she was obliged to be at, to maintain an Army and Fleet, in so distant a Country. But the Finances of the *Romans* were very low. Nevertheless, the *Scipio's* had written to the Senate, to inform them, That they wanted Money to pay their Troops, Stuffs to cloath them, and Corn to subsist them; That as to their Pay, if the Treasury of *Rome* was exhausted, they could find out some Expedient to get it of the *Spaniards*; but That their Armies could no longer subsist without Clothes and Provisions; which it was absolutely necessary to send them from *Italy*. The Probity of the two Brothers was so well known, that there was not the least doubt of the Necessity of what they demanded. But the main Difficulty was, how to raise the necessary Funds for cloathing the Troops in *Spain*, and buying Provisions for them; and the Affair was brought before the Senate. The *Conscript Fathers* were affrighted at this unexpected Increase of Expences, when the Treasury was so much exhausted; and said, *Where shall we find Money to defray the Charges of a large Fleet which must be immediately sent against the King of Macedon? How shall we be able to support so many Land-Armies, in Sicily, in Sardinia, and in the Provinces of Italy? The Tributes we raise in our Dominions, are diminished, by the Revolt of many tributary Cities and Nations: And it is dangerous to over-burthen those with Taxes, that still continue faithful. The Republick can no longer subsist, than while she maintains her Credit; and her Credit is no longer to be supported, than whilst she can make regular Payments.* And indeed, it must be owned the Affairs of the *Romans* were in a lamentable Situation. To abandon *Spain*, was to deprive themselves of a Diversion which was of the utmost Consequence to them, and to draw all the Forces of *Africa* into *Italy*. To continue that Diversion, was to exhaust the Treasury, and to disable themselves from carrying on vigorously the War with *Hannibal*, in *Italy*. However, the Republick found Means to guard against all these Inconveniencies.

THE Senate decreed, that *Fulvius Flaccus*, who, in the Absence of the Consul, governed the City in Quality of *Prætor*, should mount *The Tribune of Harangues*, and make a Speech to the People assembled in *Comitia*. This worthy Magistrate therefore, as directed by *The Conscript Fathers*, presented a kind of Memorial to the People, stating the Necessities of the Publick. And as soon as he saw they began to be convinced, and their Hearts to be moved, he ventured to propose the Scheme the Senate had formed. Which was to enjoin all the Farmers of the Revenues, who had grown rich by collecting the publick Monies, to assist the State in her Necessities, and supply her with Money, every one in proportion to what he had gotten by his Bargains with her. These *Publicans*, for so they were called at *Rome*, were then a numerous and a formidable Body of Men; and the Senate, who considered them as very necessary Persons to the Republick, took care to treat them with Tenderness. They did not lay a Tax upon them, but commanded them, by one of the *Prætors*, to advance the Sums wanted for the War with *Spain*, upon a Promise that they should be repaid with the first Monies that came into the Exchequer. They accepted the Proposal, without murmuring, and put it in Execution without Delay. A few Days after, there were three Companies formed, of nine Persons each, who zealously came and offered to furnish Cloaths and Provisions for the Army and Fleet of the *Scipio's*, and Rigging for the Ships; only upon these two Conditions. First, That they should be excused serving in the Army, while thus employed: and secondly, That the Republick should stand to all Accidents, with respect to the Ammunitions which they embarked. And both were agreed to. Thus *Rome* subsisted her Armies, for the

5 *Livy* says that *Manlius*, after his Victory, embarked the Spoils he had taken from the *Sardinians*, a great Quantity of Corn, and all the Prisoners he had taken in the Island; and then set out for *Rome*, attended by his victorious Army. After he had given the Senate an Account of his Victories, he left it

to the *Prætor Fulvius* to sell the Captives, and to the *Ædiles* to distribute the Corn, as they thought fit. So that he reserved nothing for himself; but the publick Treasury, and the People, reaped all the Advantages of his late Campaign.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVIII.
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, Q. FA-
BIUS MAXI-
MUS, Consuls.

Year of first time, by the Purges of her private Subjects. The Farmers took such effectual
 R O M E Care, that the Troops in *Spain* wanted nothing; and the Republick, on the other
 DXXXVIII. hand, faithfully kept her Word with the Farmers.

TIB. SEMPRO-
 NIUS GRAC-
 CHUS, Q. FA-
 BIUS MAXI-
 MUS, Consuls.

§. III. As soon then as the *Scipio's* had received these Helps, they immediately took the Field. The City of ⁶ *Illiturgis* was then besieged by the *Carthaginian* Armies, which were divided into three Camps. *Asdrubal* commanded in the first; *Mago* in the second; and *Hamilcar* in the third. The *Illiturgians* had submitted to the *Romans*, and they defended their City, which stood on the ⁷ *Betis*, against the Attacks of the three Generals, with great Constancy. Provisions already began to fail in the Place; but the Besieged depended on the Fidelity of the *Romans*. And indeed, the *Scipio's* lost no time, in conveying to them a Part of the Provisions they had received from *Italy*. They made their Way thro' the Camps of the Enemy, Sword in hand, massacred all that opposed them, carried their Convoy safe into the Town, and thereby stocked it with Provisions. Nor was this enough for these two brave Generals, who were called in *Spain*, *The Thunderbolts of War*. In the Heat of their first Success, they marched directly to the chief Camp, which was that of *Asdrubal*, as it were to force it. It was indeed a dangerous Attempt, but conducted with Prudence. At the sight of the Danger *Asdrubal* was in, *Mago* and *Hamilcar* marched out of their Entrenchments, and all the *Carthaginian* Forces appeared in the Plain. There were reckoned to be sixty thousand Men in their three Armies; whereas the Troops of the *Scipio's* scarce amounted to sixteen thousand. But Numbers did not terrify the *Romans*, who gained a complete Victory. They are said to have killed more of the Enemy, than they had Men in their whole Army. They left about a thousand Horse, above fifteen thousand Foot, and a good Number of Elephants, dead upon the Spot. They made three thousand Prisoners, and took fifty nine Colours. The Siege of *Illiturgis* was raised, and the three Camps left to be plundered by the Conquerors.

AFTER this Defeat, a new Siege, begun by the *Carthaginians*, cost them a new Battel, which was no less bloody or unfortunate than the former. A City, on the River *Servol*, near the Confines of *Catalonia*, had surrendered to the *Romans*; and the *Carthaginian* Generals, after they had recruited their Army, fell upon it. The Name of the City was ⁸ *Indibilis*, and the Province of which it was a Part, abounded with Youth, who were ready to take up Arms for any body that would pay them best. The *Carthaginians* raised considerable Recruits there, and once more depended on the Numbers of their new Levies. But as soon as the Siege was begun, the *Scipio's* put themselves in Motion; and had the same Success before *Indibilis*, as before *Illiturgis*. One single Battel delivered the Besieged, and gained the *Romans* new Lustre. Thirteen thousand *Carthaginians*, and nine Elephants, were killed on the Spot; and the *Scipio's* made three thousand Prisoners, and took forty two Colours.

So that two such important Victories inclined almost all *Spain* to become *Roman*. When the News was brought to *Rome*, all agreed, that notwithstanding the Battels lately gained in *Italy*, the Progress of the Arms of the Republick in *Spain*, was much greater. But tho' the Glory of the *Scipio's* increased, their Distance, and the Necessity of their Presence abroad, made them to be neglected, in the Disposal of the Supreme Magistracies at *Rome*. *Publius* continued *Pro-Consul* in *Spain*, to his Death; and *Cneius*, as great a General as he was, remained there a Subaltern to his Brother. The Love of their Country, always gained the Ascendant over an Emulation for Dignities, in the Breasts of these two Great Men.

§. IV. THE only Province from which the Senate received less satisfactory Accounts, than from the rest, was *Sicily*. Affairs there were more mixed. T. Ota-

⁶ *Illiturgis*, which *Ptolomy* corruptly calls *Illurgis*, belonged to the *Turduli*, a People of old *Bætica*, who inhabited the Territory of *Cordoun*, near the River *Betis*. *Morales* supposes it to be the present *Anduxar el vieio*, three Miles, or a League, from the City of *Anduxar*. *Sanfon* places it over-against *Linares*, at a little Distance from *Jaen*.

⁷ The *Betis*, now the *Guadalquivir*, rises in that Place cut in the Rocks, which the *Spaniards* call *Siera d'Alcaras*, towards the Frontiers of *New Ca-*

stille, and the Kingdoms of *Granada* and *Murcia*. It runs thro' a Part of *Andalusia*, which from this River is called *Bætica*. After it has watered the Territory of *Cordoun*, it discharges itself into the *Atlantic Ocean*, a little above *Seville*.

⁸ *Indibilis*, which *Glarean* took for the Name of a Man, was an ancient City of *Arragon*. Some place it near *Tervel*, others in the Neighbourhood of *Traiguero*, towards the Confines of *Catalonia*.

Otacilius commanded the Fleet there by an extraordinary Commission; and *Claudius Pulcher* was appointed *Prætor* of the Island, by Election, as usual. The former had some Advantages over the Enemy; the latter was not altogether so successful in his Attempts. *Otacilius* sailed from *Lilybaeum* to *Africa*; ravaged the Territory of *Carthage*; and hearing, as he returned, that the Fleet of *Asdrubal the Bald* was leaving *Sardinia* after its Defeat, he waited to intercept it, beat it, and took seven Ships. *Pulcher* formed a Design of surprising *Bomilcar*, who was conducting to *Hannibal*, a Reinforcement of Troops and Elephants, which he had brought from *Carthage*. The Succours were already landed in *Italy*, in the Country of the *Locri*, or *Locrenses*, who then favoured the *Carthaginians*; and the *Prætor* therefore hastened to *Messana*, embarked his Army there, passed *The Streights of Sicily*, and appeared before *Locris*. But the Inhabitants shut the Gates against him; and *Bomilcar* had time to reach *Hannibal's* Camp. So that *Pulcher* returned to his Province, without any other Glory, than that of having made an Attempt, which might have proved useful to his Country. His Presence was wanted in *Sicily*; the Face of Affairs there was now totally changed.

Good King *Hiero*, who continued so faithful to the Republick for fifty Years together, had lately ended his Days there, in an extreme old Age. His Reign had been pacifick, through the Assistance of the *Romans*; and the Tranquillity of it would never have been interrupted, if he had had no Children. *Gelo*, the only Son of *Hiero*, had insulted the Weakness and old Age of his Father, the Year before his Death; but an untimely End had just delivered *Rome*, and *Sicily*, from this avowed Partizan of *Hannibal*.

AFTER him, there was no body to whom the good King of *Syracuse* could leave his Crown, but *Hieronimus* the Son of *Gelo*; and there was little Dependence to be had upon him, on account of his Youth, being but fifteen Years old, at his Grandfather's Death. The good old Man therefore, who was more intent upon establishing the Safety of his People, than raising his Family, had formed a Design of restoring the *Syracusans* their former Liberty, abolishing the Monarchy, and again settling them in a Republick. He had two Daughters, who were both married to the greatest Lords in the Kingdom. *Demarata*, the elder, had married *Andranodorus*; and *Heraclea*, the younger, had married *Zoippus*, a Man of a sweet Disposition, who had never concerned himself in any Court-Intrigues, and had always kept the Princess his Wife, from Court. He was ready to execute the Orders of his Masters, as long as the regal Power continued; but his Inclinations were for re-establishing a popular Government.

So that the Princess *Heraclea* did not at all contribute to divert her Father from his Design, of restoring the *Syracusans* their ancient Rights. But her Sister used her Interest with her Father, to promote the Ambition of her Husband. She made use of Intreaties, Caresses, and Tears, to engage *Hiero*, not to deprive his Grandson of a Crown, which would become hereditary in his Family. The private Views of the Princess, and her Husband, were at least to govern the Kingdom during the Minority of young *Hieronimus*; and to wait for a favourable Opportunity of mounting the Throne themselves. *Hiero* was then near ninety Years old: So that he gave way to the Instances of an ambitious Woman, made a *Will*, bequeathed the Crown to his Grandson, and nominated fifteen Guardians for him, of whom *Andranodorus*, and *Zoippus*, were the first. In his *Will*, he required, that *Syracuse* should keep up the same good Understanding with *Rome*, as he had done for fifty Years; added, that for the sake of the publick Tranquillity, he would have the same Principles instilled into the Mind of his Grandson, by which he had acted, during his whole Reign; and ordered that he should be taught to abstain from Pomp and Ostentation. Which were indeed the most reasonable Directions, that a Man of great Prudence, and long Experience, could give. But the last Wills of Kings are not always laid down as Rules by their Successors.

HIERO's Eyes were no sooner closed, but the Guardians of *Hieronimus* presented him to the assembled People, and read the late King's *Will* in the Assembly. But all the Articles were not equally agreeable to the *Syracusans*. As their Passions and Interests were different, so were their Opinions. Some did not like the monarchick State. Others took Umbrage at the Crown's being settled in one family. The greatest Part were dissatisfied with the perpetual Alliance to be made

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVIII.
TIB SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, Q. FA-
BIUS MAXI-
MUS, Consuls.

Year of . with *Rome*, already half subdued, and tottering under the Arms of *Hannibal*.
 R O M E And in short, the *Will* was only liked by a very few Persons, who were sold to
 DXXXVIII. the Court, and dispersed in several Parts of the Assembly, on purpose to shew
 TIB. SEMPRO- their Approbation of it, by their Shouts. However, the present Fears of the
 NIUS GRAC- People prevented any Protests; and the Assembly dispersed, as without contra-
 CHUS, Q. FA- dicting, so without accepting of the late King's *Will*. Nevertheless, the People
 BIUS MAXI- celebrated *Hiero's* Obsequies with Pomp. They loved his Person, and his Memory
 MUS, Consuls. was dearer to his Subjects, than to his Relations. As for *Hieronimus*, his Guar-
 dians thought him securely settled on the Throne, because they saw no open Op-
 position made to it. But at bottom, the Affections of the People were not yet
 gained; and it therefore became the Prudence of the young Monarch, and his Mi-
 nisters, to take effectual Care in the first place, to fix the Scepter immovably in
 his Hands. Whereas, the Ambition of *Andranodorus* gave his Pupil the first Blow,
 and increased the Number of the Enemies of the Monarch, and Monarchy.

§.V. *HIERO* had, for very good Reasons of State, appointed a great Number
 of Guardians for the young King. By that means, fifteen of the greatest Lords in
 his Dominions were engaged in Honour to be the Defenders of his Crown, and
 his Rights. But *Andranodorus*, out of selfish Views, deprived *Hieronimus* of the
 principal Supports of his Throne. That he might reign alone, he kept most of
 the Guardians at a distance from the young Prince, made himself Master of him,
 and published a Declaration, That the King might take the Reins of the Govern-
 ment into his own Hands, at fifteen Years of Age.

HIERONYMUS therefore having Liberty to do any thing, scrupled no-
 thing. The best of Princes could scarce have contented the *Syracusans*. The
 Memory of *Hiero*, and his Virtues, were fresh in their Minds; and none but an
 accomplished King could have maintained himself in the Throne, after him.
 Whereas *Hieronimus*, under the Management of *Andranodorus*, became the very
 Reverse of his Grandfather. He seemed to take Pleasure, in increasing the Sor-
 rows of the People, at the Loss of *Hiero*; and they, by comparing the Vices of
 the Successor with the Virtues of his Predecessor, increased their Hatred to the
 new King. They no longer saw the Throne filled with a Prince, who was af-
 fected with all the Misfortunes of the Publick, and gave the meanest of his Sub-
 jects ready Access to him, and who was distinguished from the rest of the People
 only by their Veneration for him; but with another *Dionysius the Tyrant*. *Hiero-
 nymus* resumed the Purple, and the Crown, which *Hiero* and *Gelo* had wisely laid
 aside; and never appeared in publick, but in a Chariot drawn by white Horses,
 and surrounded with Guards. He was difficult of Access, never gave Audience
 but with an Air of Contempt, and often added severe Jest to his Denials. Even
 a great Number of his Guardians were not received at Court. He had no Con-
 fidants, but the Ministers of his Pleasures; indulged himself only in those Plea-
 sures, that are most shameful; and only exercised his Authority in barbarous Acts
 of Cruelty. This raised an universal Alarm, both among the Grandees, and the
 People. Some of his Guardians killed themselves, to avoid seeing the Vices of
 their Ward. Others went into a voluntary Exile, to avoid being put to Death
 by him.

ONLY three Lords of Distinction continued about the King, *Andranodorus*,
Zoippus, and *Thraso*, surnamed *Charcarus*. The last was a cowardly Flatterer,
 who ministered to the Passions of his Prince; but otherwise a good Statesman,
 and a Man of a solid Understanding. The young King often took pleasure in en-
 gaging him in Disputes with *Andranodorus* and *Zoippus*, about the Interest of the
 State. *Thraso* was a zealous Advocate for the *Romans*; but the two others fa-
 voured *Carthage*; and it unfortunately happened, that their Prejudices had most
 Influence on the Prince. Nevertheless, he was yet in Suspence between the two
 Rival Republicks; and *Thraso's* Reasons suspended the Effects of his Regard for
 the Husbands of his two Aunts; till a melancholy Accident determined him to
 take the worst Advice. A very mean worthless Man, named *Solis*, who served
 the King from his Infancy, in the lowest Offices about his Bed-chamber, disco-
 vered a Conspiracy, which was formed against the Life of his Master. Neverthe-
 less, he could not find out the Name of any Conspirator, except *Theodotus*; who
 was delivered up to *Andranodorus*, and tortured, in order to make him discover
 the Plot, and the Names of the Conspirators.

BUT *Theodotus* had more Regard for the Accomplices in his Crime, than for the Laws of Honour, and Duty; and threw the Blame of the Crime, of which he acknowledged himself to be guilty, partly upon innocent Persons. He accused *Thraso*, with some of the King's own Domesticks; and found Means to make his Accusation probable. *Who*, said he, *could be at the Head of the Conspiracy, but a Man in favour with the Prince, and who has free Access into the Palace?* Perhaps *Andranodorus*, and his Brother-in-law, gave the Accusation Weight, out of Jealousy to *Thraso*; and heightened the King's Suspicions of him. But be that as it will, the Accused died under a false Accusation; and all his Interest could not save his Life. As for *Theodotus*, he persisted to the last Breath, in accusing the Innocent, in order to save the Guilty: And his Accomplices depended so much on his keeping the Secret inviolably, that none of them left the City, or absconded, during the whole Process of the Affair.

§. VI. As for the Romans, they lost all Interest at Court, by the Death of *Thraso*; so that *Andranodorus*, and *Zoippus*, easily brought the King into their Measures; and he from that time entered into a Negotiation with *Hannibal*. He sent Deputies 9 to the Carthaginian Camp in Italy; and *Hannibal* sent an Embassy to him in Sicily. The artful Carthaginian made a judicious Choice of the Ambassadors he sent to *Syracuse*; and put at the Head of them a young Lord of great Distinction at *Carthage*, named *Hannibal* as well as himself; and whose Conformity of Age, and Inclinations, must make him agreeable to *Hieronymus*. With this Head of the Embassy, were sent two Men of a mature Age, who were equally capable of managing a Negotiation, and conducting a military Enterprize. By their Names, it is easy to perceive, that they were originally Greeks; one was called *Hippocrates*, and the other *Epicycles*. And indeed, their Grandfathers, who were born at *Syracuse*, had been banished, fled for Refuge to *Carthage*, and there settled; and their Children were *Syracusans* by the Father's Side, and *Carthaginians* by the Mother's. Which must both make them agreeable to the *Syracusans*, and faithful to *Hannibal*. *Claudius Pulcher*, the Roman *Prætor* in Sicily, took Umbrage at the Arrival of these Ambassadors, and immediately sent a Deputation to the Court at *Syracuse*. But the Carthaginians had already had Audience of the King, and had given him high Notions of *Hannibal's* Victories, and Reputation. And *Hieronymus* had already sent away young *Hannibal* to *Carthage*, to prepare the Senate there, for receiving his Ambassadors, when they should come to conclude a Treaty of Alliance with them.

So that Affairs being thus situated, the Envoys of the Roman *Prætor* were not received at *Syracuse*, with the Respect due to the Majesty of their Republick. They began their Speech, with explaining the Reasons of their Deputation. *We are come*, said they, *to renew with the Successor of Hiero, that Fidelity, and good Understanding, which that wise King long maintained with Rome*. But *Hieronymus*, who was naturally given to Raillery, an unpardonable Fault in a Sovereign, replied; *I will ask you but one Question: Which were Conquerors near Cannæ, You, or the Carthaginians? I am told such surprising things of that Battel, that I should fain know all the Particulars of it.* This severe Reproach therefore put the Romans out of Humour: But notwithstanding their Concern, they only made him this Reply; *That when his Majesty would please to be serious, they would desire another Audience.* And they accordingly had one, and then spoke to the King with that haughty Air, which Rome had assumed even over Kings, in the Times of her first Successes. The Deputies no longer made Demands, but gave Advice. *You have heard only the Carthaginians*, said they, *and have pronounced upon very unfaithful Accounts. At Rome, we don't use to determine, on dubious Testimonies. And all that we have farther to say, is, to signify to you, that it is neither equitable, nor for your Interest, to prefer a suspicious Alliance, to old and sincere Friends.*

At which Words, the King replied with an insulting Air: *Yes indeed, I suppose it was out of pure Friendship, that the Romans, upon a false Report of my Grandfather's Death, brought their Fleet in sight of Syracuse. Was it their Design,*

⁹ According to *Livy*, B. 25. the Name of one of the Ambassadors that *Hieronymus* sent to *Hannibal*, was *Polycletus* of *Cyrene*; and that of the other, *Philodemus* of *Argos*.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVIII.
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, Q. FA-
BIUS MAXI-
MUS, Consuls.

to make themselves Masters of my Dominions, or to protect them? A Reproach which was wholly founded on an ill Turn, that the Enemies of *Rome* had maliciously given to an innocent Step of the *Romans*. Their Fleet had advanced as far as to Cape *Pachynum*, in order to succour the Son of their Friend *Hiero*, who was said to be dead. But as soon as they were informed, that the old King was still alive, the Fleet returned to *Lilybæum*. And the Answer of the Ambassadors ought therefore to have been the more readily received, because it was founded in Truth. But young *Hieronymus* only replied with a very bitter Jest; *Since then*, said he, *you could veer about; give me leave in my Turn, to take the Advantage of the Wind, whithersoever it blows. It is now set for Carthage; and I shall sail thither.* Upon this, the *Romans* left him with Indignation, making no Answer, and made their Report to the *Prætor*, who had sent them.

§. VII. FROM that time, the *Roman* Republick looked on the *Syracusans* as her Enemies. And indeed, *Hieronymus* immediately sent three Deputies to *Carthage*, to ratify the Alliance he had made with *Hannibal*. The Conditions of it were these. First, That the *Carthaginians* should send a Fleet, and a Land-Army, to assist *Hieronymus*. Secondly, That after they had with their Joint-Forces, driven the *Romans* out of *Sicily*, the Allies should divide it into two equal Parts, and the ¹⁰ *Himera* should be the Boundary of the *Syracusans* on one Side, and of the *Carthaginians* on the other. This Agreement could not but have been ratified by the Senate of *Carthage* without Difficulty; since the whole End of it, was first to draw off *Hieronymus* from his Alliance with the *Romans*, and then to sacrifice him to their Ambition.

BUT the young King, by the Representations of *Hippocrates*, and *Epicydes*, soon understood, how prejudicial the second Article might prove to him. They had the Interests of *Syracuse* more at Heart, than those of *Carthage*; and they opened the King's Eyes. After they had insinuated themselves into his good Graces, by giving him an Account of *Hannibal's* Projects, they ventured to remonstrate to him, that he might have demanded better Terms of *Carthage*. *Your Right to all Sicily*, said they, *is indisputable. You are the Son of Nereis, the Daughter of* ¹¹ *Pyrrhus*. *And who does not know, That Pyrrhus was unanimously declared King by the whole Island; and That his Daughter, your Mother, left you the Possession of this great State, without curtailing it? Ought it then to be divided?*

It must indeed be owned, that the Reasoning of the two Flatterers was very far from conclusive. But the Eyes of a young Prince are easily dazzled, with Discoveries that favour his Desires; and *Hieronymus* therefore immediately dispatched a new Embassy to *Carthage*. The former Proposals he had made, were upon the Point of being signed; and the *Carthaginians* were surprized to see the King of *Syracuse* retract. His Levity, and Inconstancy, did him no Honour: but nevertheless, it was thought proper to examine his new Demands. After a long Preamble, in which he proved his Rights to all *Sicily*, and shewed at large, the Injury he should receive, by dividing it; he concluded with confining his Alliance with *Carthage*, to mutual Assistances. *I will*, said he, *assist Hannibal in Italy; and Carthage shall assist me in Sicily.* And when it came to be debated, even this appeared to be an advantageous Affair to *Carthage*. It was of the utmost Importance to her, to separate *Syracuse* from the *Romans*, and to recover a Footing in *Sicily*; and she therefore consented to the new Proposals of *Hieronymus*, and made Preparations for raising an Army, and equipping a Fleet. As for the *Romans*, they in vain attempted to make an Impression on the young King; he would give them only this disagreeable Answer. *Restore me all the Gold, the Presents, and the Corn, that you drew from my Grandfather, from the Beginning of his Alliance with you; and consent that the Himera shall be a common Boundary between us; and upon these Conditions, I will renew the ancient Treaties with you.*

¹⁰ There were two Rivers in *Sicily*, which were called *Himera*. The smaller runs Northward, and falls into *The Tyrrhenian Sea*, near the City of *Termini*. The larger, after running through the middle of the Island, for the Length of eighty thousand geometrical Paces, discharges itself into *The Lybian Sea*. Both these Rivers rise in Mount *Nebroda*, now *Madonia*. But *Solinus*, *Mela*, and several other

Geographers, makes these two but one River, which afterwards divides itself into two Branches. See Vol. 2.

¹¹ *Pyrrhus*, as we have elsewhere observed, had married *Lanassa*, the Daughter of *Agathocles*, King of *Sicily*. *Nereis*, the Mother of *Hieronymus*, descended from that Marriage.

§. VIII. So that these Proceedings exasperated the *Roman Prætor*. He took Arms, and began Hostilities, in the Territory of *Syracuse*, before the *Carthaginians* arrived in *Sicily*. On the other hand, *Hieronimus* led his Troops to ¹² *Leontini*, the Confines of his Dominions, and there fixed his Residence. His Army mounted, Cavalry included, to about fifteen thousand Men; two thousand of which he detached under the Command of *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles*, to dislodge the *Roman* Garrisons from the Posts they possessed.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXVIII.
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, Q. FA-
BIUS MAXI-
MUS, Consuls.
Liv. B. 24.
c. 7.

THE young Monarch did not know, that the rest of the Conspirators, whose Names *Theodotus* had concealed, even in the midst of Torments, were among his Soldiers. But these Parricides posted themselves in a narrow Street, thro' which the King used to ride, in his Return from the *Forum* to his Palace; and though his Guard attended him, he had a Traitor among them, whose Name was *Dinomenes*. He had agreed with the Assassins, that he would cause the Guards to halt, and lift up his Leg, as if to tie the Strings of his Buskins; and upon this Signal the Conspirators came out of their Ambush, and stabbed the King in several Places, before he could receive any Assistance. *Dinomenes*, who till that time had made Use of Artifice to get the Guard at some Distance from the King, actually then faced about on his Fellow-Soldiers, and stood their Onset. He was wounded in two Places; but he did not retire till the Conspirators had repulsed the Guards, who ran away, when they saw the King wallowing in his Blood. After this, the Conspirators filled *Leontium* with the Cry of *Liberty! Liberty!* And some of the Murderers posted away to *Syracuse*, to carry the News of the King's Death, and to oppose the Enterprizes of *Andranodorus*, and the other Royalists. Nay, who can say whether the *Prætor Claudius* was entirely unconcerned in a Plot which was so useful to his Republick? This at least is certain, that he sent the Senate an Account of the Murder of *Hieronimus*, and desired them to provide for the Necessities of the Province, in which the War might become as furious as in *Italy*.

§. IX. But the *Romans* were, all things considered, in scarce a better Condition than immediately after the Battel of *Cannæ*, notwithstanding their Course of Victories for a whole Year. *Hannibal* indeed had lost much of his Courage, and many of his Forces; but he was grown more artful, than at the time when his Valour was at the highest; and had regained by Negotiation, what *Capua* had caused him to lose, by lessening his martial Vigour. He had just entered into Measures with the King of *Macedon*, against *Rome*. And as for the State of *Syracuse*, it seemed most likely to declare for the *Carthaginians*, whether it became a Republick, or not. So that *Rome* had Reason to be apprehensive of Danger from all Quarters, when after the End of the Campaign she assembled her *Comitia*, in the *Campus Martius*, in order to proceed to new Elections.

FABIUS had just fortified ¹³ *Puteoli*, which then began to be a frequented Port, on account of the War; after which, he took the Road to *Rome*, in order to preside in the *Comitia by Centuries*. But the prudent *Consul* did not enter the City; he first went, in his military Habit, and attended by his *Lictors*, with their Axes and *Fasces*, to *The Field of Mars*, without the Gates of *Rome*; and there he found the *Centuries* already assembled, on the Day he had appointed for it, by his Letters. In these *Comitia*, it was customary for the *Tribes* to draw Lots, which should first enter into the Voting-place, to vote; after which, the *Centuries* of each *Tribe* also drew Lots, to know which *Century* should vote first in that *Tribe*. Now the *Prerogative* ¹⁴ *Right*, or the Right of voting first, fell at this time to the *Tribe of the Anio*, or the *Tribe*; whose District lay on the Banks of that River; and the *Century* to which that Right fell, in this *Tribe*, was that of the youngest Men in the *Tribe*. It was generally a good Omen, for Candidates to be named by the first Voters; the following *Tribes* were often determined by it, to make the same Choice. Now a Majority of the young Inhabitants of *The Tribe of the Anio* nominated to the *Consulship*, *T. Otacilius*, and *M. Æmilius Regillus*; two Men, tho' not altogether without Merit, yet neither were they Generals of the first

¹² See what we have said of *Leontini*, Vol. 2. p. 474. Note 9.

¹³ We have spoken of *Puteoli*, in the preceding volumes. It is now *Pozzuolo*, or *Ponzoles*, in *Terra di Lavoro*, on the Coasts of the *Tyrrhenian*

Sea, between *Baia* and *Naples*. See Vol. 2. p. 137. Note 8.

¹⁴ We have several times spoken of this Way of voting. See what we have said of *The Prerogative Right*, Vol. 1. p. 336. Note 11.

Year of Rank, such as the present Necessities required. And the Great *Fabius* therefore thought proper to interrupt the Process of the Election for a few Minutes, and harangue the Assembly, in these Terms.

TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHUS, Q. FA-
BIUS MAXI-
MUS, Consuls.
*Livy, B. 24.
c. 8.*

THE Misfortunes that threaten us, authorize Proceedings, that in a less critical Juncture would be insupportable. Generally speaking, to oppose a Choice already begun to be made, by the first Voters, is to destroy the Freedom of Elections. But Romans, it is not now a Matter of small Importance, for us to chuse our Governors by Favour or Caprice. We ought at this time to use the same Precautions in our Comitia, as we do in War. We, who are at the Head of your Armies, are ever remembering, that Hannibal is the Man we are to fight: And every one of you ought to consider, when you enter the Campus Martius, that it is against Hannibal that you are going to chuse your Generals. All those whom you have hitherto, out of Levity or Intrigue sent against him, have made us severely smart for your Impudence. Hence all the Misfortunes which surround us. If you chuse the ablest General in Rome, to face this formidable Enemy, as he is appointed only for one Year Hannibal will, in all probability, gain Advantage over him. The latter is under no Restraint in Point of Time, or Law; but is at full Liberty to suit his Conduct to the present Exigencies of the War. He this Year gives way, and temporizes with an Adversary he fears; and perhaps the next provokes and attacks a Rival whom he fears not. He is bold or diffident, according to the Characters of the new Generals we annually send against him. You have sent some such as he desired, and he has made his Advantage of it. And it now highly behoves you to take care not to furnish him with Matter for new Triumphs. Your wisest Generals are not too able to cope with Hannibal. One Century has indeed already paved the Way for the Advancement of Æmilius and Otacilius, to the Consulship; at which, I must own I am surprized. The former, as High Priest of Quirinus, cannot be absent from Rome, consistently with the Duties of Religion. The latter is my Relation: He married my Niece. But the Gods forbid that private Affection should prevail over a Regard for the publick Good! In a Calm, every Seaman can govern the Bark. But in a Storm, it requires the Skill of the ablest Pilot to steer her. The Employment, Otacilius, with which the Republick entrusted you the last Year, in giving you the Command of a Fleet, to cut off all Communication between Hannibal and Carthage, is much inferior to the Consulship; and can You, who could not intercept his Convoys by Sea, bear his Presence by Land? Let me advise you not to load yourself with a Burden, under which you must necessarily sink. Don't lay your self under a Necessity of nominating a Dictator, to supply your Place. And as for You Romans, chuse such Consuls as you would do, if you were now to nominate two Generals, who were obliged this Moment to give Hannibal Battel. I pronounce therefore, that the Youth of The Tribe of the Anio, shall return to the Voting Place, and give their Suffrages again. Heralds, proclaim my Orders.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX:
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

Thus spake *Fabius*; but *Otacilius* opposed the Consul's Decision. He made great Outcry, and insisted that the Tribes ought to be at full Liberty to pursue the Election they had begun. But as *Fabius* had not entered the City, his *Lictors* were armed with Axes, as well as Fasces, as in the Camp; and they surrounded the seditious Man, and forced him to hold his Peace. Then the Youth of The Tribe of the Aniensis returned into the Voting-place, and unanimously nominated Q. *Fabius Verrucosus*, surnamed *Cunctator*, or, The Temporizer; and M. *Claudius Marcellus* to the Consulship. The latter was absent, and had not vouchsafed to appear among the Candidates. The former had contributed towards his being continued in the highest Dignity, by his Words, and in some Sort by Violence; yet no body suspected him of Ambition, or accused him of Tyranny. The People were satisfied that it was pure Zeal for the Welfare of his Country, that had induced *Fabius* to desire the Consulship, and to possess it two Years successively, contrary both to Law and Custom. They therefore chose him Consul a fourth time; and *Marcellus* the third, reckoning the Consulship which he resigned out of Scruples of Religion. And it may be affirmed of them, That Rome never had two greater Men together at the Head of her Affairs. The one, by his Flegm, kept *Hannibal* within Bounds.

¹⁵ *Cassiodorus, Mariannus, and The Greek Tables,* doubtless did not reckon that of the last Year; but make this the second Consulship of *Marcellus*. They cause his Election then had been defective.

and chilled his Courage. The other, being always cautious, and yet always enterprising, weakened him, without running too great Hazards. In short, Rome had great Expectations from these two Generals, one of which was *The Buckler*, and the other *The Sword*, of his Country.

FABIUS's Harangue in the *Comitia* had also another Effect. The Romans were so far convinced by it, of the Necessity of having their Commanders more than one Year in Office, that they made very little Alteration in the Disposition of Employments made the last Year. The two *Scipio*'s continued in *Spain*. *Mucius Scaevola* took upon him the Government of *Sardinia*, as soon as he had recovered his Health. *Otacilius* was continued at the Head of the Fleet he had commanded the last Year. *Fulvius Flaccus* was again chosen *Prætor of Rome*, and had the same Command of two *Legions*, to guard the City, and Neighbourhood. *Valerius Lævinus* was again ordered to guard the Coasts of *Italy*, with his Fleet, and watch the Steps of the King of *Macedon*. *Sempronius Gracchus*, with his Army of Slaves, now become excellent Soldiers, continued in his Camp in *Lucania*, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*. *Terentius Varro* still held his Post in *Picenum*. *Sempronius Longus* was continued extraordinary *Pro-Consul* in *Lucania*, and *Pomponius Matho* held his old Employment in *Cisalpine Gaul*. So that two only of all the Generals were removed. *Claudius Pulcher* shared the Government of *Sicily* with *Cornelius*, who was appointed Governour of the ancient Demesns of the Romans there: And *Fabius*, the Son of the illustrious *Consul*, from being *Curule Ædile*, was appointed to command an Army in *Apulia*, in quality of *Prætor*.

§. X. AFTER these Appointments, new *Comitia*, in which also the Great *Fabius* presided, elected two *Censors* of distinguished Merit, who had both been honoured with the *Consulship* more than once. One was *M. Attilius Regulus*, the Son of the famous General, who has so much signalized his Memory, by the Constancy with which he suffered Death at *Carthage*; and the other was *P. Furius Philus*, whose Virtue and great Age naturally inclined him to Severity. And these two grave Republicans, who wanted Business, at a time when the low State of the Treasury would not suffer them to undertake any publick Work, employed themselves wholly in promoting a Reformation of Manners, and punishing Offenders.

OPPIUS, the *Tribune of the People*, had caused a Law to be passed the last Year, to restrain the Luxury of Women. They had been forbidden to have above half an Ounce of Gold in Toys, to wear Tissues of several Colours, and to ride in Chariots within a Mile of *Rome*, unless in assisting at some Sacrifice. And now, the new *Censors* enquired, on the other hand, what Offences the Men had been guilty of, that tended to the Detriment of the Republick. The first Man whom they prosecuted was that *Cæcilius Metellus*, who, after the Defeat of *Cannæ*, had entered into a Combination with some others, to leave *Italy*, and seek a quiet Retreat in foreign Countries. Young *Scipio* had indeed, by Fear, put a Stop to the Execution of the Projects of the Company *Cæcilius* had seduced; but the Cowardice of the Seducer had continued unpunished. He had even stood for the *Quæstorship*, and obtained it; but his Dignity did not screen him. The *Censors* condemned him and his Accomplices to restore the Horses the Republick had given them; that is, they degraded them from the Order of *Roman Knights*. Nor was this all. They were deprived of all the Rights of *Roman Citizens*; their Names were razed out of the Rolls of the *Tribes*; and they lived at *Rome* only like Men under Disgrace, subject to Taxes, but disabled from giving or receiving any Votes in the *Comitia*. The same Punishments were also inflicted on those faithless Romans, whom *Hannibal* had taken near *Cannæ*, and sent Deputies to *Rome*, to act in the Name of all the *Roman Prisoners*. These Cowards, upon some evasive Pretences, had not returned to *Hannibal*'s Camp, tho' they had sworn to do so; and this Want of Probity did not escape the Zeal of the *Censor Attilius Regulus*. He was too full of the Example his Father had given of keeping Faith with Enemies, to spare these Cheats, who had evasively broken their Promises: And they were reduced to a Level with the meanest of the Populace. The *Censors* likewise exercised their Severity against another kind of Offenders. A great Number of young Men had avoided serving the State in the Armies, notwithstanding the great Wants to which the Republick had been reduced; and a strict Enquiry was now made into that Affair. All those of a military Age, who within four Years last past had neglected to enroll themselves, without lawful Cause,

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

Val. Max. B. 2.
c. 9. §. 8.
Livy, B. 24.
c. 18.

Val. Max. B.
9. c. 1. §. 3.

Ibid. B. 2. c. 9;
§. 8.

Livy, B. 24.
c. 18.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

Cause; or express Leave, were expelled the *Tribes*, deprived of all Right of Suffrage, forced to bear the Weight of the publick Taxes, and at the same time disabled from being raised to any Employment. Many other Persons were also stigmatized by the *Censors*, for their Irregularities; and the Senate passed a Decree, That all those on whom any Censure had been inflicted, should serve in the Infantry in *Sicily*; should be treated as the Fugitives at the Battel of *Cannæ* were; and should not be suffered to leave the Island, till the War with *Hannibal* was ended.

By this wholesome Severity, the Republick kept up her old Virtue. It may be affirmed, that, generally speaking, she never exerted herself with more *Eclat*, than in this Crisis of the second *Punic* War. Never did the *Romans* of all Orders shew a more disinterested Zeal for the Service of their Country, than at this time. The *Publicans* had perceived that the *Censors* had suspended the publick Works, for want of Money; and they, who generally undertook these Works by the Great, went to the *Censors*, and desired them not to interrupt necessary Works on account of the Lowness of the Exchequer. They offered to advance the Sums necessary for finishing the Works which were begun, and declared they did not desire to be repaid, till the Treasury could conveniently do it. And the same Spirit seized all the Creditors of the State. The Persons appointed to pay the Sums due to the Proprietors of the Slaves, were prepared to pay the Sellers their Money, on the Day appointed; but the latter were so far from pressing to be paid, that they desired it might be deferred till the War was ended. And lastly, which is indeed scarce credible, this Spirit of Liberality possessed even the Troops. Scarce a *Centurion*, or Horseman, demanded his Pay; and if any one had little Generosity enough to receive it of the *Quæstors*, he became the Jest of his *Legion*. He was reproached with being a selfish and mercenary Man, who did not think it Honour enough to serve the Republick, unless he was paid for it. Thus, by the Rigours of her *Censors*, and the generous Dispositions of her Subjects, *Rome* prepared to repair her Losses, and gain the Ascendant over the many Enemies that threatened her.

Val. Max. B. 5.
c. 6. §. 8.

§. XI. This judicious Reformation, and the present Dispositions of the People, made it easy to raise new Levies. *Rome* had had but twelve *Legions* on Foot the last Year; but now she added six new ones to them, and distributed this prodigious Multitude of *Roman Citizens* (for the Allies were not admitted into the *Legions*) with Prudence. The *Consuls* and the *Prætors* who were to command in *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Cisalpine Gaul*, had each two *Legions*. Young *Fabius* had also a Camp of two *Legions* in *Apulia*; and *Sempronius Gracchus* another of the like Number of those Slaves called *Volones*, who were now become well disciplin'd, and of whom two *Legions* had been formed. Two others were left to guard *Rome* under the Command of the *Prætor Julius Flaccus*; and the two Commanders of the Fleets, *Otacilius* and *Lævinus*, embarked each one *Legion* on board his Squadron. And in all these, the Troops that served under the *Scipios* in *Spain*, are not included. The Historians seem to have forgotten them. So that in the whole, the Armies of the Republick were exceeding numerous; since the Troops of the Allies were generally twice as many as the *Legionaries*: And these Forces were soon ready to take the Field; but Superstition put a Stop to their Departure, for some time. Many natural Events were taken, at *Rome*, for divine Prefages; and many false Miracles were coined, perhaps out of Policy, to keep the Soldiers and their Generals prudent and circumspect. The *Tyber* had overflowed, and done a great deal of Damage to the Country. A Pond had broken down its Banks, and the Water of it, which was reddish, had run into the ¹⁶ *Mincio*. A Spring had suddenly burst forth out of the Earth, in one of the ¹⁷ Streets of *Rome*, with so large a Stream, that it bore away Barrels with it. It had thundered, in several Parts of

¹⁶ Authors are divided about the Place where the *Mincio* rises. Some say it rises in *The Lake di Garda*, anciently called *The Lake Benacus*. Others bring it from the *Alpes*, and give it the Name of *The Sarca*. It takes that of the *Mincio*, after it has entered the *Lake di Garda*. From thence it takes its Course cross *The Mantuan*, and runs into the *Po*, at some Distance from *Mantua*.

¹⁷ It is uncertain whether *Livy* speaks of a Street in *Rome*, or not. His Expression is *In vico Ustrino*, as if he meant, that the Prodigy happened at a Town, or in a Canton, of *Istria*. Some say it ought to be read *In vico Ustrino*. And indeed the *Vicus Ustrinus*, was on the Hill *Esquilinus*, where it was usual to burn the dead Bodies of the poor People.

Italy; and a Palm-tree had taken fire, but by what means was not known. And Year of
in a word, a Woman at *Spoletum* had all on a sudden changed her Sex. So that R O M E
the *Romans* were much terrified with the Numbers of the Prodigies, which the DXXXIX.
People reported, and took pleasure in divulging. It was said, that an Ox had Q. FABIVS
spoken; and that a Child in his Mother's Belly, had been heard to utter these MAXIMUS,
Words, *Triumph! Triumph!* And several ¹⁸ other Relations of the same kind M. CLAUDIVS
had filled *Rome* with Astonishment. Sacrifices were therefore offered up, to avert MARCELLVS,
the Misfortunes of the Publick; the Temples were frequented by great Crowds Consuls.
of People; and after some Days had been spent in religious Offices, all were wholly Liv. B. 24.
intent on the War. c. 10.

THE *Sicilian* Expedition seemed to require most Dispatch. It was confidently Livy, B. 24.
reported, that the War was already begun there; and *Otacilius* was therefore or- c. 11.
dered to arm with all Diligence, and to embark his *Legion*. But the Fleets were
not well manned, and the Treasury was exhausted. However, a Tax on the Rich
supplied this Want. The Senate, with the Consent of the *Consuls*, ordered that re-
course should be had to the Registers of the *Censors*, and that the Account every one
had given in of his Estate, in the last *Census*, should be examined. All the Heads
of Families, who were worth from fifty thousand to an hundred thousand *Asses*,
were obliged to maintain a Seaman, or Rower, in the Service of the Republick,
for six Months; and so proportionably of others. Those who had from an * hun- *322l. 18s. 4d.
dred thousand ¹⁹ to three hundred thousand, were forced to maintain three Men, Arbuthnot.
for one Year. And lastly, the most Wealthy kept no less than five, or seven: and
the Senators obliged themselves to maintain eight Men each, for one Year. Thus
the Fleets were recruited, and Ships were for the first time equipped, at the Expence
of private Persons.

§. XII. ALL that now remained, was to march the Land-Forces, and begin the
Campaign in *Italy*. *Hannibal* had spent the Winter in *Apulia*; and the *Capuans*
recalled him thither in haste, and desired him to draw near to their City. *Capua*
was indeed terrified at the extraordinary Number of the Forces of the Republick,
commanded by so many brave Generals; and took it for granted, that she should
first feel the Vengeance of the *Romans*. She had first set up the Standard to re-
volt; and was very sensible, that her Treachery would not long escape unpunished.
Magius, the Author of the Revolt, was the chief Man in the City; and no Man
had more reason to dread the Resentments of *Rome*. He therefore intreated *Han-*
nibal, not to delay marching his Troops into the Neighbourhood of *Capua*, to
cover it; and the Inclinations of the *Carthaginian* led him to assist this beloved
City. He instantly left ²⁰ *Arpi*, and returned to his old Camp on the ²¹ *Tifata*, near
Capua; and whilst he continued there, the *Consul Fabius* lost no time in returning
to his Army. He then had a Design of besieging ²² *Casilinum*, a strong City in
the Interest of *Hannibal*, situated on the Confines of *Campania*, and *Lucania*;
and in order the better to succeed in his Enterprize, he had ordered some of the
Roman Generals to change their Posts. He commanded *Sempronius Gracchus*, who
was encamped at ²³ *Luceria*, to come to *Beneventum*; and ordered his Son *Fabius*,
to take the Post of *Sempronius*. The latter, attended with his well-disciplined
Slaves, made all haste to *Beneventum*, and entered it without Resistance. It seems
to have been at that time a defenceless City, which readily opened her Gates to
both Parties. *Hanno* seems to have come from the Country of the *Bruttii*, on
purpose to post himself there; but he was prevented by *Sempronius*, and therefore

¹⁸ Livy mentions it as one of these Prodigies, That the Inhabitants of the City of *Adria* saw in the Air the Figures of Men cloathed in white, ranged round an Altar. He likewise says, That a Swarm of Bees settled in the Market-place. Some People fancied they saw armed *Legions* near the *Jani-culus*; which was enough to raise an Alarm in the City. Some Crows built their Nests in a Temple at *Lavinium*, consecrated to *Juno Hospita*. And lastly, the Spear of *Mars* of *Præneste* moved of itself. So true is it, That *Livy* seems to take Delight in supposing, on all Occasions, that Prodigies are the Fore-runners of great Events.

¹⁹ These hundred thousand *Asses*, at the Rate of one *Son per As*, make about five thousand *French Livres*, according to our Remarks in the preceding Volumes.

²⁰ See what we have said of the City of *Arpi*, Vol. 2. There was another City of almost the same Name, called *Arpos*; which is thought to have been the present *Castel a Mare*, in the *Campagna di Roma*.

²¹ The *Tifata*, is that Mountain in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which is near *Caserta*. See Vol. 2. B. 16. p. 135. Note 5.

²² The City of *Casilinum* stood in the Place where *New Capua* now stands, over-against *The Old*, on the Banks of the *Vulturnus*. This River was also called *Casilinus*, by *Agathias* the Historian, from the Name of the City it watered.

²³ We have already spoken of the City of *Luceria*, in the second Volume, p. 227. Note 99.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

contented himself with encamping on the River ²⁴ *Calor*, and laying the Country waste. His Army consisted of seventeen thousand Foot, for the most part *Bruttii* and *Lucani*, and twelve hundred *Numidian* ²⁵ Horse. Upon Information that *Hanno* was in the Neighbourhood, the brave *Sempronius* marched out of *Beneventum*, and came and encamped about a Mile from the Enemy. It was a bold Step; but the prudent *Roman* had great Confidence in the Valour of his *Volones*.

As soon as *Sempronius* had hoisted up the Signal for the Battel over his Tent, his Troops assembled round the *Prætorium* to hear his Harangue. He had obtained a Grant from the Senate, which was very favourable to his Army. This amiable General, who had great Affection for the Soldiers he had himself formed, had observed, that they were somewhat impatient of recovering their Liberty, and being juridically freed from the Denomination and Condition of Slaves. Indeed, after two Years Service, not one of them had ventured to demand his Freedom; all had contented themselves with deserving it. Nevertheless, their General had heard them ask one another, when they marched out of Winter-Quarters, *Shall we always continue Slaves, in the noble Profession of Arms?* But these were modest Complaints; and *Sempronius* was not offended at them. He wrote to the Senate, to inform them, not that his Soldiers were weary of their Slavery, but that they had, by their good Conduct, deserved to be delivered from it. Upon this good Character of them, the *Conscript Fathers* had given *Sempronius* a Power to set at Liberty such of the Slaves of his Army as he pleased: and now, instead of haranguing them, he read to them the Letter of the Senate; and only added, *That the time was now come for them to recover their Liberty; That the Battel of the next Day should be the Proof of their Valour, and determine their Fate; That whoever brought off the Head of an Enemy, should be declared free upon the Spot; but That the Cowards should be treated as Slaves.*

THESE Words spread Joy among the Troops; which they shewed by their Acclamations. Being the next Day to be delivered from Slavery, either by Death, or Victory, they thought the Night too long; and without tarrying for the Rising of the Sun, ranged themselves round the *Prætorium*, before the other Soldiers; and there waited for the General's Orders. No Soldiers ever shewed a greater Earnestness to engage an Enemy; and *Sempronius* did not suffer their Ardor to abate. As soon as it was light, he marched them out into the Plain, whither *Hanno* soon followed him; and the Generals on both Sides formed their Armies.

It was then customary, to give Soldiers a Contempt of the Enemy they were going to engage with, to raise their Confidence, and to inspire them with Hatred towards their Adversaries. And for this End, *Sempronius* now told his *Legions*, they were going to fight with none but *Lucani* and *Bruttii*, whom the *Romans* had so often vanquished. Whilst *Hanno*, on the other hand, put his Troops in mind, that they were going to fight with none but Slaves; Men accustomed to be loaded with Irons, and to tremble at the Voice of their Masters.

IN the mean time, the Trumpets sounded, and the Attack began. The Battel was furious, and the Victory was disputed for four Hours together. Not that the Valour of the *Romans* was not superior to that of the *Carthaginians*; but *Sempronius's* Promises had lessened the Ardor of the *Volones*. He had promised Liberty only to those who carried off, each the Head of an Enemy; and as soon therefore as any Man had knocked an Enemy down, he made it his Business to cut off his Head, and load himself with it. So that this Weight encumbered them, and they lost a great deal of time in this kind of Butchery. The bravest of them, content with having soon gained their Liberty, fought no longer; but left it to those who were less bold, and less active, to dispatch their Antagonists. The General therefore, finding that this retarded the Victory, published a new Order, in all the Ranks of his Army. *Let the Volones, said he, press hard upon the Enemy, and break through them. They shall not obtain their Liberty, unless the Carthaginians are put to the Rout. Let them throw down their useless Heads, and force their Way through the opposite Battalions!*

²⁴ The River anciently called *Calor*, now *Calord*, rises in *The Further Principality*, near *Monte Marano*. It runs into the *Sabbato*, at a little Distance from *Benevento*.

²⁵ The *Numidian* Cavalry were very alert, and

consequently very good both at skirmishing, and close fighting. Their Horses were distinguished from others, by their Swiftness. The *Numidians* did not commonly use Bridles; but gave up their Horses to their own Impetuosity.

AT which Words, the brave Slaves renewed the Fight with fresh Impetuosity. The *Roman* Cavalry engaged that of the Enemy, and the Plain immediately resounded with Shouts, and was soon died red with Blood. Nevertheless, the Success was still uncertain: till at length *Sempronius* made Proclamation by his *Centurions*, a second time, That the Liberty of the *Volones* depended wholly on the Victory; and then, these repeated Promises had their desired Effect. The Slaves seemed to have changed their Natures. Every thing gave way before them; the first Ranks of the *Carthaginians* were repulsed; they, pressing on the hindmost Ranks, put them into Disorder; and at length they fled towards their Entrenchments. The *Romans* pursued them, killing the Fugitives as they fled; and the flight of the latter was so great, that they did not think of shutting the Gates of their Camp. So that the *Romans* entered it, mixed with them; and there began a fresh Battel. The *Romans* endeavoured to secure their Conquest, their Enemies to drive them out of it; and as they there fought in less room than in the Plain, there was more Blood spilt. The Victory long continued in Suspence; but at last, the *Romans* which *Hanno* had taken Prisoners, determined it. They broke their Chains, took to their Arms, attacked the *Carthaginians* behind, routed them, and at the same time prevented their Escape. So that of an Army of sixteen thousand Men, scarce two thousand, most Horse, were saved; and led back by *Hanno* their General, to the Country of the *Bruttii*.

It must be owned, that all the *Legionary* Slaves in the *Roman* Army did not fight with equal Constancy. Four thousand of them had not ventured to pursue the Enemy to their Camp; and being therefore ashamed of their Cowardice, they retired, after the Victory, to an high Mountain, for fear of becoming the Jest of their Companions. But *Sempronius* had Compassion for their Weakness; and sent a *Tribune* to invite them to return. After they were returned, the Conqueror assembled his Troops, and distributed the Rewards of their Valour among them: then, it was necessary he should perform his Promise to his *Volones*, to whom he addressed himself thus. *I am not ignorant, that all of you have not equally deserved the Liberty I promised. But on this glorious Day, all shall share the Favours of the Senate, and Roman People. By their Authority, I pronounce you all Free, without Distinction; and May this general Bounty to you, tend to the Welfare of the Republic!* He spoke these Words with an Air of Goodness that charmed them; and they were followed by great Acclamations. The Soldiers of free Consequence embraced the new *Freedmen*; and the Camp resounded with nothing but praises of the *Roman* People, and the General.

As soon as these first Emotions of Joy were a little over, *Sempronius* ordered Silence to be proclaimed, and spoke thus. *I have performed my own Promises, and those of the Publick, without making any Difference between those who were more, and those who were less, worthy of their Freedom. And in this I pursued the dictates of my own Heart. But I must now shew some Regard to the Laws of Discipline, and military Equity. It is not indeed just, that the Cowardly should be entirely on the same Foot as the Brave. I will therefore have a List drawn up of the Names of those who were seized with Fear in the Battel, and their Punishment shall be this; I will forbid them to eat sitting, or lying down, all the time they are in the Service.* This was a slight Punishment for Men, who were raised to their utmost Wishes, by the Recovery of their Liberty. So that *Sempronius* won the Hearts of his Soldiers, and indulged his own Benevolence, without giving any Reproaches on himself: and as he had no more Enemies to fight with, he marched back his Army to *Beneventum*, where he was received, as it were in Triumph. The *Beneventini* contended who should make the finest Entertainments for the Conquerors. But the General would not suffer his Soldiers to eat within Doors; and therefore Tables were spread for them in the open Streets. It was a new Sight, to see a whole Army drawn up before the Houses, and there feasting plentifully, some lying down, and some standing. The *Volones* took the *Pileus*, or put on ²⁶ Bonnets of Wool, for the first time, to shew they were

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

²⁶ We have observed, *Vol. I. p. 198. Note 15.* That *Pileus* was the Symbol of Liberty among the ancient Romans; doubtless because Slaves were for-

bidden to wear it. It was of an oblong Shape; was sometimes made like an Egg cut off in the middle; and sometimes like an Helmet; whence it was some-

Year of **R O M E** were made free. And there was something so very singular in this Feast, that **DXXXIX.** *Sempronius* caused it to be painted on the Temple of *Liberty* ²⁷, which his Father had caused to be built, and had dedicated, on the Hill *Aventinus*.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

§. XIII. IN the mean time, *Hannibal* suffered his Generals to be beaten, and seemed to shun meeting the *Romans*. He plainly appears to have trusted no longer to his formidable Army, but to private Plots, and to Corruption and Surprize, by which he gained some Cities. With this View, he soon went from the Neighbourhood of *Capua*. He left the *Spaniards* and *Numidians* of his Army in his Camp at *Tifata*, to guard the *Capuans*; and marched away immediately with the rest of his Troops. His Pretence for this sudden Departure, was, that he was obliged to offer Sacrifice on the Banks of the ²⁸ *Avernus*; but his real Design was to corrupt the Garrison of *Puteoli*, a maritime City, which the *Romans* had fortified the last Year. During his Residence near the *Avernus*, he did not neglect Acts of Piety; he offered Sacrifices there: But he, at the same time, ordered his Troops to ravage the Territory of *Cumæ*, as far as to Cape *Misenum*, and from thence marched down to *Puteoli*, to surprize the Garrison. However, it consisted of six thousand faithful Men, and the Place being strong by Situation, and by some Works lately made there, the Attempt of the *Carthaginian* proved fruitless. Nevertheless, he conceived Hopes of making himself Master of *Tarentum* at least, which was a City of more Importance than *Puteoli*.

AMONG the great Number of the Prisoners of the Allies of *Rome*, with whom *Hannibal* had tampered, after his Victories, there were some *Tarentini*; who having been sent home without Ransom, had remembered *Hannibal's* Generosity, and had inclined their Fellow-Citizens to shake off the *Roman* Yoke. They had particularly wrought upon the Minds of the Youth, and they had great Credit among the People. Some Deputies sent from the young *Tarentini*, had represented to the *Carthaginian*, the Dispositions of their Countrymen towards him, advised him to lead his Army towards *Tarentum*, and assured him, that as soon as he appeared before it, the Gates would be opened to him. Nothing flattered *Hannibal's* Expectations more, than the Hopes of taking so considerable a City. Its Port lay



Silver



Brass

sometimes called *Galerus*. It was not so much appropriated to the *Freedmen*, that Persons of free Condition might not wear it. Indeed the *Romans* generally went uncovered. But there were Exceptions to this Custom, especially in most of the Sacrifices during the *Saturnalia*, as we have elsewhere observed, and at the publick *Shews*. Nay, they often wrapped the Lappets of their Robes round their Heads like Cowls, to guard them from the Cold, and Injuries of the Air. In a Fragment of a Work of *Varro's*, entitled, *The Manners of the Roman People*, he seems to suppose, that the Infirmities of old Age gave ancient Persons a Right of wearing the *Pileus* at all times. At *Rome*, says he, the young Men appear, and walk bare-headed. *Minores natu capite aperto erant*. On Journeys, and in War, the *Romans* wore a sort of Felt-Hats, which the *Latins* called *Petasi*. They had large Brims, much like our Hats; and were useful to Travellers and Soldiers, to keep off the Rain and Sun. *Suetonius* says of *Augustus*, that he never walked in his Palace without one on his Head. *Domi quoque non nisi petasatus spatiebatur*. And when *Plautus*, in his *Pseudolus*, speaks of dressing a Person as a Traveller, he does not forget the *Petasis*. . . . *Etiam opus est Chlamyde,*

& *machera*, & *petaso*. *Cicero*, in his seventeenth Letter of the fifteenth Book of his *Epistole ad Familiares*, says that the Couriers by whom he sent his Dispatches, came to his House with *Petasi* on their Heads, to shew they were ready to set out: *Petasi veniunt*. We have the Figure of this Hat, which the Ancients gave *Mercury*. It is thus represented in a Medal of the *Aburian* Family, the Head of which we have here engraven. The *Petasis* very well suited the Messenger of the Gods. According to Fable, he was always in Motion, carrying and executing the Orders of *Jupiter*. Add to this, that this Hat was worn in different Forms according to the Fancy of the Wearer. In several ancient Monuments, it looks much like a Cap or Bonnet. Such is the *Petasis*, on the Head of the second *Mercury* above.

²⁷ It is not at all surprising, that *Liberty* should in some sort be the Idol of a People so jealous of their Independency as the *Romans*. They made it a particular Goddess, built many Temples to her, and engraved her Image, or Symbols, on Multitudes of Monuments.

²⁸ See what we have said of the Lake *Avernus*, Vol. 2. p. 276. Note 76.

conveniently

conveniently for receiving Succours from *Carthage*; and as it looked towards *Medon*, was a very proper Place for landing the Troops, King *Philip* had engaged by Treaty to send into *Italy*, and to join his own with them. So that he received the Deputies with Joy, caressed them, made them many Presents, and sent them home, to finish the Work they had begun; promising them, that he would soon be at *Tarentum*.

AND whilst he gave this favourable Design time to ripen, he fell upon the Territory of *Naples*, not so much with Hopes of taking the City, as in order to revenge himself on the Inhabitants. He ravaged, and laid waste, the whole Country; and there received an Invitation from the People of *Nola*, to draw near to their City. The Populace had entered into a new Plot against the *Romans*; but the Senate of *Nola*, who were always faithful to *Rome*, discovered the Step the revolvers had taken, and sent Advice of it to *Marcellus*. This brave Consul had always been the Defender of their City, which had long been the chief Scene of his Glory; and he did not abandon it in this new Distress. He marched in one day, from ²⁹ *Cales*, where his Camp was, to *Suessula*, and after he had passed the *Volturnus*, sent away a Detachment of six thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, to support the Senate of *Nola*, against the Attempts of the Populace. But *Hannibal* was not so expeditious. The Fear of failing again before this Place, abated his Ardor. Nevertheless, he drew towards *Nola* by short Marches: and *Marcellus* could not suffer him to march quite up to the City, without Opposition.

As the Detachment he had sent away, had weakened his Army, he ordered *Componius*, who was then accidentally at *Suessula*, tho' his Command lay in *Gaul*, to join him with his two *Legions*; and when thus reinforced, *Marcellus* did not long deliberate about meeting *Hannibal*. But the illustrious Consul regulated his motions by the Knowledge he had of the Country. He ordered his Relation *Claudius Nero*, the Commander in chief of the Horse, To march out of *Nola* with some Squadrons, at the Gate which was farthest distant from the Place to which *Hannibal* was coming; To move only by Night; and taking a large Compass, To come and fall upon the *Carthaginian* Army in the midst of the Battel. And if these Orders had been executed, *Hannibal* must have been entirely and inevitably ruined.

THE *Romans* prevented the *Carthaginian*, and attacked him in his March. The Battel was bloody, and the Enemy retired. But *Nero's* Absence, who did not come up at the time appointed, a little broke *Marcellus's* Measures. Tho' Conqueror in the Plain, he did not think proper to pursue the Enemy. He sounded Retreat, after a slight Advantage; and as moderate as he was, burst out into reproaches against *Nero*: You alone, said he to him, have prevented our making *Nola* as fatal to *Hannibal*, as *Cannæ* was to us. Either the Commander of the Horse had unfortunately lost his Way, for want of knowing the Roads; or the Battel had been too hastily given, before the Squadrons had time to arrive. But notwithstanding this unlucky Accident, *Hannibal* had been made sensible of the superiority of the *Romans*, in the late Action. He had lost two thousand Men, and had killed but four hundred of the Enemy; and therefore would not venture to engage again. *Marcellus* in vain offered him Battel the next Day. *Hannibal* acknowledged himself overcome, by declining the Challenge; decamped the Night following; and laid aside the Thoughts of taking *Nola*, which had so often proved fatal to his Glory.

§. XIV. HOWEVER, the *Carthaginian* General still entertained Hopes of one thing, which he thought he might depend. The Deputies from the Youth of *Tarentum* had assured him, that their City should be delivered up to him, as soon as he appeared. He turned his Course that Way, and crossed the Territory of *Tarentum*, without committing any Ravages in it. He kept his Troops in Order with a severe Discipline; so that no Parties went from his Army to pillage: and this gave a Suspicion, that the General and his Soldiers spared this Canton, because they looked on the *Tarentini* as their Friends. The *Pro-Prætor* *Levinus* therefore, who was upon the Watch on that Side, dispatched away *Livius* in haste, with a Body of Troops, which he carried into *Tarentum*, before *Hannibal* appeared.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

²⁹ We have spoken of *Cales* or *Cale*, and *Suessula*, Vol. 2. See the Index.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

near it, and took all proper Measures, to prevent the Designs of the Faction within, and the Assailants without. He placed so strong a Guard at all the Avenues to the City, that no one durst go out of it. Insomuch that when the *Carthaginians* appeared, they neither saw any Commotions stirring within the City, nor received any Deputation from the Citizens, who had flattered them with so speedy a Surrendry; and the Silence which reigned within and without the Walls, made them believe, that Preparations were made to sustain their Attacks.

HANNIBAL therefore did not deliberate. He quitted the Enterprize, and marched back through the Canton of the *Tarentini*, with the same Discipline as before. The artful General had discovered, that the *Roman* Forces obliged the People to sit still, contrary to their Inclinations, which he was willing to reserve for a more favourable Opportunity. He from thence took his Rout towards ³⁰ *Salapia*, a City of *Apulia*, in which he already resolved to spend the next Winter. He ordered Corn thither from *Metapontus*, and *Heraclea*, two Cities of *Lucania*, and then sent his *African* Horse to pillage *Apulia*. He scarce found any thing there, but some Colts in the Pastures, about four thousand of which he brought away; and after his *African* Horsemen had broke them, which was soon done, they were remounted with them. These were all *Hannibal's* Exploits during the whole Campaign. He was no longer the furious Lion, which breathed nothing but Slaughter. *Marcellus* had reduced him so low, that he durst not come to an Engagement; but was forced to substitute Cunning in the room of Valour.

§. XV. BUT whilst *Hannibal* was lying idle, *Fabius* took his own time, to form the Siege of *Casilinum*. The Season was not yet very far advanced; he could keep the Field three Months longer: and *Casilinum* was more considerable for its Situation, than its Bigness. Being but two Miles from *Capua*, on the same River, it might serve, when taken, to block up this Capital on that Side, and prevent any Provisions being conveyed into it, in Boats: And *Fabius* had had an eye to taking this important Post, ever since the Beginning of the Campaign. Indeed, *Hannibal's* Distance made this now the less difficult; nevertheless the Nearness of *Capua* gave the *Romans* reason to fear, it would easily be succoured.

THE Garrison of *Casilinum* consisted of two thousand *Campani*, and seven hundred *Carthaginians* of *Hannibal's* Army, under the Command of a *Capuan* of Distinction, named *Statius Metius*. And no sooner had the Consul invested the Place, but *Magius*, *Prætor* of *Capua*, formed a Body of Troops, and even armed the Slaves, to go and attack the *Romans* in their Trenches.

HOWEVER, *Fabius* was not ignorant, either of the Designs, or the Preparations of the Enemy; and therefore wrote to *Marcellus*, to leave *Nola*, if it was no longer in Danger; and desiring, if it was, that he would send the *Prætor* *Sempronius* with his *Legions*, to cover the Siege. *Marcellus* upon this immediately went to join his Collegue, left only two thousand Men in *Nola*, to keep the People to their Duty; and set out with the rest of his Army. Then the two greatest Generals *Rome* had, acted together for the first time; and their different Characters soon appeared, after they had joined their Forces. *Fabius* commanded the Siege, and *Marcellus* covered it with an Army, which was in continual Readiness to drive away Succours, or at least engage them. And the Presence of the latter had all its desired Effect. Neither *Magius*, nor *Hannibal*, ventured to appear in the Plain, but left the Besiegers to go on without Disturbance.

FABIVS therefore ordered the Town to be battered; but the Garrison was strong, and commanded by an able Governor. The more brave the *Romans* were, the greater Slaughter was made of them at the Foot of the Wall. A great Number of Wounded were every Day brought back to the *Roman* Camp; and this Sight affected *Fabius*, who was naturally inclined to spare the Blood of his Troops. As he was slow and cautious, even to Excess, so he was capable of Discouragement; and he therefore conferred with his Collegue, about the Dangers and Difficulties of the Siege. After all, said he, *Casilinum* is not so considerable a Place as to deserve to be bought at so dear a rate. Two Consular Armies might be employed elsewhere, with more Glory, and less Danger. Let us leave it, and employ

³⁰ Nothing but Ruins now remains of the ancient *Salapia*, which still in a manner retains its old Name in that of *Salpe*. Near it is the Marsh, or Lake, called *Lago Calo*. The ancient Geographers call it *Salapina Palus*, because it was near *Salapia*.

our Arms in more glorious Exploits. But this Discourse was not agreeable to *Marcellus's* Taste. It becomes the Wisdom of a General, replied he, to foresee all the Difficulties of an Enterprize, before he sets about it; but he is obliged in Honour to go through with it, when he has once begun it. And as the Reputation of her Generals, will contribute as much as her Valour, to render Rome victorious over *Hannibal*, it is necessary to maintain it. To keep up the Glory of our Arms, is to preserve the Esteem of our Allies, and effectually to guard against Revolts.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

THUS the ill Effects of the natural Timidity of *Fabius*, were prevented by the Courage of *Marcellus*. He pursued the Siege with Vigour, multiplied his Attacks, surrounded the City on all Sides with his murdering Machines; and this new Ardor surprized the Besieged. The *Campani* were intimidated by it, and sent to desire *Fabius*, to let them march out of *Casilinum*, and return to *Capua*, at least with their Lives. And as it was this General's Maxim, to endeavour to recover the old Allies of Rome, by shewing them Favour; and it could not be long e'er the City surrendered, when it should come to be defended only by a small Number of *Carthaginians*; he granted all they desired.

Plut. Life of
Fabius.

ON the other hand, *Marcellus*, who was more enterprizing, was resolved not to lose so favourable an Opportunity. He watched the time, when the *Campani* were to march out of *Casilinum*, prepared an Ambuscade near the Gate which was to be opened for them, and resolved to fall suddenly on the Guard of it, and force it. Accordingly, scarce fifty of the *Campani* of the Garrison were gone out, before he attacked the Gate all on a sudden, and made himself Master of it. The first *Campani* who escaped, went to *Fabius* to complain, and demand the Performance of his Promise; but before the Conference was ended, *Marcellus* had penetrated into the Heart of the City. All who opposed him were killed upon the Spot; and all who threw down their Arms, whether *Capuans* or *Carthaginians*, were made Prisoners of War. *Marcellus* filled all the Prisons in Rome with them; and dispersed such of the Inhabitants as he found under Arms, in the Villages of the Roman State. In this manner was *Casilinum* taken; all the Honour of which belonged to *Marcellus*. He was better skilled than his Collegue, in making a bold Attack; and his Collegue excelled him, in forming a Plan of the Enterprizes of a whole Campaign.

Liv. B. 24.
c. 19.

§. XVI. FROM this time the Roman Arms prospered in all Places. Only *Hannibal* gained an Advantage over *Sempronius* in *Lucania*, which almost made the *Carthaginian* amends for his Loss near *Beneventum*. As for *Fabius*, he ravaged all the Enemy's Countries, and took a great Number of Cities³¹ in them; but *Samnium* suffered more than all the other Provinces. The Territory of *Candium* in particular was utterly ruined. In all the Places which were taken by Assault, near twenty five thousand Men were killed, or made Prisoners. The Roman Deserters, who were taken, to the Number of three hundred and seventy, were sent to Rome, where they were first beaten with Rods, and then thrown down The *Tarpeian Rock*. *Fabius* had also the Satisfaction to see his Son gain great Glory in *Apulia*. He there took the City of³² *Accua*; and fortified a Post near *Ardonea*.

³¹ *Livy* reckons up the Cities *Fabius* conquered in *Samnium*, and the neighbouring Provinces. The first is *Compulteria*. *Cluver* honestly confesses, he does not know the Situation of this City; but *Holstenius* guesses, that there are some Traces of this City still remaining, in the Place which the Natives call *S. Maria di Covultere*, at a little Distance from *Calatia*, in *Terra di Lavoro*. The second is the City of *Telefia* in *Samnium*, near the Place where the Rivers *Sabato* and *Vulturnus* join. According to *Frontinus*, it afterwards became a Roman Colony. The third City which *Fabius* took by Force, was *Compsa*, which stood in the Country of the *Hirpini*; and not in *Lucania*, as *Ptolomy* supposed. *Velleius* gives it the Title of a Roman Colony. The fourth is called *Mela*, which *Holstenius* thinks formerly stood near *Melito*, which belongs to The Further Principality. Some think it was *Molisa*, the Capital of the Country which bears that Name, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. The two next, viz. *Fufule* and *Orbitanium*, are unknown to *Cluver*. *Holstenius*

places the former near *Monte Fuscolo*, in The Further Principality; but as for *Orbitanium*, we cannot guess where it stood. And lastly, to these Conquests *Livy* adds those of the City of *Blande* in *Lucania*, and that of *Aeca* in *Apulia*. The last is now only a small Town called *Arcadia*, near the City of *St. Agathe*, according to *Cluver*; but *Holstenius* on the contrary, is of opinion, that it stood at the Foot of the *Apennines*, on the Confines of *Apulia*, *Samnium*, and *Hirpinia*, in the Place where the Greeks afterwards built the City which they called *Troia*, and which still retains that Name, in The *Capatinata*. As for the City of *Blande*, *Pliny* mistakes in saying it belonged to the *Bruttii*. It stood in *Lucania*, on the Side of the River *Latis*, or *Luino*; *Berri* will have it to be the present *Belvedere*. But *Cluver* thinks it is *Maratea*; and *Holstenius* takes it to be the Port of *Sapri*, where there is a Tower which the Natives call *Buon dormire*.

³² *Ortellus* places *Accua* in *Campania*. But it is certain it stood in *Lucania*. At least *Livy* says it was

Year of *doneæ* 33. In the mean time, *Marcellus* returned to *Nola*, where a Distemper suspended his martial Ardor for some time. This indefatigable *Consul* was obliged to continue inactive, out of Necessity; whilst *Hannibal* was so, out of mere Indolence.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

THE *Carthaginian* still depended on his Alliance with the King of *Macedon*; and indeed *Philip* began to move, and draw towards *Italy*. In order to facilitate his Passage thither, he marched out of his own Dominions, into a Part of *Epirus*, called ³⁴ *Chaonia*, and besieged ³⁵ *Apollonia*, a maritime City at the End of the *Adriatic Sea*. But he failed in his Design, and came and attacked ³⁶ *Oricum*, whose Inhabitants, terrified at the Approach of the *Macedonian*, sent Advice of it to the *Pro-Prætor Lævinus*, who was appointed to guard the Coast of *Calabria*. He was at *Brundisium*, when News came to him from the *Oricini*, that *Philip* was come from *Apollonia*, and had fallen upon their City. And as soon as he had learnt that the *Macedonian*, after having sailed up the River by *Apollonia*, drew near *Oricum*, by favour of the Darkness, with a Fleet of twenty five Sail; he hastened away with all Expedition, embarked as many Soldiers as he could on Board his Gallies, and the rest on Board his Transports; arrived at *Oricum* in two Days; and found the City already taken.

Livy, B. 24.
c. 40.

BUT *Philip*, who saw no Enemy near, had left but a weak Garrison in it; so that *Lævinus* soon recovered it. From thence he followed directly after *Philip*, and at the Request of the *Apollonians*, flew to relieve their City, which was besieged. Nevertheless, the *Prætor* made it his first Business to secure the Mouth of the ³⁷ River, that ran to *Apollonia*. A Body of his Troops, and a Squadron of his Gallies there, were sufficient to prevent the Return of the Enemy. After this, he marched his *Legion* privately, in the Night-time, towards the besieged City, and entered it without the Knowledge of the Enemy. Then he first reviewed the Forces the *Apollonians* had; and a whole Day past, without the *Macedonian's* suspecting, that there was any Body of *Romans* near him.

PHILIP plainly appears to have been a young Prince, and unexperienced in War. All the Successors of *Alexander the Great*, were not like that illustrious Conqueror. *Philip* left his Camp quite open, without setting any Guard, or posting any Centinels before it; which being told *Lævinus*, he formed a Design of surprizing the King in his Tent. He marched his Army silently on, in the Dead of the Night, and entered the Enemy's Camp, without any Obstruction.

Above two thousand of the Advance-Guard of the *Romans* had already entered the Entrenchments of the *Macedonians*, before any of the Enemy perceived it. Their Security was very great, and their Sleep sound. The Groans of the Dying was what alone awaked the Enemy's Soldiers. Had the *Romans* abstained from Slaughter, they might have taken the King in his Bed. The Outcries of those in the Camp awaked him, and the Crowd of Fugitives carried him off with them. He escaped to his Ships half naked, and with but an Handful of Men to guard him. The Slaughter of the *Macedonians* was so considerable, as to amount to three thousand Men; and the Number of the Prisoners was much greater. And as the *Roman* Ships barred up the Mouth of the River, the *Macedonian* Fleet

was in the Neighbourhood of *Luceria*, and *Ardoneæ*; and these Cities belonged to *Old Apulia*. *Livy* is the only ancient Writer who mentions *Accua*.

³³ *Ardoneæ* stood in *Apulia Daunia*, now called *The Capatinata*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Naples*. This City is now called *Ardona*.

³⁴ *Chaonia* is the most Northern Part of *Epirus*, and is now called *Canina*. Its Inhabitants descended from the *Thracians*, according to the old Commentator on *Aristophanes*. But *Aristotle* makes them to have descended from the *Oenotrii*, one of the most ancient Nations in *Italy*.

³⁵ The ancient Geographers reckon up three Cities in *Macedon*, which were all called *Apollonia*. The first stood in *Mydonia*, a Province between *Thessalonica* and *Amphipolis*. *Niger* calls it *Ceres*. *Pliny* mentions another *Apollonia*, situated on Mount *Athos*. Modern Geographers call it *Erifso*. The third City of that Name, which is that here spoken

of, stood on the Western Coast of *Macedon*; and is generally called by the ancient Geographers, *Apollonia Taulantiorum*. Some now call it *Polina*, from the Name of a River which waters it; but others call it *Piergi*, or *Piergo*. *Pinet* contends, that the Situation of this last City agrees with that of *Sissopolis*, which is now a City of *Albania*.

³⁶ *Oricum* was a City, and Port, on the most Northern Coast of *Chaonia*, at the Foot of *The Geranium Mountains*, on the Coasts of the *Ionian Sea*. *Strabo* speaks of it under the Name of *Oreum*. The *Italians* call it *La Vallone*. Some think it is *Val de Orso*. *Niger* calls it *Orcha*; and others, *La Velona*. According to *Pliny*, it was founded by a Colony of the People of *Colchis*.

³⁷ According to *Livy*, *Valerius* committed the Care of this Enterprize to *Quintus Nevius Crispus*, *Præfect* of the Auxiliaries, a Man of Experience and Dispatch.

A MAP OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF SYRACUSE



could not get out to Sea that Way. *Philip* therefore chose to burn his Gallies, and to return by Land into his own Territories, with the miserable Remains of his tattered Army, which had neither Arms, Baggage, nor Ammunition. As for the *Romans* and *Apolloniates*, they reaped the Benefit of the Spoils of the *Macedonian* Camp; and the Machines of War were carried into *Apollonia*. Such was the first Success of *Philip* against *Rome*; such the first Fruits of his Treaty with *Hannibal*. Happy had it been for him, both now, and afterwards, if he had continued quiet in *Macedon*, and not drawn upon himself the Resentment of this formidable Republick!

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

§. XVII. BUT *Hannibal* soon made himself amends for his Disappointment on the Side of *Macedon*, by the Troubles he found means to raise in *Sicily*. The Territory of *Syracuse* was disturbed with various Commotions, after the cruel and unfortunate Assassination of young *Hieronimus*. He had been massacred within the Walls of *Leontini*, in sight of the Army he had led thither; and the Soldiers therefore made a great Noise at first, and cried out, that the Conspirators should be sacrificed to the *Manes* of *Hieronimus*. But the sweet Name of Liberty, with which their Ears were filled, soon appeased them. Hopes were given them, That the Treasures of the King should be divided among them; and That they should soon have more able Generals placed at the Head of them, than the late inexperienced young Prince. And lastly, the frightful Representation that was made to them, of the publick Crimes, and private Vices, of the late King, filled them with so much Horror, that they left his Body to infect the Air, in the very Place where he had been stabbed. A remarkable Instance of the Levity of Mankind, and of the little Stress that ought to be laid on the Zeal of an inconstant Multitude.

AT *Syracuse*, a greater Aversion was shewn to the old Government, than any where else. *Sosis* and *Theodotus*, two of the Conspirators, had posted thither, immediately after the Death of the King, to prevent the Attempts of the Royalist Party. But notwithstanding their Diligence, Fame had spread the News of what had happened at *Leontini*, from Mouth to Mouth, and one of the King's Officers had brought it to *Andranodorus*. And this Chief of the Royalist Party, who was the Author of all these Misfortunes, and most concerned in Interest, to support the Monarchy, had taken his Precautions. He had already seized the Citadel, and the Island of *Ortygia*; had brought Troops into them, in whom he could confide; and guarded the Walls with a strong Garrison. But in order to make our Account of this famous Revolution the more intelligible; before we relate the Siege of this magnificent Capital, it is necessary that we should give the Reader a Description of it.

STRACUSE, which stood on the South-East Side of *Sicily*, was founded by a *Corinthian*, named *Archias*, of the illustrious Family of the *Heracidae*; and he gave it that Name. Three Towns, which were at a little distance from each other, and a little Island called *Ortygia*, which was almost close to the Continent, were all united in this one City, and surrounded with one common Wall. *Ortygia* was as it were the Citadel of *Syracuse*; *Acradina* was as it were the Heart of the City, in which stood the chief Temple, dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*; and lastly, *Tyche*, or *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*, formed two great Quarters, which made this City one of the biggest in the World. The Island of *Ortygia*, which was surrounded on all Sides with Walls and Towers, was joined to *Acradina* by a Bridge, over an Arm of the Sea. And it is very probable, that *Tyche* and *Neapolis* were divided from *Acradina*, and from each other, by different Walls, which surrounded each. So that *Syracuse* was four distinct Cities united in one. A great Suburb, called *Epipolæ*, reached far into the Plain on one Side; and on the other, there was a stately Building erected, called *Hexapylum*, which served for an Entrance into *Syracuse*, by the Quarter called *Tyche*. These were the Dimensions of the famous City of *Syracuse*, whose Misfortunes we shall soon have reason to lament.

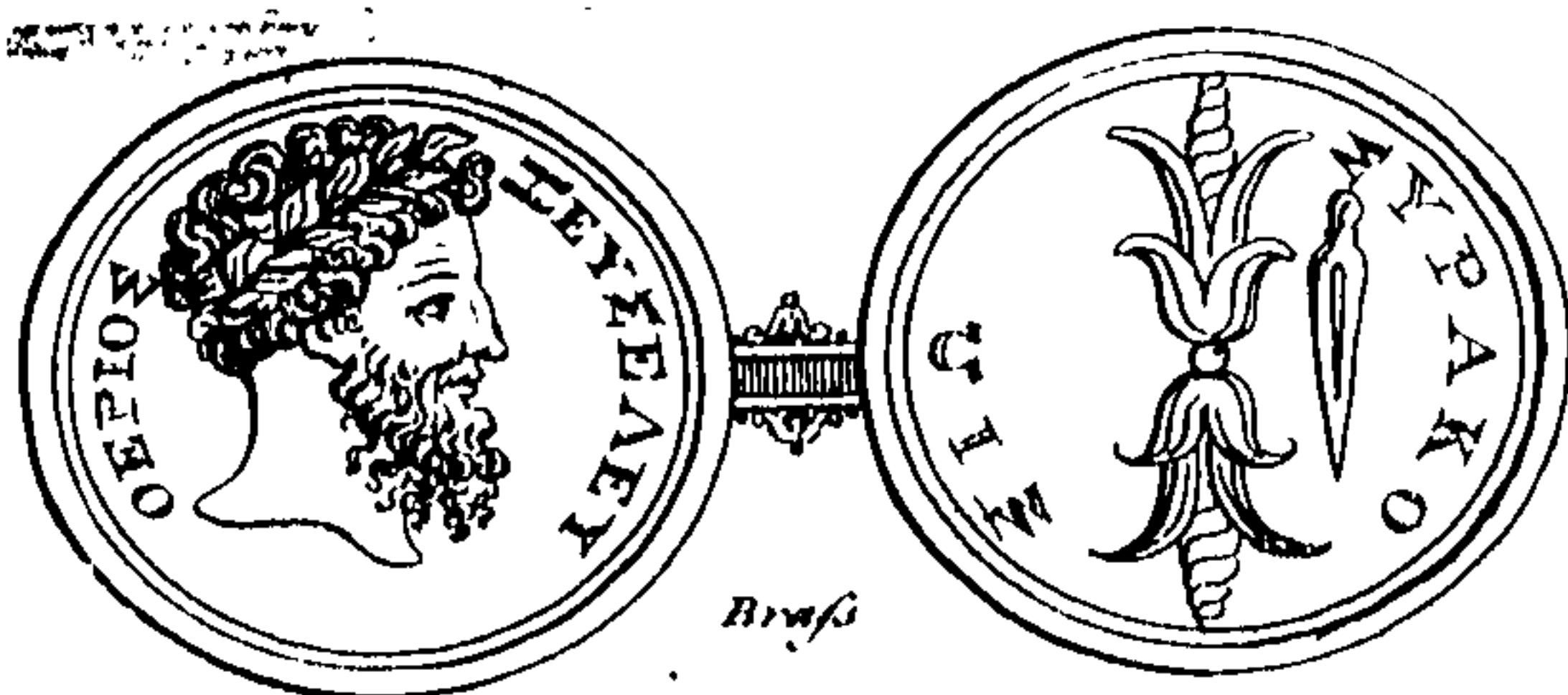
³⁸ We here give the Reader a Map of *Old Syracuse*, according to the Text, and our Description of it after the Ancients, Vol. 2. B. 22. p. 471. Note. The four great Quarters of *Syracuse*, are all represented on a *Syracusian* Medal. There are

four Figures on it, which join in the middle of the Medal. The two Ports which joined to this great City, are represented by the two Dolphins, one of which is on the Right, and the other on the Left Side.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

WHILST *Andranodorus*, supported by the Royalists, was fortifying himself in *Ortygia*, *Sosis* and *Theodotus* entered *Tyche*, by *Hexapylum*. The Sun was then down; but there was still Light enough to see the King's Diadem, and bloody Robes, which the two Conspirators carried in their Hands, and shewed to the People. This Sight therefore drew the *Syracusans* round them; and the two Assassins invited the Spectators to follow them into *Acradina*, and there take proper Measures for the Recovery of their Liberty. Upon which, all the City sided with the Parricides, ran to their Windows, covered the Tops of their Houses, and filled all their Porches. Lights were seen in all Parts; some took to their Arms; and those who had none of their own, had recourse to those which had been hung up in the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. The latter were those Spoils of the *Gauls* and *Illyrians*, which *Rome* had presented to good King *Hiero*. These armed Citizens were posted in several Parts of the City, by the Commanders in each Quarter of it, and there kept Centinel all Night. As for *Andranodorus*, he would willingly have possessed himself of the publick Granaries, which were strong built of cut Stone, like a Citadel; and he actually placed a Body of Infantry as a Guard upon them; but they proved unfaithful to him. This Cohort sent the Magistrates of *Acradina* word, that the Granaries were in their Power, and that they would dispose of them as they should direct. In this manner the first Night was spent, in which the News came of the Murder of *Hieronymus*.

THE next Morning, as soon as it was light, all the Inhabitants of *Syracuse*, some armed, and some unarmed, crowded into *Acradina*. There, in the midst of the Place where the publick Assemblies used to be held, a notable Citizen, named *Polyænus*, mounted *The Tribune of Harangues*, and made the People a very moderate Speech, for the Crisis of a Revolution. *Syracusans*, said he, I am not at all surprized at the Commotion you are in, upon the first Glimmerings of your dawning Liberty. The Sense you have of your past Slavery, and the Resentments which you have long stifled in your Breasts, have broken their Limits, and overflowed. But after all, your Forefathers have taught you, with what Misfortunes civil Discord has too often overwhelmed *Syracuse*. I cannot blame those, whose Love for the Publick has made them take Arms. But I shall much more highly commend you, if you don't make use of them, but in the last Extremity. The most rational Expedient, is to send a Deputation to *Andranodorus*, and to prevail on him by gentle Methods, to open the Gates of *Ortygia*, to put the Island in the Hands of the Magistrates, and bring the Garrison out of it. If he submits, Violence is needless. If he persists in maintaining himself upon a Throne, of which he was only the Guardian, his Crime is greater than that of *Hieronymus*, and deserves a more severe Punishment. And this Discourse had its desired Effect. Deputies were sent to negotiate the Affair with *Andranodorus*, and the Senators entered into the Council-Chamber, to hold their Deliberations there.



39 Tully places the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius* in *Acradina*. But *Thucydides*, *Livy*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Plutarch*, speak of a Temple dedicated to this God, which stood at a little Distance from *Syracuse*, in a Place from thence called *Olympium*, near *The Great Port*. So that this Quarter might be looked on as the Suburbs to the City. The Worship of the God who was adored there, was common to the Nations of *Great Greece*, and those of *Greece properly so called*. The latter had multiplied these Temples in *Sicily*, where they had settled. And

Jupiter was held in singular Veneration by the *Syracusans*. They looked upon him as their Tutelar God, and their Deliverer. They give him this Title on some of their Medals. The Face of that above is the Head of this God, with this Inscription; ΖΕΤΕ ΕΛΕΓΘΕΡΙΟΣ, that is, *Jupiter the Deliverer*. It was struck, as is supposed, to be a lasting Monument of the Liberty the Citizens of *Syracuse* recovered, after the Expulsion of the Tyrant *Thrasybulus*. He usurped the Government of the City about sixty Years before the Reign of the first *Dionysius*.

AN assembled Senate was a new Sight in *Syracuse*. *Hieronymus* had not indeed destroyed the Senatorial Order; but neither had he ever assembled the Senators together. His Father *Hiero*, who was more popular, and less despotick, had preserved some Footsteps of the old Republick. He had often taken the Advice of the Assembly of his venerable Citizens; and had often found his Account in it. And now, the Senators rejoiced at these first Footsteps of their ancient Liberty; and whilst they were consulting about the present State of Affairs, *Andranodorus* entered into a Conference with the Deputies of the People of *Syracuse*. He had considered the Difficulties of securing himself in his Usurpation against the unanimous Consent of the People. *Ortygia* was already partly possessed by the Republicans; and the publick Granaries, on which he had depended, were in the Power of the Magistrates. And these Considerations began to stagger him, when *Demarata* his Wife called him aside, and did her utmost to fix his wavering Mind. This ambitious Princess, who was brought up in the Purple, could not easily persuade herself to quit it; and tho' she was by the Laws incapacitated from holding the Sceptre, she would fain have prevailed on her Husband, to keep it by Violence. *Dionysius* the Tyrant, said she, often said, *That no Man should give up a Throne, till he is dragged from it by the Feet. One Minute is sufficient to resign the Royalty, but an Opportunity to recover it, is not often to be found. Demand time to consider of it; and in the Interim, bring back the Troops that are at Leontini. If you promise them half the King's Treasures, they will be entirely at your Disposal, and you will be Master in Syracuse.*

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

THIS Advice of *Demarata* was not to be neglected; but *Andranodorus* thought it necessary to give the Affair more time to ripen. He judged it proper to give way to the Storm for the present, and wait for a more favourable Occasion to bring his Designs to bear. And upon this Foot, his Answer to the Deputies was, that he would open the Gates of *Ortygia* the next Day, and come into *Acradina*, and give the Assembly an Account of his Conduct. Accordingly, *Andranodorus* mounted *The Tribune of Harangues*, erected in the Market-Place of *Acradina*, near the Altar of Concord, and spoke thus. *Syracusans, I desire you would not impute my posting myself in Ortygia, and shutting the Gates of it, to an Ambition of reigning, but to Timorousness and Caution. I am not divided from you, either in Inclination or Opinion. What had I not reason to fear, from the Prejudices and Spirit of the People, upon the Approach of a sudden Revolution? In these first Fits of Zeal for the Recovery of Liberty, all that are related to Kings, either by Blood or Alliance, are suspected; and the People judge of their Hearts by Appearances, without enquiring into the Uprightness of their Intentions. In the first Transports, the Sword is taken up, and the Innocent is often confounded with the Guilty. But now, that the Peoples Minds are a little calmed, after a Day's Reflection, and they can set some Bounds to their Pretensions, I make no difficulty of delivering up my Life and Fortune into your Hands. Reason now governs you; and your only Aim is, to re-establish your Liberty. This I think is for the publick Good, and therefore join with you in the same Design. Death has taken from you the Author of all your Misfortunes; and his Spoils, with which I was entrusted, shall be surrendered up into no Hands but yours. I restore them to my Country. And as for you, *Sosis* and *Theodotus*, the illustrious Avengers of the publick Wrongs, don't imagine, that the Work of establishing your Freedom is yet completed. What you have yet done, is but a Sketch of what ought to follow. An unrestrained Populace is as much to be feared in a Republick, as a persecuting Tyrant. At which Words, *Andranodorus* laid down the Keys of *Ortygia*, and of *Hieronymus's* Treasury, at the Feet of the two Chiefs of the Conspiracy; and the rest of the Day was spent in Feasting and Rejoicings.*

THE next Day, the People assembled to elect *Prætors*, that is, chief Magistrates, to govern the State; and *Andranodorus* was one of the first chosen, and with him the chief Conspirators. Among the rest, *Sosipater* and *Dinomenes* were chosen, tho' at *Leontini*. They had there seized the Money *Hieronymus* had carried thither, and ordered it to be removed to *Syracuse*, where Treasurers were chosen, to take care of all the Effects of the late King. And lastly, as a Sign of having completely recovered their Liberty, they beat down the Walls between *Acradina*, and the Island of *Ortygia*, which was the Retreat and Citadel of the Kings.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Cōſuls.

• Livy, B. 24.
c. 23.

§. XVIII. IN the mean time, *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, *Hannibal's* two Agents, whom *Hieronimus* had placed at the Head of his Troops, were much surprized at the News of his Death. They endeavoured to conceal the Knowledge of it from their Soldiers, and caused the Men to be assassinated, who first spread the Report of it in their Camp; but it was to no purpose. They were abandoned by almost all their Troops, and returned to *Syracuse*, there to carry on the same Negotiations with the Republick, which they had begun with the King. They doubtless must have been sensible, that this Change of Government had changed the Dispositions of the *Syracusans*, with respect to *Hannibal*. But be that as it will, they first applied themselves to the *Prætors*; who introduced them into the Senate, where they spoke thus. *We are come hither, said they, on the Part of Hannibal, who sent us on a Deputation to Hieronymus, his Friend and Ally. We have only obeyed the Commands of our General; and if our Abode in Sicily gives you any Umbrage, give us at least a free Passage to return to our Army. Locri is the Place where we would land in Italy; and because both Sea and Land are infested by the Romans, we desire you to give us a Guard, to conduct us safe to that Port.* This was a small Favour, and the Request was agreeable to the *Syracusans*. So that they promised the Guard desired; but were too dilatory in performing that Promise. The two Ambassadors found Means, during their Delay, to form a Party, both against the Senate of *Syracuse*, and against *Rome*. As they had commanded *Hieronimus's* Army, they were known by the Soldiers; assembled as many of them as they could in their Lodgings, together with the Deserters from the *Roman* Fleets, and some of the factious Populace at *Syracuse*; and by frequently assuring them, that the new Senate designed to deliver up their State to the *Romans*, they at last convinced them of it. *Andranodorus* was not a Stranger to these Plots, but favoured them underhand: The ambitious Royalist hoped to turn them to his own Advantage. The People who came to the City out of the Country, were introduced to *Hannibal's* Ambassadors, who infected them with seditious Principles: And tho' these poisonous Seeds were yet buried in the Ground, they soon shot forth.

THE seditious *Demarata* was indeed continually spiring up her Husband to re-establish the Monarchy, and place himself on the Throne. *The time is come, said she, for placing Hiero's Daughter on the Throne of her Father. Fortune now favours us, and offers a good Opportunity for it. All is quiet in Syracuse, tho' the Republick is not settled upon a durable Foundation. Hieronymus's Army is not yet dispersed, neither have the Soldiers, who are used to receive the King's Pay, imbibed the Republican Spirit. Two Generals, Hannibal's Agents and Disciples in the Art of War, are ready to lend us their Assistance. They know the Troops, and are esteemed by them. Let us then seize this happy Moment, and not delay, till Hippocrates and Epicydes are forced from Syracuse, and we are deprived of their Concurrence.*

BUT tho' this Discourse of *Demarata* made an Impression on *Andranodorus*; he did not think it proper to begin the Enterprize, till he had first communicated his Design to *Themistus*. This noble *Syracusen* had married *Harmonia*, the Granddaughter of *Gelo*, and Sister of the late King; and *Andranodorus* found him and his Wife inclined to enter into the Plot. If they could continue the Scepter in the Royal Family, they hoped to raise themselves thereby above the private Station, to which the Restitution of the Republican State was ready to reduce them. So that *Heraclea* was the only Person of the Royal Family, who was not concerned in the Conspiracy. Her Husband *Zoippus*, who was gone from *Syracuse* into a voluntary Exile, had inspired her with pacifick Sentiments. She spent her Days in Retirement, wholly employed in the Education of the two young Princesses her Daughters.

THUS the Design for usurping the Throne was formed, and measures taken in order to it; but an indiscreet Confidence disconcerted them all.

THE MISTUS had one *Aristo* among his Confidants, who was a Man of no mean Birth, or moderate Estate. He was indeed a professed Actor, and played his Part in Tragedies; but with the *Greeks*, it was not deemed any 40 Dishonour

40 See what we have said of the Profession of Players among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, B. 15. p. 86. of Vol. 2. Note 16.

or Disgrace, to appear upon the Stage. As soon as *Aristo* was informed by his Friend, that it was resolved in the Councils of the Royalists, to re-establish the Monarchy by the Slaughter of the Magistrates, it filled him with Horror; and being a Man of Honour, he preferred the Interests of his Country before the Laws of Friendship. He first declared the Conspiracy to the *Prætors* alone; and after he had been examined, Sentence of Death was, upon his Testimony, privately passed upon *Andranodorus* and *Themistus*. It was to be executed at the Door of the Senate-House, when these two chief Conspirators should come to take their Places in it; and Guards were placed at the Entrance into the Hall, with Orders to kill them as soon as they appeared. Accordingly, the Guards turned all their Arms against these two unfortunate Men, the Moment they arrived; and they fell down dead on the Spot, covered with Wounds. The rest of the Senators, who knew not for what reason they were killed, were terrified at it; but the *Prætors* encouraged them, and when all was quiet in the Senate, introduced the Informer. Then *Aristo* unriddled the whole Secret to them; lamented the unhappy Fate of his Friend *Themistus*, whose Guilt was owing to his having married *Gelo's* Daughter; and discovered all the Designs of the Conspirators. *The Mercenaries of Africa and Spain, which Hieronymus kept in his Service, were, said he, to have been the Instruments of this new Revolution. They were to have been the Persons employed in spilling the Blood of all the Heads of the Republick, and cutting off the greatest Men in Syracuse. Your Estates were to have been the Rewards of the Assassins; and every thing was got ready for seizing Ortygia again, in the Name of Andranodorus.* Then the Deponent entered into all the Circumstances of the Conspiracy, and named all those Persons, who were to have executed every particular Part of the Design. His Depositions seemed indisputable; and upon them the Senate passed a Decree, declaring the Death of *Andranodorus* was as just as that of *Hieronymus*.

BUT whilst the Senate were passing their Decree against *Andranodorus* and *Themistus*, the People without were murmuring at the Assault made upon their Persons. The Outcries of the Populace were heard round the Palace, and every thing seemed to threaten a sudden Insurrection. But how inconstant are the Affections of the People! The very thing, which in Reason should have increased the Tumult, appeased it. As soon as the Bodies of the two Conspirators were dragged out into the Porch, all was quiet. The common People were assembled in the Market-place, where they met, without Noise or Disturbance; and *Sopater*, the Deputy appointed by the Senate to speak to the People, mounted *The Tribune*, and harangued them thus. *The Authors of our Misfortunes are no more. Hieronymus seemed to be the Cause of them; but what could a Child do, who was scarce arrived at the Age of Puberty? His Guardians, who were allied to him by Marriage, were the Persons who reaped the Fruits of his unjust Government, and left only the Hatred of it to their Ward. They therefore ought to have been destroyed before, or at least with, Hieronymus. We suffered them to survive him too long. Our Indulgence only gave them Opportunity to commit new Crimes. Andranodorus shut the Gates of Ortygia, and endeavoured to usurp a Scepter, of which he was only the Guardian. Being betrayed in his Citadel, he was indeed forced to return to his Duty; but his Ambition soon plunged him again as deep in Treason as ever. He ungratefully forgot, that his Country had raised him to the Rank of a Prætor; and did not think this enough for him. He resolved to make himself a King. Two Women of the Blood of our Kings, bewitched Themistus and Andranodorus, and made them mad for a Crown. These Furies were the first Authors of a Conspiracy,—*At which Words, the Orator was interrupted by the Clamours of the People; and then he cried out, *Let then these ungrateful Creatures be sacrificed, and let every Drop of this hateful Blood be spilt.*

A cruel Decree, and passed with great Heat and Precipitation; but such is the Nature of the common People. They are cringing in Slavery, and proud and imperious in Power. They shew no Moderation in their Judgments; all the Use they make of Liberty, is to carry it to Excess. And what was most deplorable in the present Instance, was, that the *Prætors*, who ought to have checked the Sallies of the Multitude, authorized them by their Conduct. This Sentence was no sooner passed by the People, but they immediately ordered it to be put in Execution.

Year of Execution. They sent Men to the Houses of *Demarata* and *Harmonia*, who *R O M E* there put them to Death.

DXXXIX.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

Livy, B. 24.
c. 26.

BUT the most melancholy Scene, was the Retirement of the virtuous *Heraclea*. The Murderers broke into her Solitude, during the Absence of her Husband, who under Pretence of an Embassy to King *Ptolomy*, was withdrawn to *Aegypt*, and resided at *Alexandria*, to avoid seeing the Vices and ill Conduct of *Hieronimus*. And as soon as the Princess was informed, that Executioners, reeking in the Blood of her Sister, and her Niece, were come to her, she entered into her domestick Sanctuary, where she worshipped her Gods. The two young Princesses her Daughters followed her thither, in great Disorder and Terror; and when *Heraclea* saw the Guards which were to embrace their Hands in her Blood, she had recourse to Intreaties. *I do not*, said she, *implore your Clemency, in the Name of Hieronymus, but in the Name of Hiero my Father, and Gelo my Brother. Your last King, whom you hated, did nothing for me, but increase my Affliction. He separated my Husband from me by Banishment. What Part have I then had in the Violences of the last Reign? I have not shared my Sister's Fortune; Why then should I share her Punishment? If Andranodorus had got the Crown, I should not have been any more than a private Person. Nay, I can safely affirm, that the Republican State would have been more agreeable to Zoippus, and me. My fugitive Spouse would return with Joy to Syracuse, if he knew of the Death of Hieronymus, and this Revolution in the State! Alas! how will his Hopes be reversed! He will find his Fidelity to his Country rewarded with the Murder of his Wife, and the Extinction of his Family. Tell me at least what my Crime is! What have you to fear from a retired Woman, who is little better than a Widow? What Harm can be done the Publick by two young Girls, who are, alas! in a manner, Orphans? We are indeed of the Blood Royal; and if that gives you Umbrage, banish us. At Alexandria I shall find an Husband; and my Daughters, a most tender Father.*

ALL these Reasons, and Tears, made no Impression on the Minds of inexorable Men. They drew their Swords, to sacrifice these innocent Victims; and then the brave Mother presented her Bosom to their Blows. She forgot her own Safety, and interceded only for her Daughters. *What, Barbarians! won't you at least forbear spilling the Blood of two Children, which are treated with Clemency by the most cruel Enemies, even when they take Cities by Assault? You may be ashamed to dishonour the Infancy of your Republick, with more inhuman Acts, than any with which your Tyrants formerly polluted themselves!*

BUT to what Purpose are Reproaches? The Messengers tear *Heraclea* from the Sanctuary by Force, and stab her. The Blood of the Mother flies upon the Daughters, and enrages them to Distraction. They force their Way through the Soldiers about them, and endeavour for some time to save their Lives by Flight. Could they have found means to escape out of the House, their Presence, and Condition, would have made an Insurrection among the People. But they, by running about, only escape the Swords that threaten them, once, or twice: They are at length forced to give way, and sink under numberless Wounds. An Event the more melancholy, because so very precipitate. *Heraclea*, and the two young Princesses, were scarce dead, when an Order came from the People to suspend the Execution.

§. XIX. THE Commons, enraged at the *Prætors* Readiness to glut their private Malice, at the Expence of publick Equity, turn their Indignation against them. The Death of *Andranodorus* and *Themistus* left two Vacancies in the College of *Prætors*; and the People took hold of this Pretence, to come to a new Election. The Day was fixed for the Assembly, and all the *Syracusans* met in the publick Market-place, to give their Suffrages there.

COMPASSION for the unfortunate *Heraclea* had abated the Zeal of the People against the Royalist Party; insomuch that the Ambassadors, who always adhered to the late King, did not despair of being elected. They were Natives of *Syracuse*, and their Merit, as Officers, was well known. Besides, they had paved the Way for their Promotion, by their Intrigues among the People; and they had the Address to place some Men among the Crowd, whom they had hired to act and speak for them. When therefore the time came for voting, a *Syracusan*, who was in the hindmost Rank, cried out, *Epicydes!* Another, in one of the Ranks before him,

him, named *Hippocrates*; and these Names being repeated in several Places, the Assembly took these scattered Votes, for the unanimous Consent of the Multitude.

IN these early Days of the reviving Republick, no Method was yet settled for voting. All were indifferently admitted into the Voting-place, without any Disinction, whether Soldiers, Foreigners, or *Roman* Deserters. So that the two Envoys of *Hannibal* were nominated *Prætors* of *Syracuse*, by the tumultuous Clamours of the People. Their Collegues indeed of the old Election, made some Difficulty of acknowledging them for *Prætors*, and were for bringing the Cause before the Senate; but the Clamours of the Multitude prevailed; and the *Syracusans*, by that Means, became at once totally devoted to the *Carthaginian* Interest.

HANNIBAL, who continued inactive in *Italy*, was at the bottom of all these Commotions in *Sicily*. Nothing could be more advantageous to him, than the Revolutions in *Syracuse*. They raised up new Enemies against the *Romans*, and obliged their Republick to make her utmost Efforts, in an Island, where she would find it more difficult to maintain a War, than in her own Neighbourhood. They secured *Hannibal* his Conquests on the Continent, and gave *Carthage* an Opportunity of regaining her former Superiority in *Sicily*.

HOWEVER, the *Romans* yet possessed the greatest Part of this fine Island; and they had divided their Possessions there into two *Provinces*, under the Government of two *Prætors*. *Appius Claudius* governed that which was next to *Syracuse*; and *Cornelius Lentulus*, at the Head of two *Legions*, commanded in that *Province* which was nearest to *Lilybæum*. Besides, *Otacilius* was cruising round ⁴¹ *Murgantia* with a Fleet of an hundred Sail, and ready to act according to the Resolutions which should be taken at *Syracuse*.

BUT after all, the Forces of the two *Prætors*, and *Otacilius's* Fleet, were not thought sufficient by the Senate and People of *Rome*, to bear up against the Inundation with which they were threatened. It was easy to foresee, that the *Syracusans* would fall upon *Sicily* on one Side, and *Carthaginian* Armies from all Parts of *Africa* on the other. This was no vain Apprehension. It was therefore resolved at *Rome*, that the *Consul Marcellus* should transport the Army he commanded at *Nola*, into *Sicily*, and assist *Claudius*, and *Lentulus*.

§. XX. THIS illustrious General was just recovered from a Fit of Sickneſs. Nevertheless, he set out upon the first Orders, and went to spend the Remains of his glorious *Consulship* in *Sicily*. *Hannibal* was no longer so formidable, as he had been on the Continent; the great *Fabius* alone was able to keep him in Awe. *Rome* was therefore very expeditious in taking proper Precautions for the Preservation of *Sicily*; and they were not unreasonable. Indeed the greatest Part of the *Prætors* of *Syracuse*, yet inclined to preserve the Alliance between their State and *Rome*; but every thing was to be feared from the People, who were devoted to the *Hannibalists*. The latter were very uneasy at the Deputation their Collegues had sent to *Claudius*, to renew the ancient Treaties with *Rome*, and demand a Truce of him; but they dissembled their Concern, and continued peaceable. As for *Claudius*, he knew that *Marcellus* would soon arrive in *Sicily*, and therefore came to no Conclusion with the *Syracusan* Deputies; but in Deference to him, referred them to the *Consul*. Thus a due Subordination was maintained among the *Romans*; and their State was as much supported by the Preservation of a good Order, and Subjection among her Officers, as by Valour and Constancy.

MARCELLUS, upon his Arrival, heard the Proposals of the *Syracusan* *Prætors*; and finding them for the Interest of his Republick, he sent an Embassy to *Syracuse*, to confirm the Treaty: but the Ambassadors arrived a little too late.

⁴¹ *Murgantia* was founded, according to *Strabo*, by the *Morgetæ*, a People of *Italy*, who went from *Latium* to *Sicily*, with the *Siculi*. They built this City a little above the Mouth of the *Simæthus*, now *La Jaretta*, towards the Eastern Part of the Island, between *Catana*, and *The Great Hybla*, now called *Paderno*. The most eminent Geographers say, it stood a little above the Place where the River *Chryſas*, or the *Dittaino*, discharges itself into the *Simæthus*. *Fazellus* is therefore mistaken, in placing *Murgantia* at the Mouth of the River *Terias*, now

called *Fiume di Santo Leonardo*; near the Place to which the Natives give the Name of *Murgo*. We must take care how we confound this City with another *Murgantia*, which was in *Samnium*; as *Stephens the Geographer* has done. There are now no Footsteps remaining of these two Cities. [According to *Sir Isaac Newton*, the *Siculi* first invaded *Sicily* with an Army, about the twenty seventh Year of *Solomon's* Reign, that is, about the Year 992 before *Christ*. See his Reasons, *Chronol.* p. 117, 118.]

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

A Report was already spread in the City, that a *Carthaginian* Fleet appeared off Cape ⁴² *Pachynum*; and this Rumour raised the Confidence of the Enemies of Rome. *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles* made fresh Attempts; and the mercenary Soldiers, and *Roman* Deserters, were always the chief Persons employed in putting the seditious Enterprizes of the *Hannibalists* in Execution. By them they began the Cheat, and by them spread a Report, that *Syracuse* was going to be sold to the *Romans*, who were to be absolute Masters of it; and this Alarm was increased by the Approach of some Ships of *Otacilius*, which *Appius* had ordered to draw near to *Syracuse*, to favour his Negotiation. Nay, the Populace had already taken Arms, at the Instigation of *Epicyles* and *Hippocrates*, to hinder the pretended Descent of the *Romans*. So that these first open Acts of Hostility, must in all probability have ended in an entire Rupture with Rome, if the wisest of the *Prætors* had not prudently prevented it. They assembled the People in the publick Market-place; and *Apollonides*, one of the chief Men in the City, ascended the *Tribune*, and harangued them thus. *Syracusans, the present Crisis is such, as may either end in our utter Ruin, or in a perfect Tranquillity. The Romans and Carthaginians contend for our Alliance; and happy were it for us, if we were united enough to resolve unanimously on a Treaty with either! If we are ruined, it will be by the Disputes which divide us. Carthage and Rome are making War, under the Walls of Syracuse. It is therefore very necessary, that we chuse one of the Rivals; and it is of much more Importance to adhere unanimously to our Choice, when once we have made it. A steady Adherence to either of these Nations may be supported, and may have its Advantages: and if I may be allowed to declare my own private Opinion, my Love for my Country makes me incline towards the Romans. Two Kings, the Grandfather and the Grandson, have successively governed us; but how widely different were their Characters, and their Reigns! Hiero sided with the Romans, and in that was founded both his Happiness, and our present Troubles. The Romans shewed us a steady Friendship, and gave us continual Protection for fifty Years together. In what then, can the Carthaginians, who have been always our Enemies, and often ⁴³ unfaithful in their Alliances with us, have deserved the Preference? Add to this one very material Consideration, and which alone ought to determine us: If we refuse to treat with the Romans, we must instantly begin a War with them. Whereas, we may refuse a War with the Carthaginians, and yet avoid entering into an immediate War with them.*

Liv. B. 24.
c. 28.

THIS seemed to be the Discourse of an impartial Man, wholly governed by Reason; and it made an Impression on the Commons, who ordered, that a certain Number of military Officers should be joined in Commission with the *Prætor* and great Men of whom the Senate was composed, in order to end the Affair. Accordingly, the Council was held, and several Debates and Difficulties arose in it; but at last it appeared, that *Syracuse* had no just Cause to break with Rome. So that it was declared, That the Treaty of Peace with her should be continued, and an Embassy sent to *Marcellus*, to assure him of it. But the *Consul* would not accept of the Alliance, unless upon Condition that *Leontini*, and the other Cities which anciently belonged to the Kings, should be included in it. It is easy to judge how disagreeable this Confederacy must be to the two Heads of the *Hannibalists*. However, they gave way to Numbers, tho' firmly resolved to break through this new Order of the Republick, upon the first Opportunity; and one presented itself in a few Days. *Leontini*, ⁴⁴ the nearest City to the Territory of *Syracuse*, had always been subject to *Hiero* and *Hieronimus*; but upon the Establishment of a Republick in *Syracuse*, it was uncertain whether it would likewise set up for Liberty and Independence, or whether it would continue a Member of the *Syracusan* Republick. But as dubious as it was, what Turn it would take, *Leontini* covered the new Republick, and was, as it were, a Barrier to her, which it nearly concerned her not to suffer to be forced. The Inhabitants of *Leontini* therefore de-

⁴² Cape *Pachynum* is one of the three Promontories in *Sicily*, which the Natives of the Island call *Capo Passaro*. See Vol. 2. p. 469. Note 3.

⁴³ The *Carthaginians* were so remarkable for Breach of Faith, among all Nations who had any

thing to do with them, that *Fides Punica* became a proverbial Expression to signify Unfaithfulness, or Treachery.

⁴⁴ See our Account of the Origin and Situation of *Leontini*, Vol. 2. p. 474. Note 9.

anded Troops of the *Syracusans*, to oppose the Incurſions of their Neighbours; Year of
 and *Syracuse* granted their Demand with Joy. She thought this a happy Oppor- R O M E
 tunity, to get rid of a ſeditious Multitude, that diſturbed her Quiet, and to re- DXXXIX.
 move one of the Heads of the *Hannibalift* Faction to a diſtance. She gave *Hippo-*
crates a Commiſſion to lead the *Roman* Refugees, and the Mercenaries, into the
 Territory of *Leontini*; and thereby placed the factious *Prætor*, at the Head of
 about four thouſand Men.

Q. FABIVS
 MAXIMVS.
 M. CLAVDIVS
 MARCELLVS,
 Conſuls.

§. XXI. It is hard to ſay who was moſt rejoiced at this Step, the *Syracusans*,
Hippocrates. They thought they had thereby purged the City of a peſtilent
 ſp; he propoſed to commit ſuch Acts of Hoſtility againſt the *Romans*, as would
 allibly embroil *Syracuse* with *Rome*. It was indeed draining the City very
 intricately; and *Hippocrates* was thereby empowered to ruin a City, already ſo
 much weakened. In ſhort, the cunning *Hannibalift* was not content with de-
 ſtroying the *Leontini*, and ravaging the Lands of their Enemies; but exerciſed
 ſtratagems in the Countries the *Romans* poſſeſſed near *Leontini*. This indeed was
 going beyond the Orders he had received from the *Syracusans* his Maſters; but the
Syracusan *Prætor*'s only View was, to create a Miſunderſtanding between *Syracuse*
 and *Rome*; and he ſucceeded.

APPIVS CLAVDIVS, who was then the *Roman* *Prætor* in that Part
Sicily, would not tamely bear the Inſults of *Hippocrates*. He advanced his
 Troops to the Frontiers of his *Province*, and poſted them in ſeveral Places. This
 was what the *Hannibalift* expected; and he with his Army fell upon one of *Appius*'s
 Quarters, and made as great a Slaughter of the *Romans* as he could.

MARCELLVS, who was lately come to *Sicily*, had not expected this Vio-
 lence from the *Syracusans*. He came to renew the Peace with them, and had re-
 ceived Aſſurances of Friendſhip by their Ambaſſadors. And therefore, the wiſe
 Conſul ſent Deputies to *Syracuse*, before he would openly declare himſelf. Theſe
 Deputies had Orders to aſſemble the People and Senate there, and to demand of
 the new Republick, That ſhe would in Juſtice to the *Romans*, ſacrifice the two
Hannibalifts, *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*. They declared, That no Alliance was
 to be expected with *Rome*, as long as thoſe two Enemies to the *Roman* Name
 continued in *Sicily*; and *Syracuse* therefore made no ſcruple of granting the
 Conſul, what he was in a Condition to obtain by Force. Preparations were pri-
 vately made, for conveying off the two Conſpirators. But *Hippocrates* was in the
 Territory of *Leontini*, at the Head of an Army; and *Epicydes* had made his Eſcape
 from *Syracuse*, as ſoon as he diſcovered the Deſigns of the *Romans* againſt him.
 He fled for Refuge to *Leontini*, becauſe there he thought himſelf ſtill at Liberty
 to create new Troubles. *Hippocrates*, his Collegue, had embroiled the *Leontini*
 with *Rome*; and he undertook to embroil them likewise with the *Syracusans*. He
 ſpoke them thus. *You have the greateſt Reasons imaginable, Leontini, to be
 jealous of the Syracuſans. They have indeed recovered their own Liberty; but it
 is with a Deſign to keep you in Slavery. This appears by the Treaty they have juſt
 made with Marcellus. The Syracuſans already treat you as if they were your
 Sovereigns. They have comprehended you in their Alliance with Rome; and have
 made you enter into burdensome Engagements without your Knowledge. Shall then
 Leontini be in a worſe Condition than Syracuſe? Shall ſhe ſhake off the Yoke of
 Kings; and will you continue Slaves to a Republick which is but of yeſterday?
 The Liberty of the Syracuſans was begun within theſe Walls. The Blood of Hiero-
 nimus was ſhed here. The Cry of Liberty was firſt heard among you. What then
 ſtays you from procuring yourſelves that Freedom from Slavery, which Syracuſe
 had in your City? Don't be afraid to make Leontini a free City, and to taſte
 the Sweets of Independence. Inſiſt, that Syracuſe diſannul the Treaty ſhe has lately
 made with Rome, or at leaſt that Clause of it, which includes you in it.*

UPON this, the bare Name of Liberty dazzled the Eyes of the *Leontini*. The
 multitude, without any other Motive, joined with *Epicydes*; and this Incendiary
 became as much Maſter of the People in the City, as his Collegue *Hippocrates*
 was of the Troops in the Country. The Agents of the *Syracusans* in vain com-
 mended to the *Leontini*, of the Slaughter they had made in the Quarters of the
Romans, whom they had ſurprized. They in vain demanded, that *Hippocrates*

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.

Q. FABIUS
MAXIMUS,
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
Consuls.

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

and *Epicydes* should be sent to ⁴⁵ *Locris*, or some other Place out of *Sicily*. Neither their Complaints, nor their Demands, were heard. They received only this proud Answer; That the Republick of *Leontini* had not given that of *Syracuse* any Commission to comprehend her, in their Alliance with the *Romans*.

§. XXII. THESE Proceedings shocked and surprized the *Syracusans*, who were now sensible, what Prejudice the two *Hannibalists* had done them; and happy had it been for them, if they had persevered to the End, in suspecting their Artifice. At present indeed, they informed the *Consul* of the Revolt of the *Leontini*, and their Refusal to enter into the Alliance; left him at Liberty to attack these Rebels without Breach of the Treaty; and offered to assist the *Romans* in this just War on Condition, that the *Leontini*, when subdued, should again be subject to the *Syracusans*, their old Masters. The *Consul* therefore advanced towards the Country of the *Leontini*, and took upon him the Command of the Army, which *Appius* had commanded in *Sicily*, in Quality of *Prætor*. But as soon as he came to his Camp, a Company of those *Romans* fell prostrate at his Feet, who had been banished by the Republick, and condemned to serve in *Sicily*, as long as the War with *Hannibal* should last; and they desired what seemed to tend to the Advantage of *Rome*. These Wretches had either run away in the Rout at *Tanna*, or had been made Prisoners by the *Carthaginians*, and recovered their Liberty; and it was their Cowardice only, or their Misfortune, that had drawn down upon them the Resentment of the Senate, and thereby occasioned their Banishment. Their Request therefore now was, that they might be incorporated in the *Legions* which were to fight under *Marcellus*, being fully resolved to wipe out the Reproach which their Flight, or Captivity, had brought upon them. As for the *Consul*, tho' he was naturally of a sweet Disposition, and was sensible, that the Offer of the Exiles might be of service to him in recruiting his Troops; yet he highly respected the Decrees of the Senate, and, tho' a *Consul*, would do nothing of his own Head. He therefore would only promise them to write to *Rome*; and the Republick was unaccountably severe on this Occasion. She deprived her of useful Succours, at a time when she wanted them, and considered nothing but the Rigour of her Discipline. The Senate denied *Marcellus* his Request; gave him leave to incorporate only a very few of these stigmatized Persons in his Troops; and absolutely forbade him giving them any military Rewards, tho' they behaved themselves in the bravest manner. And this Proceeding affronted the *Consul*. He expected, that a little more Regard would have been shewn to his Person, and Services. But his Heart was entirely *Roman*; and his Resentment did not so far transport him, as to make him neglect his Duty.

Livy, B. 24.

c. 30.

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

§. XXIII. HE marched to *Leontini*; the *Prætor Appius* was his Lieutenant-General, and commanded an Attack under him; and it then appeared how far the Rage of Soldiers will carry them, against guilty Aggressors, who have violated Peace, without declaring War. The *Romans* grew furious at the Remembrance of the unexpected Massacre of their Companions; and the City could not withstand their Rage. They took it upon the first Assault. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, who had shut themselves up in it, in vain encouraged the *Leontini* to make a Resistance; and when the Enemy were at the Gates, they were the first that fled, and took Refuge in the Citadel. But this *Asylum* was not safe enough for them; they left it the next Night, and retired to ⁴⁶ *Erbeffus*, or *Herbeffus*, on the River ⁴⁷ *Anapus*, almost at the Frontiers of the *Syracusan* Territories. The two Disciples had profited by *Hannibal's* Example, and Instructions. They knew how to bring about by Craft what they could not compass by Force; and succeeded in their Design of creating a Division between the *Syracusans* and *Romans*. In their Retreat to *Herbeffus*, the

⁴⁵ See Vol. 2. p. 467. Note 103. of the City of *Locris*, in *South-Italy*.

⁴⁶ There were two Cities in *Sicily*, which had the Name of *Erbeffus*, or *Herbeffus*. One near *Agri-gentum*, now called *Le Grotte*, or *Grutti*. The other, which is here spoken of, stood on the Frontiers of the Territory of *Syracuse*. *Fazellus* places it where *Pantalica* now stands. *Cluver* and *Briet* fix it near *Palazzuolo*, at a little distance from the River

Anapus, which the Natives now call *Alfeo*. See Vol. 2. p. 548. Note 48.

⁴⁷ The River *Anapus* rises near *Bassima*, was the Territory of *Syracuse*, where it is called *Alfeo*, and discharges itself into the *Sicilian* Sea. This River, and the Fountain of *Cyane*, which join, have been the Subjects of many Fables, which it is beneath the Dignity of History to mention.

were informed, that a Body of eight thousand Men was come from *Syracuse* to join *Marcellus*, then busy in besieging *Leontini*. This Army of *Syracusans* was commanded by *Sosis* and *Dinomenes*, two of the *Prætors* of the new Republick; and the two *Hannibalists* therefore undertook to make the *Syracusan* Troops jealous of the *Consul*, and to render him odious to them.

HIPPOCRATES and *Epicyles* hired Men of their Faction, to meet *Sosis* and *Dinomenes*, on the Road ⁴⁸ between *Syracuse* and *Leontini*, and to pretend that they were escaped from the Pillage of *Leontini*. *Unfortunate City*, cried they, *thou art no more; nothing now remains of thee, but Ashes and Ruins! The Romans have put all the Inhabitants to Death. The Fire and Sword have spared none.* All the Foundation that there was in Truth for this Story, was only this, that the *Consul* had beheaded all the *Roman* Deserters he had found in the City. *Marcellus* had treated the old Inhabitants of the City, with his usual Clemency. Nay, the *Roman* General was even then busy in restoring these poor conquered People their Goods; and scarce any thing had been taken out of their Houses, but what the Soldiers had seized in their first Fury. But nevertheless, the *Syracusans* believed these false Reports. The Rumour instantly spread from one to another, and the Commanders could no longer govern their Troops. The Soldiers would neither advance, nor stay where they were, till they could receive a more certain Account of this tragical Affair. They were all for revolting immediately. The prudent Officers therefore, who foresaw that this Emotion would not last long, gave way for the present, and led their Army to ⁴⁹ *Megara*, a City near them. There they discovered the Cheat *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles* had put upon them, and their Retreat to *Herbessus*: Upon which they resolved to be revenged. *Sosis* and *Dinomenes* drew near *Herbessus*, at the Head of only a few Squadrons, hoping to have it surrendered up to them; and not succeeding by Surprise, they had recourse to Force.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 24.
c. 30.

§.XXIV. THE next Day, the two *Syracusan* *Prætors* marched all their Army out of *Megara*, and brought it before *Herbessus*. Upon this, the Fright of the two *Hannibalists* was great; but they were Men of Resolution. They had reason to expect the worst, both from the Inhabitants of *Herbessus*, whom they were going to involve in Ruin, and from the Chief of the *Syracusans*, whom they had exasperated; and they therefore took this bold Step. Remembering that they had acquired some Reputation among the *Syracusan* Troops, which had partly served under them in *Hieronymus's* time, and chiefly consisted of Foreigners and Mercenaries; and presuming that they yet retained some Malice to the *Romans*, since the false Report they themselves had spread of their Cruelty: they had the Confidence, upon these Presumptions, to leave their *Asylum*, meet the *Syracusan* Army, and deliver themselves up into the Hands of the Soldiers, to be treated as they thought fit.

A Project which succeeded indeed; but not without much Good-Fortune on their Side. It happened that a Body of *Cretans* ⁵⁰, who were Friends to the two *Hanni-*

⁴⁸ These suborned Men met *Sosis* and *Dinomenes* on the Banks of the River *Myla*, which ran between the Territories of *Megara* and *Leontini*. *Pazellus* guesses, that it is the same River which is now called *Marcellino*. But *Aretius*, *Leander*, and *Cluver*, are inclined to believe it the same River which is now called *Fiume di Sancto Juliano*, to its Mouth, which the Natives call *Fiuma Thadedu*. All that is sure, is, that these two Rivers run in the middle of the two Territories, in which the Cities of *Leontini* and *Megara* formerly stood.

⁴⁹ A Colony of *Greeks*, who were Natives of *Megara* in *Achaia*, went into *Sicily*, and there founded a City of the same Name. Or rather, according to *Strabo*, the City was already founded, and was commonly called *Hybla*, before the *Megarenses* settled in it. They enlarged it, and gave it the Name of their native City. There were many Bees bred in this Territory, and their Honey was esteemed in *Sicily* and *Italy*, as exquisitely good. It ought likewise to be observed, That the ancient Geographers reckon up three Cities in the Island of *Sicily*, which were all called *Hybla*. That we are

speaking of, stood on the Eastern Coast, and gave Name to *The Gulph of Megara*, near the City which the *Sicilians* now call *Augusta*, or by Corruption, *Agouste*. *Stephens* calls the Inhabitants of *Megara*, *Megarenses*, and *Galeote*. This City is supposed to have stood between *Syracuse* and *Augusta*, near the Place where *Mirillis* now stands, in the Province called *Valle di Noto*. But some pretend, that there are yet some Traces of it to be seen near the Mouth of the *Catara*, formerly the *Allabus*. The second City of *Hybla* was called *Hybla Minor*, i.e. *Little Hybla*, or *Hybla Heraea*. Some suppose it stood on an Eminence, in the same Place where we now see *Ragusa*. At least the Description the Historians and Geographers give us of it, cannot agree with the Situation of *Buterium*, as *Pazellus* falsely supposes. The third *Hybla* was called *Hybla Major*, or *The Great Hybla*. It stood in the East of *Sicily*, eighteen Miles from *Catana*, and four from *Hadranum*, very near the Territory in which *Paderno* now stands.

⁵⁰ These *Cretans* were six hundred in Number, according to *Livy*.

balists,

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

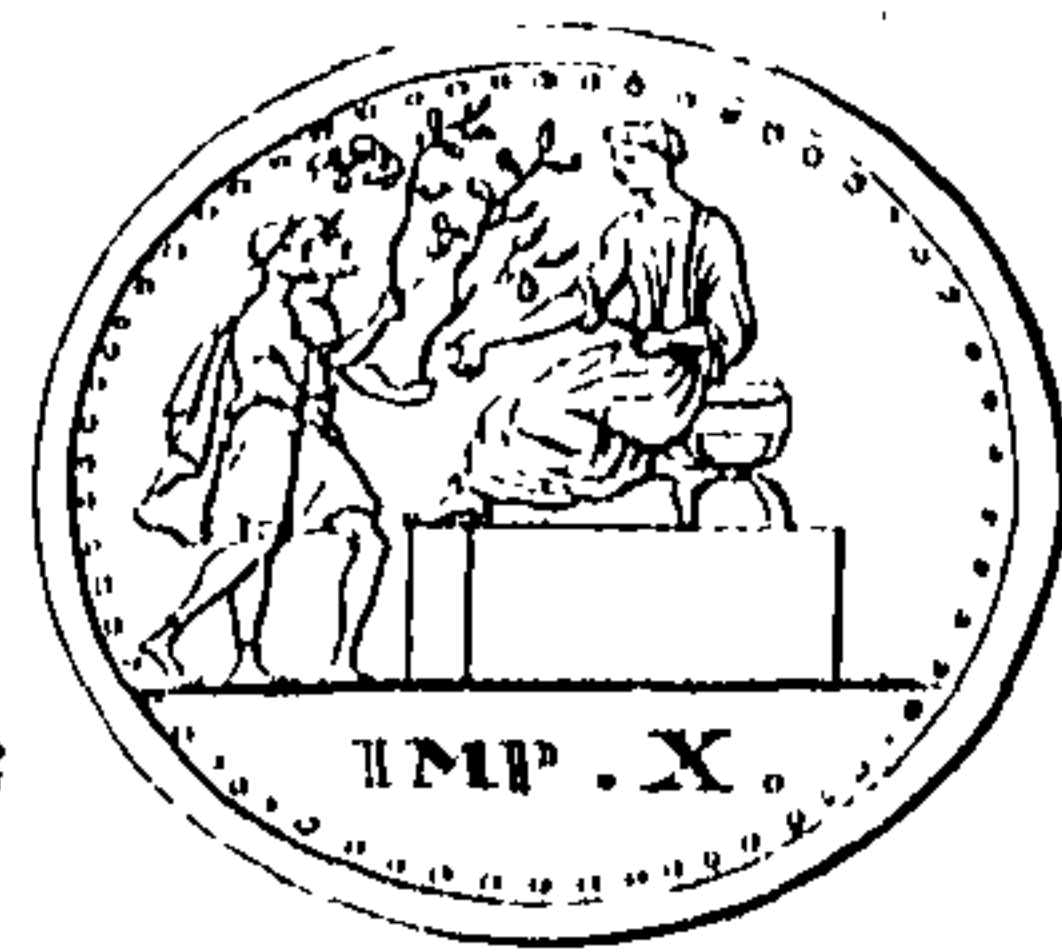
balists, and owed their Liberty to *Hannibal*, was then marching at the Head of the *Syracusan* Army. They had formerly served the *Romans* as Auxiliaries, were taken Prisoners at the Battel of the Lake *Thrasimenus*, and had been sent home without Ransom, as the other Allies of *Rome* were. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* therefore could not but think this a happy Omen, advanced towards the *Cretans*, applied themselves to them as Supplicants, presented them with ⁵¹ Olive Branches, and Wreaths, and spoke thus. *Cretans*, we now expect you will shew us some Marks of your Friendship and Gratitude, in our extreme Necessity. Give us a favourable Reception among you, and protect us against the Designs of the *Syracusans*. Without your Assistance, we shall be given up to the Fury of the *Romans*, and shall be inevitably destroyed. The *Cretans* were affected with this, received the two *Hannibalists* among them, and promised them either to share their Danger, or deliver them out of it.

THIS Conference made a Halt in the Army for some time; and all the Soldiers asking what was the Cause of it, a Rumour was spread from Battalion to Battalion, that *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* had delivered themselves up to the *Cretans*, and were under their Protection. Upon which the whole Army muttered for Joy. But the Commanders knew not their Inclinations, till they rode up to the Advanced-Guard full speed, reproached the *Cretans* in a great Rage, with their marching so slowly, and their Insolence in receiving these Enemies of the State among them; and ordered the two *Hannibalists* to be loaded with Irons. Then *Sosis* and *Dinomenes* were more sensible than ever of the little Authority they had over the Troops. The Shout the *Cretans* gave, was answered in all Parts of the Army. The Soldiers were universally inclined to Sedition, and the Generals were in very great Danger from their enraged Troops. So that they were forced to let the Criminals escape unpunished, and guard as well as they could against new Intrigues. In short, *Hippocrates*, who knew the Disposition of the Soldiers, invented a Stratagem, which *Hannibal* himself would have commended. He counterfeited a Letter from the *Prætors* to *Marcellus*, and hired a Courier, who suffered himself to be surprized, in the Road which the *Syracusan* Army took from *Megara* to *Syracuse*. The Letter was this. *Sosis and Dinomenes to the Consul Marcellus, greeting. We are rejoiced to hear, that you have not spared the Life of any of the Leontini, and especially of the Mercenaries which Hippocrates commanded. He was a Plague to us which laid Syracuse waste; and our Republick will never have any rest, as long as he shall continue among us, or there shall be one of those Foreigners in our Armies. Turn then your Arms towards Megara, and come and deliver Syracuse from the Mercenaries which we command.*

It is easy to imagine what Effect the reading this Letter must have on all the Soldiers. The Multitude never penetrate beyond the Surface of things. They immediately cried, *To Arms*; and had fallen upon their Generals, if they had not fled in haste, and escaped to *Syracuse*, where the Calumny followed them. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* corrupted one of the Soldiers, who had been shut up in *Leontini*, during the Siege; taught him to speak the same Language; and sent him away to *Syracuse*, that he might appear as an Eye-witness of the Truth of what was reported. He there exaggerated the Inhumanity of the *Romans* at the taking of



Brug.



⁵¹ Olive-Branches were the Symbols of Peace among most Nations, as the *Caduceus* was among the *Greeks*. On a Medal of the Emperor *Augustus*, we see two Deputies before his Throne with Olive-

Branches in their Hands, as Symbols of the Peace they come to desire of him: And on a Medal of *Titus*, Peace is represented as a Goddess, and with the same Symbols.

Leontini,

Leontini, and declared that every thing was destroyed with Fire and Sword. This News spread among the common People; and even found some Credit among the Magistrates. The Informer was brought into the Senate, examined, and his Deposition, which had been dictated by the two *Hannibalists*, raised a Jealousy at least among the chief Men in the Republick. Some of them openly affirmed, that the *Romans* had shewed their Avarice and Cruelty in the Siege of *Leontini*. Had they entered *Syracuse*, said they, what would have become of this opulent City! The more Booty they had found to glut their Avarice, the more terrible would the Pillage have been. And the Consequence drawn from this ill-grounded Fear, was, that it was necessary to shut the Gates of the City, and guard against the *Roman*, as a common Enemy. Nevertheless, the Lie did not take with all the People. There were few, besides the Populace and Soldiery, that gave into it. *Sosis* and *Dinomenes* suspended the Credulity of the better Sort of People.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

BUT in the mean time, *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles* did not neglect the Advantages their Cheat had given them. After the Departure of the two *Syracusan* *Prætors*, they had made themselves Masters of the Army. Nay, the foreign Mercenaries had very like to have cut in pieces the few *Syracusan* Troops that were in the Army. They confounded them with *Sosis* and *Dinomenes*, and believed them to be privy to their Letter. But the two *Hannibalists* stopped their Fury; not so much out of Compassion, as Policy. They wanted to return again to *Syracuse*, and recover their Power there; and the Massacre of these poor innocent Soldiers, would have set the Citizens against them. Whereas, by protecting them, they secured themselves their Friendship, and that of their Relations; and these Men were as so many Hostages in the Army, which would procure them Respect in *Syracuse*.

AFTER these Precautions were taken, *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles* marched their Troops towards the City, and were already arrived at ⁵² *Hexapylum*; but they found the Gates shut. Then they parlied a great while with the Officers of the Guard; declared that their only Design in bringing back their Army, and desiring Leave to enter into their common City, was to defend it against the *Romans*; and the Body of the Guard was thereby prevailed on to open one of the six Gates. Some Part of the Army was already entered the City, when the *Syracusan* *Prætors* ran to the Place, and immediately ordered the Gate to be shut. But little Regard was shewn to their Authority: The Gate was still left open; and then the Magistrates had recourse to Intreaties and Remonstrances. What are you doing, *Syracusans*? said they. With *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles*, you introduce Tyranny into your City. What Mischief did they formerly do with your Guards! What will they not do, when at the Head of an Army? If you suffer them to enter, you betray *Syracuse*. But so little Order was kept in the new Republick, and so little Deference paid to its Governors, that all was in vain. The Soldiers without, and the Populace within, did their utmost to break down the Gates; and at last effected it: and *Epicyles* and *Hippocrates* entered with their Troops into ⁵³ *Tycha*, through the six Gates of *Hexapylum*, which was a Barrier to it.

HOWEVER, *Acradina* was as it were the Center of *Syracuse*, and the noblest Part of this great City; and thither the *Prætors* retired, very uneasy to see two Tyrants actually entered into their Capital. But the Magistrates had only a Handful of young Citizens, to defend them in *Acradina*; and this Post was soon forced, and all the *Prætors* there were massacred, except *Sosis*, and a few others, who escaped in the Tumult, and fled to the *Romans* for Refuge. Thus the two *Hannibalists* became Masters of *Syracuse*; they had the People and Troops for them; established their Tyranny by their Assistance; and the rising Republick was not indeed enslaved by a King, but by two imperious and absolute Masters, who brought it to Ruin.

THEY foresaw that *Marcellus* would soon come and lay Siege to this faithless City, and therefore neglected nothing that was necessary to put it into a Posture of Defence. They gave the Slaves their Liberty, with leave to be enrolled in the Troops. They set free all Prisoners; assembled the People to elect new *Præ-*

⁵² That Part of *Syracuse* which led from *Tycha* to the Road to *Leontini*, was called *Hexapylum*, or *Hexapylon*.

⁵³ See what we have said of *Tycha*, or *Tyche*, in our Description of *Syracuse*, Vol. 2. p. 471. Note 7.

Year of *tors*; and were themselves the only Persons chosen: which was indeed only a Confirmation of the Sovereignty which they had usurped. And then *Marcellus* did not think it proper to delay the Vengeance of *Rome*. Indeed, his *Consulship* was near expiring; nevertheless, he resolved on the Siege of *Syracuse*, and began it. But we will postpone the Particulars of this memorable Expedition, till the next Year, and return to *Spain*, to view the Exploits of the two *Scipio's*.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

§. XXV. THEIR Campaign was not so advantageous to the *Romans* at first, as it was afterwards. The *Carthaginians* had then three Armies in *Spain*, one under the Command of *Asdrubal*, the Brother of the famous *Hannibal*; a second commanded by *Mago*; a third under the Conduct of another *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gisco*.

Livy, B. 24.
c. 41.

ALL the Country beyond the *Ebro*, was terrified at these formidable Forces. The *Carthaginians* took the Field before the *Scipio's*, and ravaged all the Provinces which adhered to the *Romans*. All *Spain* seemed ready to submit to the *Carthaginian* Yoke, when *Publius Scipio* passed the *Ebro*, and came to support the Minds of the Wavering. The Body of Men he commanded, was not considerable; and therefore he was not successful in his first Attempt. He endeavoured to make himself Master of a Post called ⁵⁴ *The High Castle*, doubtless on account of its Situation; but the Place was strong, and well guarded. The *Carthaginians* had made it a Magazine. A Battel was fought there by the Cavalries of both Sides, in which *Scipio* was repulsed, and lost two thousand Men, for the most part Stragglers, who could not keep up with him, in his Retreat.

HOWEVER, this Repulse forced *Publius* to draw near the *Ebro*, in a more quiet Country, where *Cneius* joined his Brother with all the *Roman* Forces; whilst the Son of *Gisco* marched his Army near that of the *Romans*, and joined it to those of *Asdrubal* and *Mago*, on the Banks of the ⁵⁵ *Anas*. At the Foot of a Mountain called ⁵⁶ *Victory*, there was a Plain, which was probably divided by this River, and in this Plain, all the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* Forces in *Spain* met. Then *Publius* marched out of his Camp with a Body of light Horse, to examine the Ground; and the Enemy knowing this, followed him with a greater Body, attacked him, and forced him to retire to an Eminence. And there the *Roman* General began to be invested, when *Cneius* his Brother came very seasonably to his Relief. This was a fair Opportunity to bring on a general Action; but the Policy of the *Carthaginians* at that time, consisted in avoiding pitched Battels, and applying themselves wholly to the taking Cities, to enlarge their Dominions. So that they could not, without Regret, see the *Romans* received into one of their favourite Cities, which was ⁵⁷ *Castulo*, the City formerly so zealous in their Interests, and where *Hannibal* had married his Wife.

IN order to make Reprisals, they invested *Illiturgis*, a City which adhered to the *Scipio's*, and had received a *Roman* Garrison. *Asdrubal* hoped to have reduced it, by Famine at least; but *Publius* did not relinquish so fine a Conquest to the Enemy. He broke through the two *Carthaginian* Camps, with one single Legion, and entered the invested City. And after this, he made so vigorous a Sally on the Enemy, that he forced them to raise the Siege. He spilt much Blood in *Asdrubal's* Army, in these two Victories; and left no less than two thousand of the Enemy dead upon the Spot. The *Romans* also made ten thousand Prisoners, and took thirty six Colours. Nevertheless, this Disappointment did not discourage

⁵⁴ The Place which *Livy* calls *Castrum Altum*, or *The High Castle*, stood in old *Celtiberia*, near the River *Sucro*, or the *Xucar*. It afterwards bore the Name of *Valeria*. It is thought to be the same which is now called *Cuenca*, in *New Castille*.

⁵⁵ The River *Anas* is now known by the Name of *Guadiana*. See above, p. 47. of this Volume, Note 109.

⁵⁶ Mount *Victory* is a Part of Mount *Orospeña*, which was the Name formerly given to that Mountain in the Kingdom of *Granada*, which is now called *Sierra Nevada*. The Mountain here spoken of, stood on the right Side of the *Sucro*, near the Head of the *Anas*, in the Country of the *Bastetani*,

a People of *Spain*, who inhabited a Part of the Kingdom of *Murcia*, and Diocese of *Guadix*. This Nation is said to have possessed the Cities of *Baia*, *Requena*, *Caravaca*, *Guadix*, *Oribuela*, and *Murcia*.

⁵⁷ The City of *Castulo*, which some think gave Name to *Castille*, was in that Part of this Kingdom which bordered on ancient *Betica*. It belonged at first to the Province of *Tarragona* in *Spain*; but was afterwards dismembered from it, to be added to the *Carthaginian* Province, or the Province of *New Carthage*. *Sanson* places it near *Castellón la Vieja*. But *Briet* thinks its Situation better agrees with that of *Cazorla* on the Confines of *New Castille*, and the Kingdom of *Granada*.

Asdrubal. He came and fell upon ⁵⁸ *Bigerra*, another City in the Interests of *Rome*; and *Scipio* hastening thither after him, his Presence was sufficient, without fighting, to frighten the *Carthaginians*. They decamped, and came and posted themselves near ⁵⁹ *Munda*. Then *Cneius Scipio* joined his Brother *Publius*, and both resolving to offer *Asdrubal* Battel, the Affair was carried too far to admit of a Retreat. The *Carthaginians* were formed, and the Attack began. The Action lasted four Hours, turned entirely to the Advantage of the *Romans*, and then one single Accident put an end to it. *Cneius* was dangerously wounded in the Thigh with a Dart; which was Cause enough for his Brother to sound a Retreat, notwithstanding the violent Ardor of the *Romans* against their Enemies. Had it not been for this unforeseen Accident, the whole *Carthaginian* Army had been destroyed, and their Camp plundered. They were repulsed quite to the Foot of their Ramparts, when the Retreat was sounded. A memorable Battel, in which the *Carthaginians* lost about twelve thousand Men, thirty nine Elephants, and fifty seven Colours; and about three thousand of them were made Prisoners!

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

AFTER this, the Vanquished could find no Place secure enough to retreat to. *Cneius*, without giving himself time to have his Wound cured, ordered himself to be carried in a Litter; marched with his Brother to the Enemy, who were encamped near ⁶⁰ *Aurinx*; and there prepared for a second Battel. But it was rather a Continuation of the former. The *Romans* had the same Advantage, with this Difference, that they killed fewer Men: and the Enemy had fewer Men left in this Action, than in the former. In short, the *Carthaginian* Army was so shattered, that *Asdrubal* had now no Refuge, but to send to *Mago*, to make new Levies. The *Carthaginians* had a particular Talent that Way. What Artifice they used to engage whole Nations to assist them in their Necessity, cannot now be discovered; yet so it was, that the *Carthaginian* Army was recruited, and the Corps filled in a few Days. But a third Battel, fought with as ill Success as the former, completed their Ruin. The *Romans* took a thousand Prisoners; killed eight thousand Men, and eight Elephants on the Spot; took three Elephants alive; and what was particular, was this, that they found some *Gallic* Arms, among the Spoils of the Dead. The *Carthaginians* had carried on a Correspondence as far as *Gaul*; and two Kings of that Nation, one named *Moenicaptus*, and the other *Civismarus*, were in this Action, and lost their Lives in it.

THE Fruit of all these Successes, was the retaking of *Saguntum*, the City which had given Rise to the War. It had been rebuilt by the *Carthaginians*, since it had been sacked by *Hannibal*, seven Years ago; and they had placed a numerous Garrison in it to defend it. The few of the old Inhabitants that were left alive, waited for the happy Opportunity of being reinstated in their Possessions; and the *Scipio's* now revenged their Cause, both on the *Carthaginians*, the unjust Usurpers of their Lands, and on the ⁶¹ *Turdetani*, who had joined with *Han-*

⁵⁸ Old *Bigerra*, according to *Ptolomy*, was a Part of the Country of the *Bastetani*, who possessed the East Part of *New Castille*, where it borders on the Kingdom of *Valencia*. This is the Country which is now called *La Mancha*. *Sanson* places this City near *Pequera*. The Resemblance of the Names made *Brietius* think, that *Bigerra* stood where *Beiar* now stands; the District of *Beiar* is now created into a Duchy.

⁵⁹ The City of *Munda*, according to *Briet*, retains the same Name to this Day. It afterwards became famous for the Victory which *Julius Caesar* gained over *Pompey*, near it. It is now but a small Town in the Kingdom of *Granada*, situated in a great Plain, at the Foot of a Mountain near *Rio Grande*, six Leagues from the Coast of *Granada*, and as much from *Marbella*. Yet it is generally thought, that *Munda* was the same Place which is now called *Ronda la Vieja*, in the Western Part of the Kingdom of *Granada*, on the Confines of *Andalusia*.

⁶⁰ *Aurinx* was certainly a City of old *Bætica*. But neither the Historians, nor the Geographers, have said enough of it, to determine its Situation exactly. *Florian* thinks it the same Place as *Arjona* near *Jaén*. *Mariana* thinks it the same City as *Jaén* in *East Andalusia*; but we cannot adopt this latter Opinion, because *Livy* says that the *Carthaginians* retired from *Munda* to *Aurinx*, towards *Hispania Citerior*; and consequently they marched away from the Place where the City of *Jaén* now stands. Others have thought with *Beuterus*, that *Aurinx* stood near a Town, which the Spaniards now call *Moron*, between *Seville* and *Munda*.

⁶¹ The Country of the *Turdetani* comprehended the Territory of *Beia*, that of the *Algerues*, and a Part of that of *Seville*, and of the Duchy of *Medina Sidonia*. *Ptolomy* reckons, that there were forty Cities in this Part of *Spain*; but now in the time of the second *Punic* War, it was contained within narrower Bounds.

Year of *nibal*, in that cruel Expedition. The City was taken, the *Carthaginian* Garrison
 R O M E driven out, and the *Saguntini* put in Possession of their Country, and their Es-
 DXXXIX. tates. As for the *Turdetani*, they were subdued by Force, obliged to surren-
 Q. FABIVS der at Discretion, sold by Auction, and made Slaves. Thus *Rome*, in the
 MAXIMVS, single Consulship of *Fabius* and *Marcellus*, gradually recovered her Losses, and
 M. CLAVDIVS kept *Hannibal* in Awe, in *Italy*; made a very considerable Progress, in *Spain*;
 MARCELLVS, and made Preparations to maintain her Dominions in *Sicily*, against all the Efforts
 Consuls. of *Carthage*.



T H E
Roman History.
B O O K XXX.

THE War with *Hannibal* had now lasted six whole Years, and we are entering upon a seventh. *Fabius's* Reputation was established; and *Rome* acknowledged, that she owed her Preservation, partly to his Inaction, but more to his Counsels. He was revered by both Senate and People, as the Deliverer of his Country. But in the mean time, his *Consulship* was expiring. The time was come for chusing Successors for him and *Marcellus*. The latter was absent, and was beginning the Siege of *Syracuse*. And it was to be wished, that the Command of the Armies might continue longer in the Hands of these two great Men, and that they might be continued in the *Consulship*. The Republick therefore found means to preserve both in their Employments, and without any Infringment on the Laws, or Custom. *Fabius* returned from the Camp, to preside in the *Comitia by Centuries*, which were held in the *Campus Martius*, as usual; and under the Conduct of this wise President, *Rome* consulted her true Interests; and made such a Choice, as best suited her present Wants. She nominated two Men to the *Consulship*, who were both absent, and each in the Service, at the Head of his Army. The first was *Fabius*, the Son of the great *Fabius*, surnamed *Cunctator*, or *The Temporizer*; and the second was that *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, who had taught the Slaves Discipline, and gained a Victory with them; and who was now chosen *Consul* a second time. *Marcellus* was continued in *Sicily*, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*, that he might finish the Enterprize he had begun; and being made Governor of the Kingdom of *Hiero*, had a superior Authority to that of *Cornelius Lentulus*, who was nominated *Pro-Prætor* for the old Dominions of the *Romans* in *Sicily*: So that his Power there, was as great as when he was *Consul*. *Fabius* the Father still commanded an Army under his Son, in Quality of Lieutenant-General; and almost all the other Generals were continued in their respective Commands. The *Scipio's* governed in *Spain*, as before; and *Terentius Varro*, in *Picenum*. *Otacilius* commanded the Fleet in *Sicily*. *Mucius Scævola* remained in *Sardinia*, and *Valerius Lævinus* was stationed at *Brundisium*, to guard the Coasts with his Fleet, and watch the Motions of the King of *Macedon*. Two *Prætors* were chosen for the City; *Attilius Regulus* was made *Prætor Romanus*; and *Æmilius Lepidus*, *Prætor Peregrinus*; but afterwards the latter left the whole Administration of Justice to *Regulus*, and went to command the Army of young *Fabius*, the *Consul* elect, which was encamped at *Luceria*. *Sempronius Tuditanus* was nominated *Prætor* in *Cisalpine Gaul*; and *Caius Fulvius*, who was *Prætor* likewise, had the Command of two *Legions*, which lay near *Suessula*.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

As soon as elected, the two new *Consuls* returned to *Rome*, entered upon their Office, and made it their first Business, to make a Report to the Senate, of the Situation of the *Roman* Armies, the State of the *Provinces*, and the Means of continuing the War with *Hannibal*. The *Conscript Fathers* assigned several Generals their Posts; and appointed the two new *Consuls* to act against the *Carthaginian*. The bare Name of *Fabius*, who would be the chief Director of the Campaign under his Son, was enough to discourage him. As for the *Prætors*, they chose their *Provinces* by Lot. *Fabius the Younger* put himself at the Head of the Army his Father had commanded the last Year; and

Year of
R O M E
DXL.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHVS, Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
DXL.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHVS, Consuls.
Liv. B. 24.
c. 44.

Sempronius was content with the two *Legions* he had formed with his own Hands, and who were in a manner his Children. Two *Legions*, consisting of *Roman Citizens*, were added to all the other Troops of the Republick, and the *Consuls* were empowered to raise twenty thousand Men among the Allies.

ALL that now remained for *Fabius* and *Sempronius* to do, before they left *Rome*, was to calm the Fears of the *Romans*, in relation to some odd Events, which Superstition made formidable. At *Rome*, the Lightning had fallen upon one of the Gates of the City, and a large Part of the Walls. At *Aricia*, the Temples of *Jupiter* had been struck with Lightning. In the River *Tarracina*, the People thought they had seen a strange Appearance of Galleys, and heard the clattering of Arms in the Temple of *Jupiter* ¹ *Vicilinus*. And at ² *Amiternum*, they imagined they saw the River *Aternus* dyed red with Blood. It was therefore necessary to do something to satisfy the Credulity, and abate the Fright, of the People; and the *Consuls* ordered Expiations; and when the *Pontifices* judged that they had done enough to appease the Gods, they were at Liberty to leave the City. Young *Fabius* was beforehand with his Father, and came to *Suessula*, to take Possession of the Army; and whilst he was giving some Orders, he was informed that his Father drew near. Upon this he immediately went out of the City, to meet him, and ordered his *Lictors* to go before him. These Officers did not march before the *Consul*, several abreast, as other Troops did, but one by one; and their Commander walked next before the *Consul*, to receive his Orders. The two *Fabii* were both on Horseback, and it was customary for all Generals to dismount, as soon as they drew near to the first *Lictor*. Nevertheless, *Fabius* the Father still advanced towards his Son, on Horseback, and had passed eleven of the *Lictors*, before any of them took the Liberty to stop him. But the twelfth, by the *Consul's* Order, cried out, *Dismount*; upon which the Father immediately obeyed, and with great ³ Joy ran to embrace his Son. *I had a mind to try you*, said he; *and with great Pleasure see, that you know how to support the Dignity of your Station. Always remember, that all private and domestick Relations and Regards are to give way to the Respects due to Persons of a publick Character.*

§. II. The *Fabii* continued some time in the Camp at *Suessula*, and prepared to enter upon Action. During their Stay here, there came a Man to them from *Arpi*, of which Place he was a Native, and his Name was *Dufius* ⁴ *Altinius*. He was a rich Citizen, and had a good Interest in *Arpi*, but was inconstant, and covetous. He had gone over to *Hannibal*, and put him in Possession of his native City; but now disliked the new Party he had chosen, and promised to restore *Arpi* to its old Masters, for a certain Sum of Money. Upon this, the Zeal of the young *Consul* fired him against a Traitor, who tried to enrich himself by his Treacheries: But however, he brought the Affair before a Council of War, and voted for putting the Defserter to Death.

THIS Man, base to his Country, said he, should be whipped with Rods, and executed as a faithless Ally, and common Enemy, to both Parties. After the Battel of Cannæ, *Altinius* thought *Rome* ruined; and sacrificed her to his Interest. And now that she revives, he wants to have her pay him for his Reconciliation with her. Let us make an Example of him, and revive the Remembrance of the old Roman Virtue. *Camillus* formerly sent back to the *Falisci*, the Schoolmaster who offered to deliver up to him the young Nobility of his Country. Thus spake young *Fabius*; but his Father had more Experience. In the Heat of War, said he, when all Mens Passions are afloat, we are not to be surprized, if some Persons forget

¹ *Vicilinum* was probably a City or Town, which gave the Temple of *Jupiter Vicilinus* that Name. It stood, according to *Livy*, in the Territory of *Compsa*, a City of *Urpinia*.

² *Amiternum* was a City which formerly belonged to *Sabinia*. It stood on the Confines of the Country of the *Vestini*, near the Springs of the River *Aternus*, or *Pescara*. There are some Traces of *Amiternum* yet to be seen near *S. Vittorino*, a little City of The *Further Abruzzo*.

³ *Valerius Maximus* mentions the same Fact. But he falsely supposes, that all this passed between

Fabius Rullus, and his Son *Fabius Curges*, who lived near an Age before *Fabius Maximus*, the Person here spoken of. *Valerius Maximus* is often guilty of such Mistakes as these.

⁴ In some Editions this Man is called *Dafius Altinius*. Others call him *Cassius Arpinus*. The Word *Arpinus* alludes to the Territory of *Arpi*, a City in *Apulia*, the Place of his Nativity. For so it ought to be read, and not *Arpinas*, which signifies a Citizen of *Arpinum*, a City in the Country of the *Volscei*.

themselves a little, and readily change Parties. What we are most concerned about, Year of
to prevent their shaking off the Roman Yoke, and going over to the Carthagi- R O M E
ans. We ought to give such Precedents as favour those who return to us, and DXL.
enter again into their former Alliances. If such of our Allies as have left us, Q. FABIVS
were to lose all Hopes of being able to return to their Duty with Impunity; how MAXIMVS,
obstinately would this make them adhere to the Enemy's Faction? How ready would TIB. SEMPRO-
this make them to go over to him? Not that I think Altinius worthy of your Confi- NIUS GRAC-
dence. A Traitor is never to be trusted. But there is a middle Way. It would CHVS, Consuls.
not be safe, either to trust him as a Friend, or to put him to Death. Let us send
him to some neighbouring City, and set a Guard upon him, to watch him; but at
the same time allow him some sort of Liberty, till the War is ended. It will then
be time enough to consider, whether Altinius has not made sufficient amends for
his first Revolt, by his Return.

§. III. THIS was the true Spirit of the great *Fabius*. He was moderate in all
things; and never took or gave those severe Counsels, in which the first *Romans*
gloried. Gentleness was the Method he made use of, to recover his Republick
the Provinces and Cities, which the Necessity of the Times had wrested from her.
And in his Camp, no General had more Indulgence for the Weakness of his Sol-
diers. The Historians have recorded several remarkable Instances of it. A Soldier,
of the Nation of the *Marsi*, who was personally brave, and of some Consequence
in his Country, had held some seditious Discourses with his Companions, and
persuaded them to go over to the Enemy. The Plot came to *Fabius's* Ears; and,
according to the ancient Rigour of the *Romans*, the *Marsian* was absolutely lost.
But the prudent *Temporizer* knew how to pacify an enraged Mind. I plainly see,
said he to the Soldier, that Regard enough has not been shewn to your Birth and
services. My Predecessors have neglected you; and they are to blame for it. But
now the Fault will be yours, if you don't discover to me your Wants, and your
Pretensions. Then he gave this Foot-Soldier a Horse, incorporated him in the
Roman Cavalry, and honoured him with other military Rewards. And by these
Means, *Fabius* paved the Way for his becoming one of the bravest, and most zealous
Troopers, in the *Roman* Armies.

At another time, *Fabius* was informed, that a *Lucanian* in his Troops was
often absent from the Camp all Night long, and scarce ever continued in his
Tent; but being told upon Enquiry, that he was an excellent Soldier, and that
he had signalized their Valour more, he only watched him for the present, in
order to find out, what was the Reason of his going out so often. Till at length,
he discovered, that the *Lucanian* had a Mistress, and crossed wide Plains, at the
hazard of his Life, to come to her: And then, tho' the General greatly disapproved
of this Irregularity, yet he could not help turning the Affair into Ridicule. *Fabius*
caused the Woman the *Lucanian* loved, to be brought to his Tent unknown to
him; and after reproaching the Man with his absenting himself from the Camp
in the Night, contrary to all Law and Discipline, he added, I have given you some
body, who knows how to keep you in the Camp, and prevent your unlawful Excur-
sions. The *Lucanian* was very much surprized, to find his Mistress in his Tent,
and shewed by his constant Continuance in the Camp, that he had not absented
himself upon any Motives, that could justly cause his Fidelity to be suspected.

BUT *Hannibal* was of a quite different Character. The *Roman* was not more
humane, than the *Carthaginian* was cruel and barbarous. This appeared, by his
Treatment of the Wife and Children of *Altinius*, the treacherous *Arpinate*, who *Livy, B. 24.*
had escaped out of the City, to sell it to the *Romans*. Not that he was in any *c. 45.*
great Pain about the Fugitive; he despised him: but his great Estate was an agree-
able Bait for a Man who loved Money. After he had in vain sought for the Hus-
band, *Hannibal* caused the Wife to be brought to his Camp; put her to the Torture,
to make her discover her Husband's Treasures; and when he had made her discover
all he wanted to know, he condemned her and her Children, to be burnt alive.

§. IV. NEVERTHELESS, the *Fabii* resolved to open the Campaign with the Siege
of *Arpi*. Perhaps the Report of *Altinius* engaged them in it. But be that as it
will, they advanced to that Side, which seemed to be near *Hannibal's* Camp; and
the *Carthaginian* did not care to fight *Fabius*. He now made it his Business to
proceed more by Stratagem, than Force; and was pleased to see a War kindled
again,

Year of again, both in *Spain* and *Sicily*, by his Intrigues. However, whilst he was enter-
 R O M E taining himself with these Reflections, the *Roman* Army arrived before *Arpi*,
 DLX. which was indeed strong on one Side, but defenceless on the Side where *Fabius*
 Q. FABIVS appeared. The *Carthaginian* Garrison therefore, to the Number of five thousand
 MAXIMUS, Men, and the Burghers of *Arpi*, to the Number of three thousand, came almost
 TIB. SEMPRO- all to the weakest Part of the City, and expected it would be attacked there. But
 NIUS GRAC- *Fabius* resolved to make an Assault on that Quarter of the Town which was deemed
 BHUS, Consuls. impregnable, and thought the Night the most proper time for it. To this end,
 he chose out some of the bravest *Tribunes* in his Army, and putting them at the
 Head of only six hundred chosen Men, commanded them to begin the Assault,
 and mount the Ramparts, at three in the Morning. As for the *Fabii*, they re-
 served themselves to complete the Execution of their Enterprize. As soon as the
 six hundred Men were got into the City, the Generals were to hasten to their Assis-
 tance with a strong Force, upon the first Signal; and Trumpets were placed at
 proper Distances, quite to the *Roman* Camp, which was but one Mile from the
 Place. The brave *Tribunes*, and their Company, executed their Orders very suc-
 cessfully. A great Shower of Rain, which happened to fall at the same time, fa-
 voured their Enterprize. That Part of the Wall, which they scaled, and was before
 very destitute of Men, was then entirely deserted. Besides, the Noise the *Romans*
 made with their Hatchets, when they were got into *Arpi*, in endeavouring to
 break open the Gates, was imputed to the Violence of the Storm. It was so early,
 that the Burghers and Soldiers were yet in Bed; and as the Blows of the *Roman*
 Soldiers lessened continually, they only lulled those to sleep, whom the Storm had
 awaked. Till at length, the Gates were broken open, and the *Roman* Army en-
 tered the Place. Upon the first Sound of the Enemy's Trumpets, the Garrison
 repaired to their Colours, and prepared for their Defence. The Townsmen were
 placed in the first Line, and the five thousand *Carthaginians* in the second. This
 was done by Order of the *Carthaginian* Commander, who suspected some Artifice
 on the Part of the Inhabitants. In the mean time, the *Romans* advanced, as it
 were, to give Battel in the Heart of the City, after they had seized the Houses
 next the Ramparts, to prevent being knocked down with Stones from the Tops of
 them. And then, the *Arpinates*, who knew some of the Enemy's Soldiers, en-
 tered into a Conference with them; and the *Romans* said; *Is it possible for the*
Inhabitants of Arpi to prefer New-comers to old Allies, and Moors to Italians?
Can you suffer our common Country to become the Conquest of an African? Upon
 which words, and the Sight of their present Danger, the *Arpinates* made their
Prætor advance, to treat with the *Consul*; and it was instantly resolved, That they
 should turn their Arms against the *Carthaginians*. At the same time, a thousand
Spaniards of the Garrison came to surrender to the *Romans*, on this single Con-
 dition, That the Gates should be opened to the *Carthaginian* Troops, whose Lives
 should be given them. Accordingly, *Fabius* opened the Gates to them, and sent
 them to *Hannibal*, who was then encamped at *Salapia*. Thus *Arpi* returned to
 its Obedience to the *Romans*, without the Loss of any Blood, but that of an old
 Traitor, who was found among the Deserters. *Hannibal* tamely suffered the Siege
 to be carried on, without Opposition; and in a manner saw it taken before his
 Eyes.

AFTER this, the *Fabii* made it their whole Business to follow *Hannibal*, and
 watch him; and the Fruit they reaped from the Campaign, was, that they reduced
 the Conqueror so low, that he durst not attempt any considerable Enterprize: So
 that none of his Campaigns were more barren in military Exploits. He spent the
 whole Summer in contriving means to surprize *Tarentum*. But the time was not
 yet come, for his gaining this important and desired Conquest. And whilst he
 was temporizing in his Turn, the *Roman* Armies made a continual Progress, and
 gained a Superiority in all the Places where they were posted.

S.V. THE *Prætor Fulvius*, who was encamped near *Suessula*, in the Neighbourhood
 of *Capua*, watched the Motions of this restless City, which was devoted to *Han-*
nibal; and was much surprized to see an hundred and twelve brave Men of the
Capuan Nobility arrive at his Camp. They came out of the City with the Con-
 sent of the Magistrates, under Pretence of going to make Incursions into the Enc-
 my's Lands; and when they came to the Advanced-Guard of the *Roman* Camp, they

they desired an Audience of the *Prætor*. Ten of them were suffered to enter the Camp unarmed, and to speak in the Name of the rest; and when they were introduced to *Fulvius*, they represented to him the State of their City, and their hopes of seeing it soon return under the Dominion of its old Masters. They declared an Abhorrence of the Revolt of their Countrymen, shewed the little Dependence there was to be had on the indolent *Hannibal*, and only asked one Favour of *Rome*, which was, that she would restore them their Estates, when she should be in Possession of *Capua*. This Change in the Minds of the Nobility of the City, which was the first that revolted from the *Romans*, plainly shewed, how much *Hannibal* had lost his Credit; and they were again received into Friendship by the *Romans*.

THE *Prætor*, *Sempronius Tuditanus*, besieged ⁵ *Aternum*, in the Country of the *Marrucini*; took it by Storm; and the seven thousand Prisoners he made, together with the Money he found there, enriched the Treasury of the Republick.

THE *Consul Sempronius* made War with Advantage in *Lucania*. He took Cities and Towns, and fought little Battels; but the Enemy would not give him an Opportunity to signalize himself by great Victories. However, he had at least the Pleasure, of seeing the Dominions of the Republick insensibly increase, and the Rebels return by degrees to their Obedience. Of the twelve Clans among the *Bruttii*, who had gone over to the *Carthaginians*, two of the chief were already returned to their Duty; and it is probable, the whole Nation would have come back to their old Masters, had it not been for the Robberies of a vile *Publican*, who was become a General of an Army. His Name was *L. Pomponius*; his native City, *Veii*. From being a Man of Business, he was become Head, or in the Language of the *Romans*, *Præfect* of some Troops of the Allies, and had very unseasonably entered into the Country of the *Bruttii*, where he exercised a new kind of Robbery. After he had seized the Finances of the *Romans*, and plundered the Companies of which he was a Member, he resolved to enrich himself by ravaging the Countries of the Enemies of *Rome*, and taking the Profit of his Plunder to himself. *Pomponius* put himself at the Head of a tumultuous Army, consisting of Peasants, Slaves, and other Vagabonds, and entered the Country, which was well disposed to submit to the Dominion of the *Romans*. *Hanno*, who guarded the Province with a *Carthaginian* Army, met the audacious *Publican*, and in one Battel cut all his undisciplined Troops in pieces. Their worthless General was made Prisoner; and *Rome* did not reckon this Defeat ⁶ among her Losses; but it was the only Advantage the *Carthaginians* gained over her, all this Year.

§. VI. IN *Spain*, the Advantages *Rome* gained, were proportionably greater than those in *Italy*. The two *Scipio's* recovered the Republick her ancient Allies, and added new ones to them. Nor was this all: They extended their Views beyond the *Streights*, which separate *Africa* from *Spain*. On this Coast, in *Africa*, lay a vast Region, called *Numidia*, which was possessed by two Nations, called *Massylians*, and ⁸ *Masesylians*, each of which was governed by its own King. The *Massylians* lay most Eastward, and bordered upon *Africa Propria*, that is, the States subject to the Republick of *Carthage*. The *Masesylians* lay more Westward, and bordered on *Mauritania*. The King of the former was *Gala*, and of the latter, *Syphax*; who, I know not by what Accident, quarrelled with the *Carthaginians*, and resolved to make War with them. The two *Scipio's* being separated from *Africa*, only by a narrow Passage, were soon informed what Preparations *Syphax* was

Year of
R O M E
DXI.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHVS, Consuls.

Liv. B. 24.
c. 47.

Livy, B. 25.
c. 1.

⁵ The River *Aternus*, now known by the Name of *Pescara*, gave its own Name to a City in the Country of the *Vestini*, which stood at the Mouth of it.

⁶ *Rome* was more sensibly affected with the Devastation occasioned by a terrible Fire, which lasted Day and a half. All the Buildings between *The Salt-Pits*, and the Gate *Carmentalis*, that is, from the Foot of the *Capitol* to the *Tyber*, were reduced to Ashes. The Temples of *Fortune*, *Minerva*, and *Hope*, were not spared. The Place called *Æquilibrium*, and the Street called *Jugarius Vicius*, were entirely consumed. We have spoken of *Æquilibrium* already, Vol. 1. p. 520. Note 33. The Street

called *Jugarius Vicius*, took its Name from a Temple built there, in Honour to *Juno*, surnamed *Juga*, because she presided over Marriages.

⁷ The *Massylians* possessed the Eastern Part of *Numidia*, on the Confines of *Africa Propria*.

⁸ The *Masesylians* inhabited that Part of *Mauritania* which the *Romans* then called *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, from the Name of its Capital *Juba Cæsarea*. The Natives of the Country now call it *Tenez*. This Country lay over-against that Part of *Spain* where the *Carthaginians* had built *New Carthage*. It is now the Western Part of the Kingdom of *Algiers*.

Year of
R O M E
DXL.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHVS, Consuls.

making to enter the Dominions of *Carthage*; and the Diversion was too advantageous to *Rome*, to be neglected. The two *Roman* Generals therefore added Fewel to the Fire which was breaking out, and which would be of Service to them; by sending an Embassy to *Syphax*, to encourage him to take up Arms, and to promise him the Assistance and Gratitude of the *Roman* People. Three *Centurions* set out from *Spain* upon this Negotiation, and were well received by the *Barbarian*, who thought himself honoured by the Alliance which was proposed to him. But one single Consideration staggered him, and suspended the Execution of his Design. His *Masæsylians* were undisciplined, and observed no Order in Battel. His Infantry especially, marched up to the Enemy in Confusion, and, without keeping any Ranks, fought nearer, or farther off, according to their Valour or Fearfulness; tho' his Cavalry was indeed instructed in a tolerable Way of Fighting. Therefore the Knowledge and Skill of the *Carthaginians* in the Art of War, terrified the *Numidian* King; and the Discourse of the Ambassadors concerning the Discipline and Disposition of the *Roman* Armies, made him fearful of engaging with a Nation, at least equal to the *Romans* in military Affairs. But at length he took Courage. He considered that the three Ambassadors were three able Masters to form his Infantry; and he obtained a Promise of them, that one of them should continue with him, to command his Troops, and form them to Discipline, upon the *Roman* Model. So that *Statorius* tarried in *Numidia*, upon the King's Promise, that if the *Scipio's* did not consent to his being left there, he should return to their Camp in *Spain*; and the Negotiation being approved of in *Spain*, *Statorius* applied himself diligently to forming the *Masæsylians* to Arms. The King had raised in his Dominions a good Number of young Men, who were very capable of Discipline, and of an Age to support the Fatigues of regular Duty; and *Statorius's* Pains were not useless. He soon taught them to keep their Ranks; to follow their Standards even running; to rally; and make their Evolutions, all together upon the first Signal. The King reviewed them, and was so well satisfied with the Progress his Infantry had made, that he began to depend as much upon them, as upon his Cavalry. These fine Beginnings raised his Hopes, and produced at least one good Effect, in favour of the *Scipio's*. The *Numidian* Soldiers, who had hitherto been in the Service of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, deserted by Companies, and went over to the Allies and Friends of their King.

Livy, B. 24.
c. 49.

BUT in the mean time, *Carthage* did not forget herself. She was informed of the Motions of the *Masæsylian*, and made it her Business to set one of his Neighbours, a *Numidian* as well as himself, against him; and thereby divert the Storm with which he threatned her. The Senate of *Carthage* sent an Embassy to *Gala*, the King of the *Massylians*, to bring him into their Interest. *Gala* does not seem to have had a warlike Genius; but he had a Son, in the Flower of his Age, whose Inclinations were wholly for War. He was only seventeen Years old; but his Genius, and Conduct, were already such, as made the *Massylians* conclude, that he would both enlarge and enrich his Father's Kingdom. The young Prince's Name was *Masinissa*; his Heart was fired, upon the bare mention of a War with *Syphax*; and he immediately entered into the Measures of the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors. *Syphax*, said he, is going to gain the Ascendant over the Kings in Africa. His Alliance with the Romans makes him powerful. Who knows whether he may not make himself a Way into the Country of the *Carthaginians*, through *Massylian* *Numidia*. Let us join with our Neighbours, and oppose our Alliance with *Carthage*, to his Engagements with *Rome*. And let us prevent his Design, and ravage his Country, before he can go over into *Spain*, or the Romans come and join him in Africa. He is yet alone, and his *Masæsylians* will not be able to hold out against our brave *Massylians*, without a foreign Assistance. As for *Gala*, he was easily gained by his Son's Persuasions, and immediately committed the Conduct of the Enterprize to him. *Masinissa* therefore put himself at the Head of his Father's Troops, joined some *Carthaginian* *Phalanxes* to them; and the young Warrior fell so vigorously, and so seasonably, on the *Masæsylians*, that he put them to the Rout. These *Manipuli*, tho' formed after the *Roman* manner, had neither the Resolution, nor the Constancy, of those who instructed them. They were cut in pieces; and we are assured, that *Syphax* lost thirty thousand Men in the Action.

Action. Then the vanquished King retired far into ⁹ *Mauritania*, made Levies there, and was ready to have passed *The Streights of Cadis*, and joined the *Scipio's*, with a numerous Army. But his ill Destiny, and the Valour of *Masinissa*, prevented him. The *Massylian* Prince fought a second Battel with him, before he went over, and reduced him so low, as to disable him from trying the Fate of Arms again, for a great while. Thus the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* engaged all the Coasts of *Africa* in their Quarrels. We shall from this time see the *Massylian* and *Masæsylian* Kings frequently appear upon the Stage. They will hereafter act much greater Parts; and be the Reverse of what they now are, with respect to *Rome*.

Year of
R O M E
DXL.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHVS, Consuls.

§. VII. IN the mean time, the *Roman* Army in *Sicily* was still before *Syracuse*. *Marcellus* had begun the Siege of it the last Year. As soon as *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* became Masters of it, the Alliance with *Rome* had been at an end. Some of the *Prætors* of the new Republick had been massacred; others had fled to *Marcellus's* Camp for Refuge; and desired him to revenge the wicked Attempts of the two *Hannibalists*. The *Roman* General immediately left *Leontini*; but the *Prætor* *Appius* still endeavoured to bring Matters to an Accommodation. He sent a *Quinqueremis* and *Quadriremis* to *Syracuse*, with Ambassadors to negotiate a Reconciliation with the Senate and People of *Syracuse*. But the *Syracusans* immediately seized the *Quadriremis*, which was accidentally driven into their Port; and thus declared War by an open Act of Hostility. Then the *Quinqueremis* which had the Ambassadors on Board, sheered off; otherwise the Law of Nations had been violated in their Persons. As for *Marcellus*, he was not a violent Man, but used all possible Means to bring these faithless Allies to Reason. He encamped near the Temple of ¹⁰ *Jupiter Olympius*, at about half a League from the City; and he also sent an Embassy to the *Syracusans*. But as soon as *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* knew, that the *Consul's* Envoys were near, they went to meet them, with a numerous Attendance, to prevent their entering *Syracuse*. The *Roman*, who was the Mouth of the Embassy, addressed himself indifferently, either to the two *Hannibalists*, or to their numerous Train, in this manner. *Syracusans, we don't come hither as Enemies, to deprive you of your Liberty. Our Design is only to relieve the Oppressed, and to revenge the Blood of your murdered Prætors. If when you will suffer those of your Magistrates who have taken Refuge with us, to return, and live at home in Safety; and if you will deliver up into our Hands, the Authors of the Slaughter that has been committed, and restore the Syracusans their Laws and Liberty; we shall have no Occasion to make use of Arms. But if by your Refusal to do this, you force us to treat you as Enemies, expect the most terrible Effects of War.* To which *Hippocrates* made this bold Reply, with the Air, and in the Language of a lawful Sovereign. *If you had addressed yourself personally to us, we should have known what to have answered you; and when Syracuse is in the Hands of those, with whom you come to treat, you may then return again. If we are attacked, we know how to defend ourselves, and can shew the Romans the Difference between Leontini and Syracuse.* This said, *Hippocrates* turned his back upon the Deputies, returned into the City with his Attendants, and ordered the Gates to be shut. Then *Marcellus* and *Appius* began to invest the Place, one by Land, and the other by Sea. The *Greek* and *Latin* Historians enlarge much upon this fine Siege, and take Pleasure in describing it. It may indeed be affirmed, that the constant Defence of this City for near three Years together, was the Work of one single Man, whose great Genius made him, as it were, the Soul, or rather the Intelligence, that presided over all the Labours of the Besieged. He was an able Counsellor, and by Profession a Scholar. He alone did his Country more Service than numerous Armies: and therefore it cannot be improper to give the Reader the following Account of him.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.
Livy, B. 24.
c. 33.

Liv. ibid.

Liv. ibid.

⁹ The Country inhabited by the ancient *Mauri*, or *Moors*, is that which now makes the Kingdoms of *Fex*, *Morocco*, and *Algiers*.

¹⁰ The stately Temple built by the *Syracusans*, in Honour to *Jupiter Olympius*, gave the Name of

Olympium to the Suburbs of *Syracuse*. It lay over-against the Island of *Ortygia*, at a little Distance from *The Great Port*. The River *Anapus*, or *Alfeo*, divided it from the City.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

§. VIII. *ARCHIMÉDES*, who was born at *Syracuse*, (and of an illustrious Family, since he was related to King *Hiero*) applied himself wholly to the Study of the speculative Sciences. He had a penetrating Genius, and made an incredible Progress in Geometry, Astronomy, and the other Parts of the Mathematicks. He long confined his Thoughts wholly to Speculations, according to the Prejudices of that Time, when it was thought too low an Employment for a great Man to reduce the sublime Discoveries of the Mind to Practice. *Plato* was

II *Archimedes* was indeed no less considerable for the Nobleness of his Extraction, than the Sublimity of his Genius. Yet *Cicero* represents him, *Tuscul. Quæst. B. 5.* as a Man of very mean Birth, who had nothing to recommend him, but his Skill in Geometry. *I will not, says he, compare the miserable and detestable Life of Dionysius the Tyrant with that of an Archytas, or a Plato, Men who have gained themselves the Esteem of all Ages, by the great Extent of their Learning, and their Wisdom. But I will find out in the Tyrant's own City, a Man of the lowest of the People, one Archimedes, and will raise him out of the Dust, and above the Obscurity of his Art.* His Words are these. *Nunc ego jam cum ejus vita, qua tetrus, miserabilis, detestabilis excogitare nihil possum, Platonis aut Archytæ vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum & plane sapientium. Ex eadem Urbe humilem homunculum a pulvere & radio excitabo, qui multis post annis fuit, Archimedes.* The only Commendation *Cicero* gives this famous Mathematician, is, that he had a fruitful Invention, and penetrating Genius. As to other things, he treats him with Contempt. It is plain, that the Roman Orator knew no more of *Archimedes*, than what he had learnt from *Polybius*. This Historian indeed only mentions those Particulars of this great Man, which have made his Name immortal. He barely considers him as a Man, whose chief Pleasure consisted in the Execution of the most surprising Wonders of Mechanism; without saying one Word of his Extraction. Besides, *Archimedes* was neither a Politician, nor a Soldier, nor an Orator. The Speculations, and fine Problems of Geometry, had such powerful Charms with him, that he neglected the Cares of Government, and all Commerce with Mankind, for the sake of enjoying the Pleasure of a Calculation, and a geometrical Demonstration, in his Retirement. So that it is not surprising, that a Man of this Character should not be so much esteemed by the Romans, as he afterwards was, in Ages of greater Learning. Rome would not allow any Merit to be superior to that of an Orator, a Hero, or a Statesman. And this is the Reason why *Cicero* places *Archimedes* below *Archytas* and *Plato*. The former had governed the Republick of *Tarentum*, and together with a singular Talent for the Mathematicks, had all the Qualifications of a great General. The latter was eminent among the Legislators and Sages of the Pagans; which was enough to gain him the Preference. But indeed, if we consider, that *Archimedes* alone, without the Assistance of any other Man, found Means to disconcert all the Measures of one of the greatest Officers of the Roman Republick, and by the Force of his Genius rendered the Efforts of two numerous Armies useless; we cannot, without Injustice, degrade him so far, as to put him below an *Archytas*, or a *Plato*. And therefore *Plutarch* speaks of him with Admiration. He says, that his Wisdom, and the Fruitfulness of his Invention, made him looked on as a Diviner. His natural Genius, and strong Passion for the Mathematicks, gave room for the Report, that he was continually so charmed with the soothing Songs of a domestick Syren, that he neglected the common Concerns of Life. When forced from his Solitude by his Slaves, and dragged out of the Bath by Violence, which often happened, he drew geometrical Figures on his own Body. Among his Master-pieces, was reckoned a Sphere of

Glass, the Circles of which represented the periodical and synodical Motions of the Stars and Planets. So that, the Sphere in the Cabinet of Father Kircher at Rome, which is so much admired, is but an imitation of that of *Archimedes*. *Cicero* himself, in his first Book of *Tusculan Questions*, could not help doing Justice to the Inventor of so fine a Work. He speaks of the Sphere of *Archimedes* in this manner. In order to be convinced, says he, of the Existence and Wisdom of One Supreme Being, we need only to cast our Eyes on the Wonders of Nature, and consider the orderly Revolutions of the heavenly Bodies. And for the same Reason, we ought to look upon that artificial Globe, or rather that little World, in which *Archimedes* has so happily imitated the wise Hand of the Divine Architect of the Universe, as the Effect of a superior Genius. *Nam cum Archimedes, Lunæ, Solis, & quinque Errantium Motus, in Sphæram alligavit, effecit idem quod ille, qui in Timæo Mundum edificavit Platonis Deus, ut Tarditate & Celeritate dissimilimos Motus una regeret Conversio. Quod si in hoc Mundo fieri sine Deo non potest, ne in Sphæra quidem eodem Motus Archimedes, sine Divino Ingenio, potuisset imitari.* *Diodorus Siculus* makes him the Inventor of a kind of Worm, which is called a perpetual Screw. But it is certain, that this Machine was invented before *Archimedes*'s time, since according to the Historian just now quoted, it was first used to draw off the Waters which formerly overflowed all Egypt, and made it uninhabitable. Some have falsely imagined, upon the Credit of *Galien*, B. 3. and of *Letzes*, B. 35. *Chil.* 2. that this excellent Engineer set fire to the Roman Fleet with a Burning-Glass. This Honour belongs to *Proclus*, who first made use of brazen Burning-Glasses, to burn the Ships of *Vitalian*, who besieged *Constantinople* about the 500th Year of the Christian Era. Nevertheless, it appears from the Testimony of *Papus*, that *Archimedes* wrote a Book, about making Glass. It is well known, that he took from his Knowledge of Proportions, the famous Demonstration he made use of against a dishonest Goldsmith. This Man had agreed with King *Hiero* for a certain Quantity of Gold, for a Crown which this Prince designed for some Pagan Divinity. But he kept some of it himself, and put Silver in the room of it, and restored to the King of *Syracuse*, a Crown as heavy as the Gold was which he had received. *Hiero* perceived the Theft, after he had tried the Metal with a Touchstone. But the Difficulty was, to make a just Computation how much had been stolen. In order to discover this, the King had recourse to *Archimedes*; and this great Man shewed with all possible Exactness, the Quantity of the Gold which had been taken away. They who have the least Knowledge of the Mathematicks, know what kind of Demonstration *Archimedes* used. This Discovery, which he made in a Bath, gave him so much Pleasure, that without considering that he was naked, he ran home in a great hurry, crying out aloud as he ran, *Eureka*: that is, *I have found it, I have found it.* But the Force of his Genius shewed itself to yet greater Advantage, in the Structure and Direction of the formidable Batteries he played against the Roman Armies in the Siege of *Syracuse*. It is a Misfortune, that neither he, nor any that followed him, have given us any Account of the manner of building and working those Machines.

The Author of this Paradox, as well as many others; and he had by his Authority confined the Sciences of the Schools to barren Contemplations, and Demonstrations which were of no other Use, than to furnish an agreeable Entertainment for the Mind.

ARCHIMEDES being therefore prepossessed with this Maxim; he at first made all his Enquiries and Discoveries to terminate in such Amusements: But his Conversation with King *Hiero* undeceived him. This good Prince made him sensible, That all Men are born to promote the common Good; and That no Man can, without Ingratitude, deprive the Publick of the Fruits of his private Studies. *Hiero* was convinced, that the Studies of *Archimedes* might be made serviceable to his Kingdom. He one Day told him, That he had invented, but not made, a Machine, by which he could draw the whole Globe of the Earth to him, provided he could find a Place strong enough to draw it to. The King was surprized at the Proposal; desired his Relation to make the Machine, and give him a Proof of its Force, in a comparatively low Instance; and was obeyed. *Hiero* ordered his Men to draw to Shore one of his heaviest Gallies; which they, with great Difficulty, got to Land. *Archimedes* built his Machine; and sitting down composedly, at a proper distance from the Galley, he, without any Force, and with very little Motion, drew the Galley to him, tho' she had her whole Lading in her, and was full of Men.

THIS Experiment plainly shewed the King, what excellent Use he might make of this great Man, if he could only persuade him to realize his Thoughts, and put his Inventions in Practice; and he therefore endeavoured to turn the speculative *Geometrician* into an Engineer. Till at length, *Hiero*, by many Intreaties, prevailed on *Archimedes* to condescend to Mechanicks, and to cause Machines to be built, for attacking and defending Cities. But this pacifick King had no Occasion to make use of these Master-pieces of Art, during his whole long Reign: Nor, probably, did he ever imagine, that they would first be used against his faithful Friends the *Romans*, by two Disciples of *Hannibal*, whom he hated. However, *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* found, that the Machines, and the Inventor, might now be serviceable to them; and they employed both, in the Defence of *Syracuse*.

§. IX. WHEN the *Romans* had taken their Posts, they thought to have treated *Syracuse* like *Leontini*, and made themselves Masters of it, at the first Assault. The Attack was general; on the Side of *Acradina*, by Sea; and on the Side of *Tycha*, and *Hexapylum*, by Land. *Marcellus* took upon him the Command of the Fleet, and left the Conduct of the Land-Forces to *Appius*. In hopes of finding some weak Place in so vast a Compass of Walls, Machines of all sorts were erected all round the City. *Syracuse* is said to have been twenty two Miles in Circumference; and it is very surprizing, that *Archimedes* could equally defend all the Ramports of so great a Place. However, his Machines, which he had erected in all places, were not visible without the Walls, and consequently did not lessen the Confidence of the *Romans* in their Assault.

ON the Day appointed, the Signal was given, and the Action was begun by *Appius* on one Side, and by *Marcellus* on the other. The Preparations the Consul had made, would infallibly have carried any City which had not been defended by an *Archimedes*. The *Roman* Fleet consisted of sixty *Quinqueremes*, exclusive of a greater Number of other Ships of all Sizes. The Decks of the Ships in general, were covered with Soldiers armed with Darts, Slings, and Cross-Bows, to clear the Ramparts, and facilitate the Approaches to them. But a Machine of *Marcellus's* Invention was expected to have most Effect. He had fastened together sideways, eight Gallies of different Lengths, so that they touched one another, and were rowed only by the Oars in the outermost Sides of the first and last Gallies. These eight Ships thus joined, made but one large Body, which was covered with Combatants; and the chief Design of it, was, to serve for a Basis for a Machine, which was raised up in the Air higher than the Tops of the highest Towers of the Walls. It was, properly speaking, a great Ladder, or Stair-case, four Foot broad; at the Top of which there was a Platform, guarded with Palapets in Front, and on each Side. This Platform was broader than the Ladder on both Sides, so that four Men a-breast could fight upon it; and the Ladder continually supplied the Want of such as were killed, with fresh Men. But the greatest

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 24.
c. 24.
Polybius, B. 8.
c. 5.
Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

Year of Convenience of it was, that it was a kind of *Moveable Gallery*; and could be placed at any Part of the Wall, within a certain Distance. Tho' the Foot that supported this kind of Ladder, was lashed to the Bodies of the Galleys with great Cables; yet the Top of it had some Play, and could be raised up, and turned to the Right or Left, by the Help of Cords and Pullies fixed on the Tops of two Masts which were at a distance from each other. This Machine was called a *Sambuca*, or *Sackbut*, because it looked like the Musical Instrument called by that Name, which is a sort of Harp. *Marcellus's* Design was, to bring his *Sambuca* to the Foot of the Walls of *Acradina*, which were washed by the Sea. But he could not advance fast with it, because this great Body of Galleys was all moved by only two Ranks of Rowers: And as it came within reach of the largest Machines of *Archimedes*, that is, those that carried farthest, the Besieged threw Stones upon the Besiegers of a prodigious Size. Three of them were thrown from a considerable Distance, and falling upon the *Sambuca* one after another, made a most terrible Noise. Each of them is said to have weighed ¹² ten *Quintals*. So that Stones of this enormous Size, broke every thing in their Way, separated the Galleys, which supported the *Sambuca*, and broke the Cables. Several other Machines likewise played upon the *Roman* Ships, at the same time; and they were covered with a Shower of Stones, Beams, and Rafter's pointed with Iron. Thus the Besieged rendered the Attempt of the Besiegers on the first Day useless: Thus the *Syracusan* Engineer disconcerted the Measures of the *Roman Consul*.

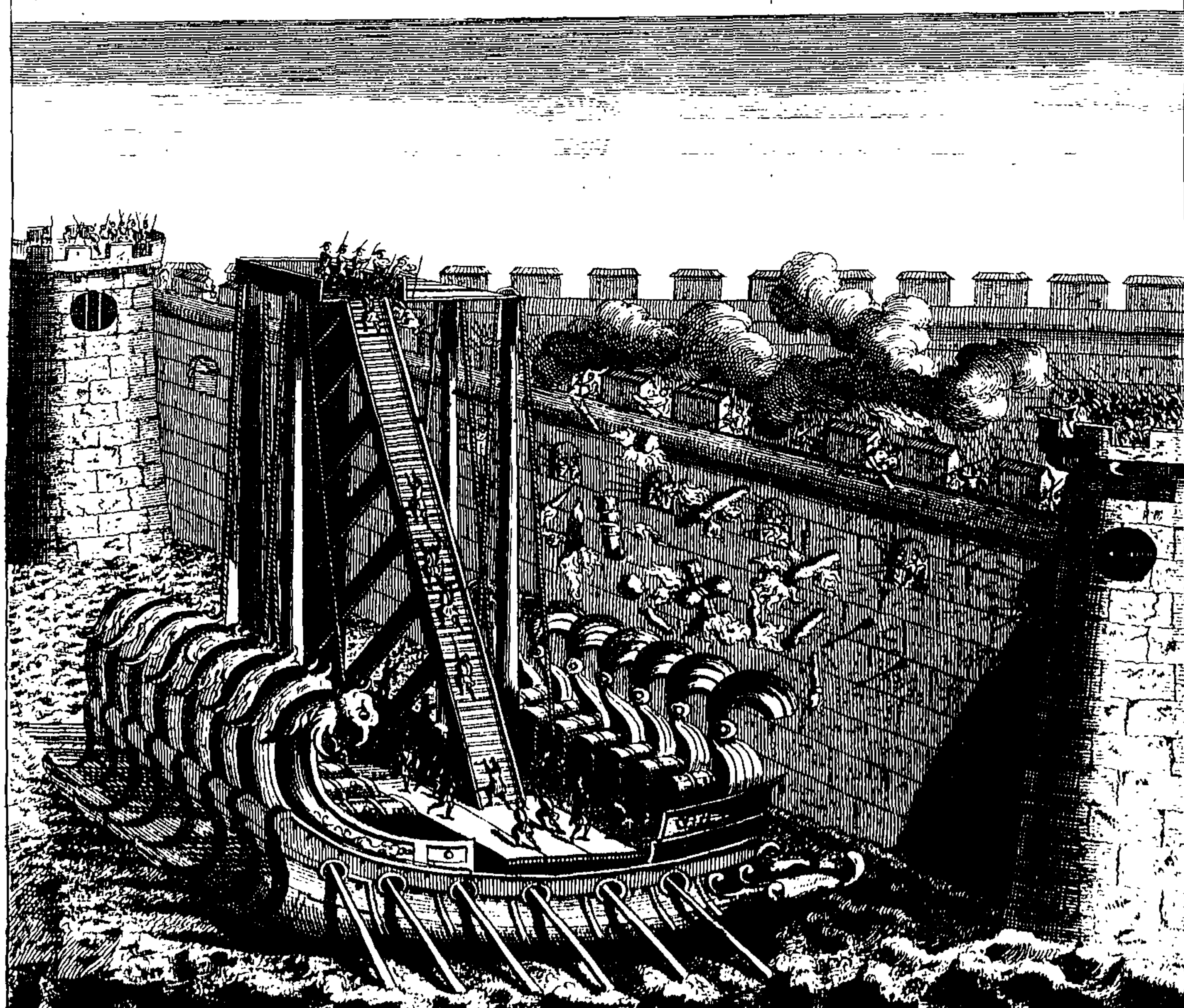
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls

BUT *Marcellus* was not discouraged, tho' surprized at this artificial Storm which he did not expect. He held a Council, and declared himself of opinion, that if they could find Means to come up close under the Wall, and keep there, they should be secure from this terrible Storm of Stones and Darts, which fell on the Ships when at a little distance. *The whole Force of the Machines*, said he, which

¹² This Machine of War, which *Polybius* calls *Sambuca*, was, according to *Livy*, supported by two, (or as some Editions have it, by eight) *Quinqueremes* joined together. These two Galleys, says he, carried Towers of several Stories, and all the other Batteries that were then used to batter the Walls of a besieged City. *Turres contabulatas, Machinamentaque alia quatiendis muris, portabant.* And indeed, it appears by *Polybius's* Description of it, that the Body of the *Sambuca*, was not unlike those *Moveable Towers*, which were commonly used to destroy the Enemy's Garrison. There were often Draw-Bridges made to them, which were let down upon a level with the Top of the Wall. By the Help of these Bridges, the Besiegers walked strait on to the Rampart. To give the Reader a clearer Notion of it, we have drawn the Figure of this Machine, agreeably to the Description *Polybius* gives us of it, in his History. But we are not from thence to conclude, that there was but one sort of them. *Vegecius* has represented it in a different manner. That which *Athenaeus* describes in his *Mechanicks*, was almost an Imitation of the *Sambuca* of *Polybius*. *Hero* invented another, which was of use both by Sea and Land. It was a Draw-Bridge supported by Cords fastened to Posts. One End of it rested on a moveable Ladder, and the other on the Wall of the besieged City. So that, when it was to be let down, the Cords were loosened, and by this means the Besiegers made their Way over the Rampart. The Invention of the *Sambuca* is by some ascribed to *Heraclides of Tarentum*, a famous Engineer among the Ancients.

¹³ It is not easy to conceive, that the *Ballista* of *Archimedes* could throw Rocks of ten *Quintals*, or of ten *Talents* Weight, at the Fleet of *Marcellus*, when it was at a great distance from the Walls of *Syracuse*. If that be true, as *Plutarch* affirms, it must be allowed, that the Effects of our Artillery fall short of the Force of this frightful Machine. All that remains, is to discover the Springs, and moving Powers which worked these dreadful Batteries. But this is honestly confessed to be one of those impene-

trable Mysteries of the Ancients, which after many Discussions, is yet undiscovered. We now have only the Pleasure of admiring these Miracles of Mechanism, which, to our Sorrow, we cannot imitate. Such is the Fate of human Affairs. Every Age has its Measure of Knowledge, which, after a certain Course of Years, is lost in the Crowd of new Inventions. Some have questioned *Plutarch's* Account, and adhered to that of *Polybius*. The latter reduces the Stones which were thrown by the *Ballista*, *Archimedes* made, to the Weight of ten Pounds. But be that as it will, if we suppose that each of these monstrous Pieces of Rocks weighed ten *Quintals*, we cannot compute them at less than twelve hundred and fifty Pounds Weight each, at the rate of an hundred and twenty five Pounds per *Quintal*, or *Talent*, according to the Custom of computing received among the ancient *Greeks*, and here used by *Plutarch*. We have spoken of the *Talent*, considered as a Weight, B. 8. p. 359. of Vol. 1. Note 45. *Livy* seems to agree with *Polybius*, when he says, that the Machines of *Archimedes* threw Stones of a very great Weight on the Galleys of *Marcellus*. *In eas quae procul erant Naves, Saepe ingenti Pondere emittebat.* But if we reckon the ten *Talents* mentioned by *Plutarch*, according to the *Talents* used in *Sicily*, we must abate above three fourths of twelve hundred and fifty Pounds Weight for each Stone. At least it's certain, that the *Sicilian Talent* weighed at most only twenty four *Attick Mine*, that is, twenty five Pounds, if we fix with the Ancients, that the *Mina* weighed four *Drachmae* more than the Pound of twelve Ounces. And what if *The Talent of Sicily* weighed but thirty, or twenty four, six, or even three *Roman Denarii*, as some Moderns pretend to infer from different Passages of *Suidas*, *Pollux*, *Festus*, &c.? At this rate the Stone or Rock of ten *Talents*, will be reduced to a very moderate Size. It will scarce amount to the ten Pounds mentioned by *Polybius*. See what we have said of the *Catapultae* and *Ballistae*, Vol. 1. p. 428. Note 48. and above, B. 28. §. 32. p. 177. of this Volume, Note 163.



1. The Sambuca used by Marcellus at the Siege of Syracuse.
 2 Another sort of Sambuca used in Sieges —

much annoy us, proceeds from exceeding strong Springs, which kill and destroy at certain distance; but if we were near them, they would not hurt us. All the Darts of the Enemy would fly over us and our Ships, and do us no harm. Marcellus did not know that Archimedes had provided for every thing. But he had prepared Ballistæ and Catapultæ for all Distances, and knew how to reach the enemy near, as well as far off. When therefore the Roman Ships, and the Samuca which was repaired, were brought up close under the Courtine, a new Shower of Darts and Stones was thrown down upon them. All on a sudden, there appeared upon the Ramparts a sort of Cranes, whose Necks reached over the Sea; and these let fall Pieces of Rocks, and Lead, of a prodigious Weight. The main business of the Besieged, was to distress those who endeavoured to raise the Samuca; and they put them out of a Condition of fighting. Nor was this all. Archimedes had made Loop-Holes in the Walls of Acradina, almost quite to the bottom of them. They were not longer than a Man's Hand, without; but within, they were large, and contained proper Stands for the Cross-Bow-Men, who shot from thence Arrows and Javelins¹⁴, called *Mataræ*, on those which were within their reach. And what most incommoded the Romans, was a sort of Crow with Iron Claws, fastened to a long Chain, which was let down the Wall by a kind of Lever. The Weight of the sharp Iron of the Crow, made it fall swiftly, drove it into the Planks of the Prow of a Galley, and its Claws stuck fast into it. Then the Besieged put a great Weight of Lead at the other End of the Lever, weighed it down, and consequently raised up the Iron of the Crow in proportion; and the Chain lifted up the Prow of the Galley in the Air, and sunk the Poop into the Water. After this, the Crow let go its hold on a sudden, and the Prow of the Galley, which sometimes hung quite over the Stern¹⁵, fell with such Force into the Sea, that the whole Galley was filled with Water, and sunk.

Upon

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

¹⁴ Besides what we have said of the *Mataræ*, B. 15. p. 118. of Vol. 2. Note 78. it ought to be observed here, that the Ancients gave this Name to a kind of Dart, which was much longer and thicker than common Darts. Instead of being pointed with Iron, it had a round Head of Iron, which grew taper towards the End of it. This offensive Weapon was used by the Ancients, to break the Bucklers, and other defensive Arms, of their Enemies. But it could only be thrown by large Cross-Bows, which were driven by Springs. Among the Machines Archimedes used against the Roman Army, there were also Scorpions, a sort of little Catapultæ, which were to the great Catapultæ, what our Arquebuses, Firelocks, and Pistols, are to our Cannon. For this reason, the Ancients call these offensive Arms, in Latin, *Arcu-Ballistæ*, and *Manu-Ballistæ*. They were in form pretty much like a Scorpion, or at least they resembled the crooked Legs, and Fore-part of that Animal; whence they took this Name. But Vegetius says, they had this Denomination from hence, that these strong Bows threw Darts which were well-steeled, and as sharp as the Stings of these venomous Beasts. Isidorus understands only a poisoned Dart by the Word Scorpion. *Scorpio est Sagitta venenata, Arcu vel Tormentis excussa, quæ dum ad Hominem venerit, virus quæ figit infundit, unde & Scorpio Nomen accepit. Tertullian, in Scorpiaco, expresses himself to the same Effect. Bellicam Machinam, & retractu Tela vegetantem de Scorpio nominant. Id Spiculum & Pistula est. Paulla Tenuitate in Vulnus, Virus, quæ figit, infundit.* And Vegetius also adopts this Etymology. But most of the ancient Writers took the Scorpion for a little Catapultæ, the Strings of which were twisted by the Help of a Stick, or Piece of Iron, used as a Lever. Yet, according to Ammianus Marcellinus's Description of the Scorpion, it was more like a Ballistæ than a Catapultæ. He says it was used to throw Stones by the Help of a Piece of Wood, or Pin, which he calls a *Style*. This *Style* was fastened to Cords tied to two Pieces of bent Wood, as in a Saw. Four Men drew it back by

Strength of Arm, and then let it fly. Upon which, the Cord untwisted; and, by the Force the *Style* had gained by being so hard strained, it threw away the Stone, which was in a Sling, fastened to the End of it. It is probable, that in the Tree, or *Chevalet*, of the great Cross-Bow, there was a Windlass to draw the Cords the stronger, especially when designed to throw Stones. In short, we can compare these Scorpions, and Catapultæ, which were of a middle Size, to nothing better than to our Field-Pieces.

¹⁵ It is plain from the Descriptions of Polybius, Plutarch, and Livy, that Archimedes's Machine was a kind of Lever, which easily turned to all Sides. It appears from the Accounts of these Historians, that this turning Machine consisted of a long Tree, supported by a Pillar, and strengthened by Braces joined by Breast-ties, to keep the whole Work together. But what we don't understand, is, how by the Help of one single Lump of Lead fixed to the inner Parts of the Sweep, the Force of one single Lever could be such, as to raise up whole Gallies full of armed Men. We can never be persuaded, that it was possible to stir so prodigious a Weight, without the Help of Capstans, Rollers, Pullies, Windlasses, or indeed Numbers of Wheels. Yet all the Historians we have quoted, are absolutely silent as to this Matter. Nor is it less difficult to understand the Direction of the Crow, that caught hold of the Galley. If, as all the Historians affirm, it fell down perpendicularly, we cannot conceive how it could take hold of the Prow of the Ship, unless we imagine two Grapplings fastened to it by two Chains of Iron, and directed to the Right and Left Sides of the Ship. By this means, the two Crows, when drawn upwards, would have held fast in the Sides of the Ship, and raised her up. But we cannot make this Supposition, without altering the Texts of the Historians. We ought therefore honestly to confess, That this was one of those Wonders of Mechanism, the Springs of which all Mankind are not permitted to understand. This is the Judgment of those, who have written Comments on the Works ascribed to Archimedes. Some think, that when we compare the Accounts of the gravest

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

Liv. *ibid.*

Upon which *Marcellus*, notwithstanding his great Constancy in pursuing his Designs, thought it necessary to spare the spilling of more *Roman* Blood, and prevent the Ruin of his Fleet. But tho' somewhat disconcerted, he expressed himself with Pleasantry, and said; *Archimedes is a Briareus, a Giant with an hundred Hands, who makes War with the Gods, but at his own Cost.* Nevertheless, he retired, and his Ships sheered off.

NOR was the Difficulty less on the Land-side. *Archimedes's* Machines incommoded the Troops *Appius* commanded, as much as the Fleet. The Walls of *Tycha*, which the *Prætor* attacked, were founded upon Rocks, which indeed made the Walls uneven in several Places, but at the same time difficult of Access. These Rocks were scarped, and made very steep; so that the Stones which were only dropped down upon them from the Ramparts, rolled down very swiftly, and fell with great Force on the *Roman Manipuli*, who did not quit their Posts. In the whole Space of Ground that the Army, when formed, took up, the last Files, as well as the first, were covered with Showers of Darts and Flints, against which they could not possibly defend themselves. They could not bring the *Mantelets*, and *Covered Galleries*, under which they were to work their *Rams*, near the Foot of the Wall. *Archimedes* had invented what the *Latins* call ¹⁶ *Pergula Canalitia*, and Battlements; and through the Openings in them, he let fall Beams and Stones upon the Tops of the *Mantelets*, and crushed them to pieces. If any brave *Roman* ventured to draw too near to the Wall, Iron Claws were immediately let down from above, which stuck into his Clothes, or some Part of his Body, and he was immediately whirled up in the Air, and dashed to pieces with his Fall. Thus one single Man, by mere Dint of Genius, repulsed two *Roman* Armies, without the Assistance of one Soldier on the Ramparts, or having any Occasion to make use of the Sword. He scattered Death far and near, and killed the brave *Legionaries*, who thirsted after an Engagement, without coming to a Battel with them. So great an Ascendant are Men of a superior Genius capable of assuming over other Men! *Archimedes* sat in his Closet, and saw a *Roman* Fleet, and an Army of Besiegers, disappear; and two *Roman* Generals forced to acknowledge his Superiority over them, by their Retreat.

§. X. INDEED *Marcellus* and *Appius* called a Council, in which it was resolved to attack the Place no more; but to invest it, and so shut up all the Avenues to it, both by Sea and Land, as to force it to surrender by Famine; and this wise Scheme was put in Execution. But that so large an Army might not languish away in Idleness before one single Place, *Marcellus* put himself at the Head of two thirds of the *Roman* Troops, and left *Appius* before *Syracuse* with the other. Whilst the latter watched this City, and kept all Convoys from it; *Marcellus* set out to reconquer the Cities, which in this general Disturbance in *Sicily*, had deserted the *Romans*. ¹⁷ *Elorum* and *Erbesus* surrendered to him of their own Accord. *Megara* ¹⁸ stood a Siege, but it was taken and destroyed; which was enough to make the *Syracusans* fear the like Fate.

gravest Historians of Antiquity, we ought to cut the Gordian Knot. They don't consider, that the unanimous Agreement of all these great Men in the Circumstances of the Fact, and the Explanation of the Machine, starts unanswerable Difficulties against them. But they chuse to say, that these two credulous Authors wrote after unfaithful Memoirs, or had no better Foundation for their Relations, than a Tradition founded only on the Ignorance of those who handed it down. The *Romans*, add they, in the time of *Marcellus*, did not value themselves upon diving into the Secrets of Mechanism. What Fame reported of *Archimedes's* Crow, they adopted for Truth. Besides, say they, it is probable enough, that in order to extol the Glory of the Conqueror of *Syracuse*, they took pleasure in magnifying Objects, and making Miracles of the most common Effects of Mechanicks. Thus some Authors reason, and chuse to lessen venerable Writers, and *Archimedes* himself, rather than honestly confess, what would be too grating to their Vanity. Others agree, that the Machine in question, as described by *Polybius*,

Plutarch, and *Livy*, is one of those Mysteries which want a new *Oedipus* to explain them.

¹⁶ By this *Pergula Canalitia*, we understand a projecting Parapet, and Covered Way, adorned with a Front built of Stone-Slabs, or Bricks. It was supported by Crows, as those Projecting Stones were called, which were formerly placed on the Tops of Towers and Castles. There were Holes in the Spaces between one Crow and another, almost like the Air-Holes in a Vault. Through these Openings, the Besieged could look into the Ditch, and in case of an Attempt to scale the Walls, could throw Stones, Beams, and artificial Fires on the Enemy. They likewise thrust Poles through them, to beat down the Scaling-Ladders, without being exposed to the Darts of the Besiegers.

¹⁷ See our Accounts of the Cities of *Elorum* and *Erbesus*, or *Erbesa*, in *Sicily*, Vol. 2. p. 541. Note 36; and p. 548. Note 48.

¹⁸ We have already spoken of *Megara*, under the Name of *Hybla*, B. 29. Note 49.

BUT

BUT after *Marcellus* had for some time pursued these important Conquests, without Opposition, no Army appearing in the Field against him; *Himilco* at length left his Post off Cape *Pachynum*, where his Fleet had long sheltered itself from all Storms, entered the Port of ¹⁹ *Heraclea*, and landed twenty thousand Foot, three thousand Horse, and twelve Elephants. He had not at first brought so great an Army before *Syracuse*; but when he found that *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles* were Masters of the City, and foresaw that the *Romans* would fall upon them with all their Forces, he solicited the Senate of *Carthage* for new Succours.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 24.
c. 35.

At the same time, *Hannibal* wrote to the Magistrates of his Republick to inform them, that the time was come for the *Carthaginians* to recover an Island, the Conquest of which had cost their Fathers so much Blood; and *Hannibal*, through the Assistance of the *Barcan* Faction, was Master at *Carthage*, tho' absent from it. His Advice was therefore taken; and *Himilco's* Army was increased to the Number, which he now landed at *Heraclea*. Soon after his landing, he turned his Army against ²⁰ *Agrigentum*, retook it from the *Romans*, and brought over many Cities to the *Carthaginian* Interest, which had deserted. It is easy to imagine, that his Arrival, and Progress, could not long be unknown at *Syracuse*; whose Circumference was too vast for *Appius* entirely to stop all the Avenues to it, with his little Army; and upon this News, the *Syracusan* Troops, which were yet entire, having suffered no Hardships from the Siege, were very impatient to take the Field, and join *Himilco*. Accordingly, it was resolved, That *Epicyles* should be left to defend the City, and That *Hippocrates* should march out of *Syracuse* with ten thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse: and the Design was executed in the Night, without Difficulty. The Body of Men *Hippocrates* commanded, easily broke through the *Roman* Lines, and came and encamped at ²¹ *Acrille*, a Town to the South of *Syracuse*.

BUT in the Evening, whilst the *Hannibalist* was there busy in fortifying his Camp, in order to pass the Night there, his Scouts brought him word, that *Marcellus* drew near to *Acrille* with his Army. The Consul was indeed returning from *Agrigentum*, where *Himilco* had been betorhand with him; and did not know that *Hippocrates* had left *Syracuse*, and was posted so near him. Nevertheless, he marched in good Order, for fear of a Surprize; and when he saw the Enemy, he was much pleased to be able to turn those Arms against *Hippocrates*, with which he intended to have fallen upon *Himilco*. He immediately fell upon the disordered *Syracusans*, who were without their Arms, and wholly intent on making their Entrenchments; surrounded the *Syracusan* Infantry in an Instant, and only the Cavalry with *Hippocrates* escaped, and retired to ²² *Acræ*, a City belonging to *Syracuse*. By this Victory, he kept the *Sicilians*, who had been a little staggered, by the Arrival and Conquest of *Himilco*, steady in the Interest of *Rome*. And from thence the Conqueror returned to *Syracuse*, which he kept a little more closely blocked up, but made no Attacks upon it.

§. XI. BY this time *Hippocrates* had joined *Himilco* with his fugitive Cavalry, and they were for marching directly to *Syracuse*, and giving the Besiegers Battel. They therefore left *Agrigentum*; and came and encamped on the Borders of the *Anapus*. And in the Interim, Succours were brought both to the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*. *Bomilcar* was happily arrived in The great Port of *Syracuse*, with a Fleet of fifty five Sail; and a *Roman* Fleet had brought a whole Legion to ²³ *Panormus*, for a Reinforcement for *Marcellus*. *Rome* and *Carthage* seemed to be

¹⁹ The City of *Heraclea* in *Sicily*, surnamed *Minoa*, was in the most ancient Times called *Megara*. See what we have said of the Origin and Situation of this City, Vol. 2. p. 547. Note 47.

²⁰ We have already described *Agrigentum*, p. 473. of Vol. 2. Note 8. It is now called *Gergenti*. It stood near the River *Aragas*, which the *Sicilians* now call *Fiume di Gergenti*; and *Fiume Drago*.

²¹ We cannot guess at the exact Situation of this Town. *Stephens* gives it the Title of a City.

²² *Acræ*, a City of *Sicily*, was built, according to *Thucydides*, by the *Syracusans*, about the fourth Year of the eighth Olympiad, seventy Years after the Foundation of *Syracuse*, and about six hundred

sixty five Years before the *Christian Era*. *Cluver* plainly proves, by the March which *Livy* here makes *Hippocrates* take, and by the old *Itineraries*, that this City did not stand where *Palazzuolo* now does. He thinks its Situation agrees better with that of a Monastery which the *Sicilians* call *Santa Maria d'Arcia*, between the Cities of *Noto* and *Avula*. The *Latin* Name of *Acræ* inclines us to believe that it was built on an Eminence; it was twenty four Miles from *Syracuse*.

²³ *Panormus* is now known by the Name of *Palerma*. See what we have said of it, Vol. 2. p. 583. Note 15.

Year of agreed to make their greatest Efforts in *Sicily*. Then *Himilco* made it his first
 R O M E Business to cut off the *Legion* which was just landed, and surprize it in its March
 DXXXIX. before it reached the *Roman Army*. But it accidentally escaped him. *Himilco*
 Q. FABIVS expected, that it would have crossed the Country. But it fortunately kept along
 MAXIMUS, the Coasts, and safely arrived at Cape *Pachynum*, where the *Prætor Appius* met
 M. CLAUDIVS it with a large Detachment.
 MARCELLVS,
 Consuls.

As for *Bomilcar*, he did not continue long at *Syracuse*. He was afraid of the *Roman Fleet*, infinitely stronger than his own; and therefore, without giving it time to come up with him, sailed for *Africa*. Then *Himilco*, despairing of surprizing the *Roman Legion*, advanced towards *Syracuse*, in order to engage *Marcellus*, before the whole *Roman Army* joined; but he found the *Consul* was not to be brought rashly to a Battel. The *Carthaginian* therefore, not to lose time in Inaction, marched about to all Parts, where he had any Hopes of drawing off any Cities from the *Romans*; ²⁴ *Murgantia* betrayed the *Roman Garrison*, and surrendered to him; and the Example was contagious.

§. XII. *ENNA* ²⁵ was a delightful City, situated on an Eminence in the Center of *Sicily*. From thence you had a Prospect of an agreeable Meadow, where it was pretended, that *Pluto* had formerly carried *Proserpine* down to Hell. There was yet to be seen in this Meadow, a Cave with a deep Gulph, which bore the Name of *Pluto*; and near it a Temple dedicated to *Ceres*, the Mother of *Proserpine*. This City, which was made very famous by Fables, had received a *Roman Garrison*; but she now disliked her new Masters. She, in Imitation of *Murgantia*, had thoughts of getting rid of the *Romans*; but *Pinarius*, the Commander of the Garrison, was a vigilant Man, and not easily surprized. The Reports which were spread of the Revolt of many Cities, and the massacring many *Roman Garrisons*, kept him continually upon his Guard. He set, and relieved his Guard, very carefully; and was always ready against any Event. The *Ennenses* found the *Romans* under Arms at all Hours of the Day and Night; and all their *Sicilian Artifices* to deceive the Governor, proved ineffectual. Nevertheless, these faithless People had already entered into Measures with *Himilco*, and had engaged to deliver up the City to him; and being unable to succeed by Treachery, they thought themselves in a Condition to attempt it by open Force. In order to this, they represented to the Commander of the Garrison, that he ought to treat them as Allies, and not as Slaves: and said, *Enna is now no better than a large Prison. Our Gates are guarded only by Foreigners, and the Keys of our City are in their Hands. Ought you not to depend on our Fidelity in keeping our Treaties, and lay aside your Suspicions? Restore our Keys, and let us guard our Walls ourselves. Rome will then have Reason to confess our Attachment to her, and applaud our Fidelity, when we continue steady to her Interests, without Violence.*

BUT *Pinarius* received their Complaints coldly; and calmly told them; That he had received the Keys of the City, and his Commission to guard it, from his General; That it was in vain to apply to him, whilst the Consul was within reach; and lastly, That the Laws forbid him disobeying the Orders of his General, under Pain of Death to himself, and his Children. Nevertheless, the *Ennenses*, instead of sending to the Consul, only threatned the Governor; and told him, they would find means to deliver themselves from Slavery. To which *Pinarius* answered, That since they thought it a Trouble to have recourse to *Marcellus*, he desired that they would at least suffer an Assembly of the People to be called, that he might know whether this was the Motion of a few only, or of the whole City. This was granted, and the *Comitia* appointed for the next Day. But *Pinarius* perceiving that the *Ennenses* would come to violent Resolutions, he took his Measures accordingly.

IN order to avoid their furious Attempts, he retired with his Garrison into the Citadel, there assembled his Soldiers, and bespoke them thus. *Fellow-Soldiers, You have heard of the Cruelties the Sicilians have exercised upon the Roman Garrisons in several Places. Hitherto indeed your Valour and Vigilance have preserved you; and I heartily wish it were in our Power still to preserve ourselves, without filling*

²⁴ See what we have said of *Murgantia*, B. 29. Note 41.

²⁵ See our Account of the City of *Enna*, Vol. 2. p. 562. Note 72.

the City in which we live with Blood. But the Inhabitants demand the Keys, which are committed to me, with Threatnings. Their Fraud and Dissimulation is turned into Violence. The Ennenses design to cut all our Throats, and then surrender themselves up to the Carthaginians. An Assembly of the People is appointed to be called to morrow. By Break of Day therefore, our Fate, or that of the perfidious Ennenses, must be determined. If we are not, by that time, Masters of their Lives and Fortunes, they will be of ours. They who first take Arms, will be Conquerors. Let us not then suffer them to prevent us. Arm, and wait for a Signal from me. I will be at the Assembly, and prolong the Debates. And when I give you a Signal with my Robe, do you make a great Shout, fall on all the Burghers, cut them in pieces, and spare none of those, whose Treasons we have Reason to fear. This said, he assigned his Manipuli their Posts, some in the Avenues to the Market-place, others in the Theatre, where the Assembly was held. As soon as it was Day, he came to the Place appointed; and there he represented the Difficulties he lay under, as to surrendering the Keys. Upon this, first some, then more of the People, cried out; and at last they all, by their Clamours, seemed ready to offer Violence to him. The Governor therefore immediately gave the Signal agreed on, and the Soldiers ran into the Theatre Sword in hand, and began the Massacre. Some kept the Doors, that none might escape; the Floor and Seats of the Amphitheatre, swam with Flood; and as many were stifled in endeavouring to escape, as fell by the Sword. The Dead and the Wounded fell in Heaps upon one another. The Slaughter was also as great in the Streets, and without the Theatre, as in it; and the Fury of the Soldiers was not the less, because the Multitude was unarmed. In short, *Enna* was treated like a City taken by Assault, and was condemned to be sacked. Thus the City was still kept in the Hands of the *Romans*, by an Action justly stiled barbarous; unless it be deemed a necessary Self-Defence in the Garrison, to be beforehand with those, who designed to treat them in the same manner. But be that as it will, *Marcellus*, who was the least blood-thirsty of any Man, did not disapprove of the Conduct of *Pinarius*. He even granted the Soldiers the Plunder of the City, and imagined he should thereby keep in Awe the *Sicilian* Cities, who were so renowned for their Treachery. But this Expedition was very far from strengthening the *Roman* Party. The *Sicilians* were grieved at the infamous Massacre of the *Ennenses*, who were consecrated to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*; and their Revolts became more frequent, and more prejudicial to the *Romans*. So true is it, that the common People never look farther than the Outside of things! They never enquire into the Necessity of those Actions, which are often reasonable and indispensable, tho' they appear much otherwise.

Year of
R O M E
DXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
M. CLAVDIVS
MARCELLVS,
Consuls.

§. XIII. In the mean time, *Marcellus* himself still continued to shut up all the Avenues to *Syracuse*; and sent *Appius Claudius* to *Rome*. The *Prætor* had some Pretensions to the Consulship for the next Year, and certainly had deserved it. The Consul put one of his Lieutenant-Generals, named *T. Quintius Crispinus*, in his Place; and took up his Winter-Quarters at a Town near the besieged City, named ²⁶ *Leon*. There he watched the City, and kept it blocked up till Spring: And in this Interval, his Condition was changed. From being Consul, *Marcellus* now became *Pro-Consul* in *Sicily*, and Commander in chief of all the *Roman* Forces there.

Year of
R O M E
DXL.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIVS GRAC-
CHVS, Consuls.

WHEN the Spring came on, and the *Pro-Consul* could take the Field, he deliberated whether he should attack *Himilco* in *Agrigentum*, or return to his Trenches before *Syracuse*, and continue that Blockade. He foresaw, That it would be impossible for him to take by Force a City, which *Archimedes* made so fatal to his Troops, and indeed utterly impregnable; and That it would be difficult to reduce it by Famine, since notwithstanding his Vigilance, Convoys of Provisions were conti-

²⁶ The Town of *Leon* stood North of *Syracuse*, six or seven *Stadia* from *Hexapylum*, according to *Thucydides*. *Livy* reckons the Distance between them to be five thousand geometrical Paces, that is, near two Leagues. But this seems very improbable, if we consider, that *Marcellus* had pitched his Camp there, with a Resolution to continue the Siege of

Syracuse. It is therefore taken for granted, that the Text of *Livy* is altered, and that it ought to be fifteen hundred Paces; *mille & quingentis passibus*, instead of five thousand, or *quinque millia passuum*. By this Correction, *Livy's* Account is made more probable, and agrees better with that of *Thucydides*.

Year of
ROME
DXL.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHVS, Consuls.

Liv. B. 25.
c. 23.

usually carried into it, both by Sea and Land. He therefore thought the only Expedient was, to try to make a Party, in the besieged City. He had a good Number of *Syracusans* in his Camp, who had been forced by the Troubles at home, to fly to him for Refuge; and he thought *Sofis* in particular, and some other *Pro-tors*, who had escaped the Tyranny of *Hippocrates* and *Epiccydes*, able both to undertake and execute such a Design. Through the Interest they had formerly had in their native City, they might perhaps enter into a Correspondence with their old Friends, and prevail on them to surrender voluntarily.

MARCELLUS therefore disclosed this Scheme to these faithful Allies; and empowered them to offer their Countrymen their Lives, Liberties, and Laws, without any other Subordination than that of the general Allies of the Republick, if they would surrender to the *Romans*. This was offering the most advantageous Terms, if they could but succeed in the Design; and the *Syracusans* therefore in *Marcellus's* Camp, zealously entered into the *Pro-Consul's* Measures. But they found it impossible to carry on a Correspondence with their Friends in the City. All Eyes were upon them, to prevent any Intelligence with the Enemy; and at length it was resolved to send to *Syracuse*, a Slave of one of the *Syracusan Pro-tors* who were in the Interest of *Rome*, as a Deserter. The Slave was told what he was to say to the Friends of the Refugees; and he did his Duty. He promised the *Syracusans* their Lives, Liberties, and all the Rights of a free City; and this was a strong Bait to a great Number of them. Some ventured to come into the *Roman* Camp to assure themselves of the Truth of the Promises the Slave had made. Four-score Persons of some Consequence in *Syracuse*, all successively made use of a Fisher-Boat, hid themselves under the Nets, and so eluded the Vigilance of the Guards, and came and conferred with the *Pro-Consul*. But at length the Plot was discovered, by a Man who was jealous because not admitted in it. He gave an Account of it to *Epiccydes*, who put all the Conspirators to Death, at a time, when the Affair was just ready to be executed, and Measures had been wisely taken for the Surrendry of *Syracuse*.

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.
Liv. B. 25.
c. 23.

§. XIV. It was therefore necessary to find out some other Means of gaining this important Conquest, without too great Hazards; and one accidentally offered itself. The *Syracusans* had sent out of their City a *Lacedæmonian* named *Damippus*, with a Commission to enter into a Treaty with *Philip* King of *Macedon*, who was already engaged to the *Carthaginians*; but the Envoy fell into the Hands of the Commander of the *Roman* Fleet, who kept him Prisoner. *Epiccydes*, extremely concerned at his Detention, used all possible Means to get him released; and *Marcellus* was not averse to his being ransomed. *Damippus* was a *Lacedæmonian*, and the Republick had her Reasons for maintaining a strict Friendship with *Lacedæmon* at this time.

It being therefore necessary to treat of this Ransom, the Conferences for it were appointed to be held near *Syracuse*, between *Tyche* and *Acradina*, at a Place called ²⁷ *Portus Trogilorum*, by the Foot of a Tower called *Galeagra*; and in their passing backwards and forwards to treat, one of the *Romans* who was at Leisure found Time enough to examine this Tower. All the Stones of which it was built were of an equal Size, as far as he could judge by his Eye; and he counted them, and found by his Computation that the Tower was not so high as had been imagined, but might be scaled with Ladders of a moderate Size. The Soldier therefore gave the *Pro-Consul* an Account of this; and he did not neglect the Information. The Difficulty was, how to come to the Tower, and place the Scaling-Ladders against it. The Place was weak indeed; but *Archimedes* had well defended it with his Machines, and it was guarded with extraordinary Care. Nevertheless, *Marcellus* had the good Fortune to find an happy Minute, in which he had Reason to believe he should find the Centinel upon Guard in the Tower negligent of his Duty.

A Deserter informed the *Pro-Consul*, that the next Day the *Syracusans* were to begin to celebrate the Festival of *Diana* ²⁸, which lasted three Days; and, That

²⁷ *Trogilorum* was a Name given both to a Suburbs, and a Port, near *Syracuse*. They both lay North of *Tyche* and *Acradina*. As to the Tower called *Galeagra*, it had been built near the *Portus*

Trogilorum, in a Place where *Tyche* and *Acradina* joined.

²⁸ This Festival was celebrated in Honour to *Diana*, under the Name of *Artemisia*, as in several Cities

Epicydes, who began to want other Provisions, distributed Wine in great Plenty among the People in all Quarters, and to all the Guards, to make them merry at the Festival. *Marcellus* therefore pitched upon one of the Nights between the Festival-Days, to make his Attack; and resolved it should not be confined to the Tower *Galeagra*, but be a general Assault. To this End, he held a Council with some of the *Tribunes* in his Army, chose out a certain Number of brave *Centurions*, and gave them Liberty to chuse about a thousand of the most resolute Men in the Army. These were ordered first to take a Repast, and then to sleep for some Hours, till the Trumpet called them to some Expedition, which was to be executed in the Night; and in the mean time, Ladders were privately provided, to prevent the Enemy's being informed of it by their Spies.

Year of
R O M E
DXL.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
TIB. SEMPRONIVS
GRACCHVS, Consuls

WHEN the *Greeks* entertained their Friends in form, they generally began the Entertainment at two in the Afternoon, and continued it till Night. The *Romans* therefore determined to make their Attack, when the Townsmen and Soldiers in *Syracuse*, after having drank plentifully, were in their first Sleep. The Scaling-Ladders were committed to the Management of one single *Manipulus* of about an hundred and twenty Men. These advanced silently to the Foot of the Wall, and first made themselves Masters of the Tower. Then they mounted the Walls in several Places, and the first Detachment of a thousand *Romans* were already upon the Ramparts, whilst one Party of *Romans* followed them up the Scaling-Ladders, in all haste, and another were endeavouring to make a Breach on the Side of *Hexapylum*. And indeed, the latter beat down a Postern-Gate to give a free Passage to a greater Body of *Romans*, at the Place where the general Rendezvous of all their Detachments was; and when those who first entered were rallied, after they had killed some Men in their Beds, and left others, in the Towers, to finish their Debauch, then the Trumpets sounded on the Tops of the Ramparts. The *Romans* now kept Silence no longer; but marched on as usual in Order of Battel, and made themselves Masters of the Post called *Epipolæ*. This might well pass for a fifth City, added to the other four of which *Syracuse* consisted. Tho' it was encompassed with the same common Wall as *Ortygia*, *Acradina*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, yet *Epipolæ* had its own Citadel, which stood on a steep Rock. This was a pretty large Quarter of the City, but not equally populous in all Places; and here the *Romans* spent the Night, making a terrible Noise with their Trumpets. Their Sound was not equally heard all over this vast City; but it reached far enough to give great Terror. Some of the *Syracusans* ran along the Walls and fled, others leaped down into the Ditch; and in short, their Drunkenness and Fear caused great Disorder, round the *Romans*. They were thought to be already in Possession of *Syracuse*. But *Marcellus* waited till Day-break before he would enter it with the main Body of his Troops; and then he beat down the stately Entrance with six Gates, called *Hexapylum*, and thro' it entered victoriously into *Syracuse*.

§. XV. IN the mean time *Epicydes*, who lodged in the farthest Part of *Ortygia*, far from the Post the *Romans* had seized, knew nothing of what they had been doing, till they were already drawn up in Battalia in *Epipolæ*. He went out of the Island, crossed *Acradina*, followed by a great Number of Soldiers, and would not believe that the whole *Roman* Army was in *Syracuse*, till he saw it with his own Eyes. He imagined, That only a few desperate Fellows had scaled the Walls; That this was what had given the Alarm among the People; and, That it would be easy to drive them back again. But he was extremely surprized, when he saw all *Epipolæ* full of *Legionaries*; only ordered a few Darts to be thrown at them, and retired into the Heart of *Acradina*, to allay the Peoples Fears, and prevent

Cities of *Greece*, particularly at *Delphi*. The Solemnity alluded to the Epithet of *Artemis*, which the *Greeks* gave this Goddess, according to *Hesychius*. *Strabo* says, that *Apollo* also was surnamed *Artemus*. *Diana* and *Apollo*, says he, represented the Sun and Moon; and because these two Planets by their Influences make the Air pure, or unwholesome; therefore, according to him, one was called *Artemis*, and the other *Artemus*. But whatever becomes of this trifling Etymology, it is certain, as

we have already observed, that the *Syracusans* looked on *Dianna* as one of their tutelary Divinities. The *Greeks* celebrated no less than twenty two Festivals to her Honour. *Johnson*, in his Work entitled *De Festis Græcorum*, has given us a List, and an historical Account of them.

29 On common Days, the *Greeks* did not usually begin their Meals till Sun-set; and the *Greek Colonies* which settled in *Sicily* carried this Custom thither with them.

Year of Seditions. Then *Marcellus* went from *Tyche* to *Epipolæ*, and joined those of his
 R O M E Troops that had possessed themselves of it in the Night. However, the General
 DXL. was not intoxicated with his Success. He was indeed upon the Point of becoming
 Q. FABIVS. Master of one of the finest and most opulent Cities in the World; and his Officers
 MAXIMUS, congratulated him upon it. But nevertheless, the first Reflexions he made
 TIB. SEMPRO were not on his own Glory. His Thoughts were wholly bent on the Misfortunes
 NIUS GRAC- of so many Inhabitants, formerly rich and fortunate, and now going to be reduced
 CHUS, Consul. to Misery. Nay, *Marcellus* could not even refrain from Tears³⁰; which did him
 Plut. Life of Honour, and will be ever remembered to his Glory, by latest Posterity. He often
 Marcellus. turned his Discourse to the ancient Prosperity of the *Syracusans*; and never spoke
 Livy, B. 25. of them without a visible Concern for their present Condition. Heroism and
 c. 24. Compassion are very compatible.

AFTER all, the *Romans* had yet taken only one Part of *Syracuse*; and the other Parts, which were yet to be reduced by Force, were not defenceless. We have already observed, That *Acradina* and *Ortygia* were divided from *Tyche* and *Epipolæ* by strong Walls and Towers. The *Romans* had indeed done a great deal; but they had still a great deal more to do. And *Marcellus* being naturally inclined to try gentle Methods, before he used Violence; he engaged the *Syracusan* Lords of his Party to solicit their Countrymen to surrender voluntarily, to prevent the sacking their City. The Soldiers murmured a little at the General's good Nature. They looked on *Syracuse*, and its Riches, as a Prey that could not escape them; and their Wishes were but too successful. *Acradina*, into which they were to penetrate, to reduce the People, was shut up on all Sides. *Epicyles* had set *Roman* Deserters to guard it, whose Desertion was, according to the *Roman* Laws, unpardonable; and they being destined to die, if the *Romans* entered *Acradina*, tho' by Composition, watched all the Avenues to it with extreme Care. It was therefore necessary to turn another Way. In *Epipolæ* the Citadel called³¹ *Euryalus* was not yet taken. It stood upon an Eminence, at a considerable Distance from the Sea, and commanded the great Road by which the Convoys were brought into the City. The Governour of this Citadel was an *Argian*, named *Philodemus*, who had been placed in that Post by *Epicyles*. *Sosis* the *Prætor*, who had formerly escaped from *Syracuse*, undertook to bring him to Terms; but the artful *Greek* took Time to consider of it. He knew not whether the *Romans* would continue long in *Epipolæ*, foresaw that *Himilco* and *Hippocrates* might hasten to the Relief of *Syracuse*, already half taken; and kept himself in his Post by affected Delays. Upon which *Marcellus* turned his Thoughts to the other Parts of the City, which were yet to be taken.

§. XVI. THERE was a Quarter between *Neapolis* and *Tyche*, which was almost destitute of Inhabitants, and there the *Pro-Consul* chose to encamp. He might have drawn nearer to *Acradina*; but his Tenderness for the miserable Inhabitants diverted him from it. He was afraid lest his Soldiers should find too great a Bait for their Avarice before the Time, and their Rapines should oblige him to make Examples of them. He loved better to prevent Faults than to punish them. In this new Camp the General received a Deputation from the Inhabitants of *Tyche* and *Neapolis*. These unfortunate People threw themselves at his Feet³², imploring him to spare their Lives, and preserve their Houses from Plunder. And tho' their City had been taken by Assault, so that according to the Laws of War, the Conqueror was Master of their Lives and Estates; yet *Marcellus* shewed them Clemency. He

³⁰ According to *Livy*, *Marcellus's* Tears proceeded as much from his Joy at securing the Conquest of *Syracuse* by this last Expedition, as from his Compassion for the unhappy Fate of one of the most stately Cities in the World. *Illachrymasse dicitur, partim gaudio tantæ perpetratæ rei, partim vetusta gloria urbis, &c.* The *Roman* General, says he, was touched with Compassion at the Sight of a flourishing City, which had formerly supported itself with so much Glory against all the Efforts of *Athens* and *Carthage*; but his Tears proceeded partly from another Cause.

³¹ The Citadel *Euryalus* stood West of *Syracuse*, near a Fort called *Labdolum Castellum*. It was a Bulwark to *Epipolæ*.

³² Those of the Citizens of *Syracuse*, who appeared as Supplicants before *Marcellus*, wore Fillets on their Heads, by way of Ornament. *Cum insulis & velamentis venerunt.* This Ornament was, according to *Isidorus*, a woollen Fillet, of a white Colour. But *Servius* thinks it was white and scarlet. The Priests, Sacrificers, *Vestals*, and whoever had any Favour to ask of the Gods, wore these Fillets on their Heads, like a kind of Crowns. And from hence came the Custom of appearing in that Dress before any Persons of whom any Favours were asked. And, generally speaking, Supplicants also carried in their Hands Olive-Branches bound with Fillets.

forbad his Soldiers to kill or strike any Person of free Condition. But the Plunder of the Place was a Reward due to their Vaalour, and he could not refuse it them, without Injustice. And with regard to that, this Care at least was taken, that no City was ever plundered with so much Order, or with less Cruelty. As the Walls of the Houses served instead of Ramparts to the *Roman* Camp, and the Gates of it opened into the publick Places, at different Distances, the *Consul* in the first place posted Guards to prevent the Enemy's attacking his Entrenchments; whilst the Soldiers were busy in gathering together their Booty. After this Precaution, the Soldiers, upon the first Signal, ran out of the Camp with great Shouts of Joy, broke open the Houses, and seized every thing they could find, Money, Moveables, and Provisions. Till at length every Soldier returned to the Camp with Riches enough to serve him a great while; and at the same time the General had no Reason to complain of their having offered the least Violence to the Vanquished. But this first Booty only raised their Expectations of a greater when *Acradina* and *Ortygia* should be taken.

Year of
ROME
DLX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHVS, Consuls.

AND during this military Execution, *Philodemus* the Governour of the Citadel of *Epipolæ*, of his own accord offered to surrender it up to *Marcellus*. He doubtless despaired of being able to subsist in the middle of a ravaged City, which could supply him with no more Provisions. He had indeed depended on the coming of the *Carthaginian* Army; but it did not appear soon enough, and the Governour's Wants were pressing. He therefore came to Terms with the *Pro-Consul*. *Marcellus* gave him Leave to go to *Epicydes* with his Garrison; and the *Romans* took Possession of the Citadel, which gave their General fresh Vigour. He besieged *Acradina* by Land, and blocked it up so close that he cut off all Provisions. He streightened it so much that it could not hold out long; when the Scene changed all on a sudden.

§. XVII. *HIMILCO* and *Hippocrates* appeared, and their Presence gave the *Romans* some Apprehensions. The latter were shut up within Walls, and would have liked a Battel in the open Field better than where they were. The two Generals for the *Carthaginians* divided the Attacks between them. *Himilco* was to fall upon *Marcellus's* Camp, whilst *Hippocrates* endeavoured to force the Trenches of *Quintus Crispinus*, who was not yet entered into *Syracuse*, but still defended the old Post of the *Romans*. The *Carthaginian* Fleet drew near the Shore, and posted itself in Line of Battel along the Coast, within Reach of *Acradina*; so as to cut off all Communication between *Marcellus* and *Crispinus*. And *Epicydes*, on the other hand, made a Sally with his *Syracusans* on the three Camps *Marcellus* had pitched round *Acradina*. So that it must be owned, that the Disposition of the *Carthaginian* Forces was made with the greatest Judgment. Nothing but the Valour of *Romans*, and the Skill of *Roman* Generals, could have withstood them. However *Crispinus*, tho' shut up in his Entrenchments, made so vigorous a Defence, that he put the Enemy to Flight, and pursued the Fugitives. *Hippocrates* with great Difficulty escaped; whilst *Epicydes*, who marched out of his Fortrefs to no Purpose, was so vigorously repulsed, that he was forced to return to it. And upon gaining these two Advantages, *Marcellus* promised himself a little Rest; and therefore tho' he still invested *Acradina*, he did not draw too near to it. *Archimedes* and his Machines were an eternal Terror to the Besiegers. They could not see a Beam move upon the Wall without some Consternation.

HEAVEN seems to have taken Pleasure, at this time, to unite all the Scourges of its Wrath together, against the unfortunate *Syracusans*. To complete their other Misfortunes, a Plague spread itself among them. The Contagion began in the Country. The Heat of the Climate and Season had corrupted the Air, and the Mud which the Sea generally leaves upon the Shore when the Water is gone off, brought it to a direct Plague. The two Camps of *Himilco* and *Crispinus* were attacked with it; from thence it spread to *Marcellus's* Army, by means of his Communication with *Crispinus*; and soon after this, *Acradina* was infected, at a time when the Famine alone that was in it was sufficient to have caused the Distemper. So that nothing was to be seen within or without the Place, but Persons dead and dying. None came to assist the Sick, for fear of being infected by them; and the Bodies of the dead were left without Burial, to poison all Places with their Stench and Corruption. Yet all these frightful Sight only hardened Mens Hearts, Death was

Year of
R O M E
DXL.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
TIB. SEMPRONIVS
GRACCHVS, Consuls.

was grown familiar to them, and they look'd upon it with Unconcern. But i must be owned, the Distemper made infinitely less Ravage in the two *Roma* Camps, than in those of *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. *Marcellus's* Army had been long before *Syracuse*, and was inured to the Air and Water of the Country. But the *Carthaginians* who were lately arrived died, both Officers and Soldiers; and at length, *Himilco* and *Hippocrates* themselves were carried off. Upon which the *Sicilian* Troops that had joined them disbanded themselves, and returned to their native Cities. As for the *Pro-Consul*, he did all he could to comfort the Sick in *Crispinus's* Camp. He sent all his Tents to those of his Troops which were encamped without the Walls; and he sheltered those within, in the Houses. So that good Care being taken of them, the Mortality was not great among them.

§. XVIII. THUS the *Romans* were disburthened of a great Army which besieged them, while they besieged *Acradina*. *Marcellus* had now only a small Body of *Sicilians* to contend with, who were retired to two little Towns, which were strong by Situation, and at some Miles Distance from *Syracuse*. And there they gathered their Succours together, till such time as a new Reinforcement of *Carthaginians* arrived. *Bomilcar* had sailed to *Africa* with his Fleet, and had there reported to the *Carthaginian* Senate the Death of *Himilco*, and the entire Ruin of his Army. To which he had added, That the *Romans* had imprudently shut themselves up in one City, in order to force another; That their Troops were considerably diminished by the Sickness; and, That if his Fleet was enlarged, it were easy to drive them out of *Syracuse*. Upon which, he obtained all he desired. The Senate gave him the Command of an hundred and thirty Gallies, together with seven hundred Transports; which was a prodigious Armament, and considerably greater than that which the *Romans* had on the Coasts of *Sicily*. He had a happy Passage from *Carthage* to *Sicily*; but when he came to double Cape *Pachynum*, the Winds were so contrary, that the Fleet was forced to stop there. The News of *Bomilcar's* Return raised the Courage of the Besieged at first; and a little disconcerted the *Romans*, who did not expect him. But his Stay at *Pachynum* gave *Marcellus* Time to recollect himself; and tho' his Fleet was inferior in Number to that of the Enemy, he ordered it to be got ready, and resolved to give Battel.

THESE Preparations therefore made *Epicyles* take a strange Resolution. He appears to be more skilful in Negotiations, than Brave. For fear the *Carthaginian* Ships should be obliged to return to *Africa*, in case the Wind continued to blow from the same Point, he took it into his Head to leave *Acradina*, and go to *Pachynum*, to the Fleet which was designed for his Assistance. But nevertheless, *Epicyles* was too good a Politician to entrust the City with native *Syracusans*. He appointed the chief Officers of the Mercenaries, who were all Foreigners, to be Governours of *Acradina*, during his Absence; and then he set out, and found *Bomilcar* uneasy about the Success of the future Battel. Tho' his Fleet was superior in Number, he was concern'd that the Wind favour'd the Enemy. But nevertheless, he submitted to *Epicyles's* Counsels, and resolved to engage.

THE two Fleets were already in sight of each other, and the Heighth of Cape *Pachynum* was to be the Scene of Action. They both only waited for more calm Weather to begin; and the East-Wind abating, *Bomilcar* moved first. He at length doubled Cape *Pachynum*, where he had been detained so long, and advanced towards the main Sea. *Marcellus* made ready to follow him; and there saw the Enemy leave *Sicily*, and sail for the Coasts of *Italy*, after he had sent Couriers to ³³ *Heraclea*, with Orders to the Transports to return to *Africa*. What induced *Bomilcar* to decline a Battel, was never known. *Epicyles* was so much surprized at it, that, not daring to return to *Syracuse*, he fled for Refuge to *Agrigentum*; not so much to enter upon any Action there, as to wait to see the Fate of a City which he had brought to Destruction. So little Dependence ought Mankind to have on Incendiaries, who are only fit to draw credulous People into dangerous Factions, and will never run any Hazards themselves, to extricate others out of the Dangers into which they have brought them!

§. XIX. AND now, the Retreat of *Epicyles*, and the Flight of *Bomilcar*, must, one would have thought, have put an End to the Obstinacy of the Besieged. They

³³ The City here spoken of is *Heraclea* in *Sicily*, situated between *Agrigentum* and *Selinus*.

had a Camp near *Acradina*, probably commanded by a *Syracusan*; and this little Army foreseeing the inevitable Destruction of the *Syracusans*, was willing to prevent the utter Ruin of their Country, by a Submission. These Troops, with the Consent of the *Sicilian* Inhabitants, who yet kept Possession of *Acradina*, sent a Deputation to *Marcellus*, and proposed an Accommodation. They offered him to surrender up to the *Romans* all the Demesnes of the ancient Kings of *Syracuse*, and prayed him to save the poor Remains of the *Syracusans*, and give them their Estates, with Leave to be governed by their own Laws.

Year of
R O M E
DXL.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHVS, Consuls.

MARCELLUS was far from being averse to a Treaty which would spare the spilling much Blood in a City whose Danger had already drawn Tears from him; and the Deputies, who had a great Esteem for him, entered into *Acradina*, and there declared the Hopes they had of prevailing upon him. To which they added, That they had treated only for themselves, and in the Name of their Camp; and That it was therefore proper, that the City should likewise on her Part send another Deputation. But tho' the Inhabitants were indeed very sensible, that their Safety depended on their following this prudent Advice; yet they were afraid of being opposed in it, by the Governors which *Epicyles* had left to preside during his Absence. These were Strangers, who were little concerned for the Welfare of *Syracuse*; and whose Names were *Polyclitus*, *Phelastio*, and another *Epicyles*, surnamed *Sidon*: and the Expedient the People made use of to prevent their Opposition, was a cruel one. They assassinated them all three; and, as if they had entirely recovered their Liberty already, immediately assembled the People in the *Forum*, to propose to them the Accommodation already begun with the *Romans*. And then, the People, who in the Life-time of their Tyrants, scarce durst whisper their Murmurs, complained loudly in the Assembly, of the Famine to which they were reduced. Upon which, the Deputies delivered themselves as follows.

SYRACUSANS, you very unjustly impute your Calamities to Fortune, since it is wholly in your own Power to deliver yourselves from them when you please. The *Romans* did not appear before *Syracuse*, to reduce you to this Extremity. They proceeded with great Tenderneſs towards a City, which they desired to rescue out of the Hands of its Tyrants. *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles* brought all these Misfortunes upon you. And since then, one of them is carried off with the Plague, and the other has out of Fear deserted you; those he left to succeed him in his Tyranny, are dispatched; and the *Carthaginians*, from whom we expected Succours, have either been swept away by the Distemper, or have fled from us; What remains, but to have recourse to the *Romans*? The Services of *Hiero*, and his faithful Adherence to their Republick, are not entirely blotted out of their Memories. Only consent to be reconciled to *Rome*, and you will be free and happy. And if you will not do this, all subsequent Calamities will be wholly chargeable on yourselves. Time is precious, and ought not to be squandered away. Seize the present Opportunity, which the Death or Absence of your Tyrants offer you. If you delay, you are lost for ever.

This Discourse was received with a general Approbation; and the Assembly thought it proper to chuse Magistrates, to make the Deputation authentick, before they sent it to *Marcellus*. Some of the new *Prætors* were of the Deputation, and they appeared before the *Pro-Consul*, and addressed themselves to him thus. My Lord, you now see at your Feet the Deputies of a People, who were never willingly unfaithful to you. *Hieronimus* first renounced your Alliance, and did his Subjects more Injury than he did you. And when by his Death our ancient Alliance with the *Romans* was renewed, it was not broken by any *Syracusan*, but by two of the King's Guards, who partly ensnared us into a Breach of it by Surprise, and partly compelled us to it by Force. In short, we never have had a Moment's Liberty, but we have immediately employed it in cultivating your Friendship. And now, our Chains are no sooner broken off, by the Slaughter of our Oppressors, but we come to deliver up our Arms, and to surrender ourselves, and our City, to you. The Gods, illustrious General, have given you the Glory of taking the most noble, and most beautiful, City of the Greeks; so that all her past great Actions will add to the Glory of your Triumph. Make it not then so much a Point of Honour to destroy it, as to leave it for a standing Monument of your Fame to the World. All

Liv. B. 25.
c. 29.

Liv. ibid.

Year of *Strangers who shall come to Syracuse, and there observe the Monuments of our*
R O M E *ancient Victories over the Athenians and Carthaginians, will at the same time*
 DXL. *time know, that Marcellus conquered this victorious People. They will be told,*
 Q. FABIVS *That the Syracusans are become perpetual Clients to the Claudian Family; and That*
 MAXIMVS, *Marcellus made himself their first Patron, by his Conquest. Alas! my Lord, don't*
 TIB. SEMPRO- *so much consider the Revolt of Hieronymus, as the constant Friendship of Hiero.*
 NIUS GRAC- *The one was much longer a Friend, than the other an Enemy; and that Enmity*
 CHVS, Consuls. *has justly ended in his own Destruction.*
 Livy, *ibid.*

AND indeed, with regard to the *Romans*, the Supplicants had great reason to hope for Success. But their greatest Difficulty and Danger was in their own City. The Garrison of *Syracuse* consisted partly of *Roman* Deserters; and these looked on all Conferences about a Peace, as so many Sentences of Death against themselves. Lest therefore they should be delivered up to the *Pro-Consul*, they likewise intimidated the foreign Soldiers; and said to them, *It is you, and we, who are to be delivered up into the Enemy's Hands. Acradina is making her own Peace at our Expence.* Upon which, both Fear and Rage seized these Barbarians at once. They first ran Sword in Hand to the Houses of the new *Prætors*, and massacred them. Then animated with the Blood they had spilt, they dispersed themselves abroad in all the Streets, killed all they met, without Distinction; plundered as well as massacred; and to secure themselves in their Villany, created six Governors of their own Body, three for *Acradina*, and three for *Ortygia*. But at length, the Tumult was appeased, and the Mercenaries were made sensible, when it was too late, that they had been imposed on by the *Roman* Deserters. They acknowledged, that their Credulity had carried them too far, and that their Case was very different from that of Deserters. The Deputies, who returned from *Marcellus's* Camp, opened their Eyes, and assured them, that the *Romans* had not decreed any Punishment against the foreign Troops.

§.XX. It happened, that one of the six new Governors chosen by the Seditious, was a *Spaniard*, named *Meric*; who was a very upright Man, and detested the Slaughter, to which he had contributed, by consenting too readily to his Election. He had all the Vivacity and Integrity of a true *Spaniard*; and *Marcellus*, who was not ignorant of what had passed in *Acradina*, resolved to gain *Meric* over to the *Romans*. In order to this, he pitched upon a *Spaniard* who was lately come from *Spain*, instructed him how to proceed with *Meric*, and sent him into *Acradina*, among the Attendants on the Deputies from thence. The young *Spaniard* understood Business; and discharged his Commission like an able Man. Countrymen are generally very easily acquainted, when in a strange Land; and *Meric* and the *Spanish* Soldier often met. Their Conversation turned at first only on the present State of *Spain*. The young Negotiator told his Countryman, that the Arms of *Scipio* prevailed there; That all the People went over to him; and That their Country would soon become entirely *Roman*. These first Seeds were not barren, but raised *Meric's* Curiosity. He wanted to know the Particulars of the Victories of the *Romans*; and then the Soldier opened himself a little more freely. He told the Officer, that if ever he returned into his own Country, he must side with the *Romans*; and that if he embraced the Interest of *Rome* now, he would infallibly return a powerful Man to *Spain*. Thus the Negotiator took the *Spanish* Governor by his Foible; and then it was easy to draw him further. *To what purpose is it, said he, for you to prevent the Syracusans surrendering to Marcellus? It is only obstinately persisting in their Destruction, and your own. You may indeed postpone it for some Days; but as you are deserted both by Sea and Land, you must infallibly perish at last. Why don't you make a Merit with the Romans, by surrendering to them a tottering Place, which must crush you to pieces with its Fall?*

UPON which, *Meric* immediately determined to seek the Friendship of the *Pro-Consul*, and to ingratiate himself greatly with him, by doing some important Service. It may well be imagined, that *Meric* would very willingly have saved the *Syracusans*, as well as himself; but he was not their only Master. Five others shared the Government with him. He therefore sent his Brother to *Marcellus*, with the *Spanish* Soldier; by his means obtained a private Audience, in which it was agreed, what means the Governor of *Acradina* should use, to bring the *Roman* Forces into the Place; and mutual Oaths were taken.

As soon as the two *Spaniards* were returned into *Acradina*, *Meric* made it his whole Business to perform his Promise. He first feigned an extraordinary Zeal for the Preservation of the besieged City. He pretended, That the Deputies of *Marcellus* had too much Liberty there, and ought not to be suffered to go so much about, to observe all that was done; and That it was dangerous to receive such Deputies into *Acradina*, or to send any to the *Romans*. Then, upon the Credit of this first Step, he proceeded to remonstrate to the *Syracusans*, That they could not probably be too much upon their Guard, against so artful an Enemy as *Marcellus*; and proposed, That each Governor should have his distinct Quarter of the City assigned him, and should be responsible for any Neglect of Duty in it. Upon this Division, the Part of *Acradina* that fell to his Care, lay between *The Fountain* ³⁴ of *Arethusa*, and ³⁵ *The Great Port*; so that he was near *Ortygia*: and *Marcellus* was soon informed, in what Part *Meric* commanded, and soon determined to make an Attempt there. He filled a Transport-Ship with Soldiers, and ordered the Crew of a *Quadriremis* to tow her along. The Men did not land till six in the Morning, and then appeared before the Gate of *Arethusa*, which *Meric* opened, and received the *Roman* Detachment within the Walls of *Acradina*. At the same time, *Marcellus* commanded an Attack to be made on a neighbouring Quarter; and by means of this Attack, the People neglected, or were kept ignorant of the Entrance of the Enemy into the City. They ran together from all Parts, to repulse the Assailants; and *Ortygia* was all on a sudden quite deserted by the Soldiers. This *Marcellus* had foreseen, and had at all Events filled the Barks of his Fleet with Soldiers, who now sailed to the Side of *Ortygia*, and found it in a manner defenceless. The Gate itself was left half open by the Troops who ran to the false Attack; and the *Romans* entered, in a manner without fighting, into this City, which was a Citadel to *Syracuse*, and which being in an Island, seemed impregnable. And then *Marcellus*, being informed that *Ortygia* was taken, and that the *Romans* had also made themselves Masters of a Quarter in *Acradina*, instantly sounded a Retreat; lest the Soldiers should, in the Heat of the Action, plunder the Treasury of the Kings of *Syracuse*, whose Riches had been much magnified by Fame.

§. XXI. AND now, the Clemency of the Conqueror shone out in its full Lustre. He entered into the finest Part of *Syracuse* with all the Rights of a Conqueror, who had by Assault made himself Master of a City which had receded from its former Friendship, and become unfaithful. But nevertheless, as the first Instance of his Sweetness of Temper, he ordered that the *Roman* Deserters should be suffered to escape. He did not love to shed the Blood, even of Traitors. Then he very graciously received the Inhabitants of the two Cities just conquered, who desired only their own Lives, and those of their Children; and granted their Request. *Syracusans*, said he to them, *your Insults on Rome, in a few Years, have exceeded the Benefits she received from Hiero, in a long Reign; and now you are going too sadly to reap the Fruits of your Unfaithfulness. You are going to pay us more dearly for the Breach of our Treaties, than we desire. What was it that I aimed at in setting down before Syracuse? Not to enslave your City, but to deliver her from Oppression; and to prevail on you, to surrender up to us two Men, who have now given you up to your Enemies, and have not shared with you the Misfortunes which they brought upon you. Both the Examples of your Magistrates, who first fled to the Roman Camp for Refuge, and of the most illustrious of your Citizens, who came from time to time to surrender themselves up into our Hands, continually excited you to return to us. And yet a generous Spaniard, the brave Meric, must it seems do that for his Glory only, which Syracuse ought to have done for herself. He has ventured to surrender to us; a little late indeed; but he executed his Design with Courage. As for myself, I look upon the Labours I have undergone before your Walls, as nothing. The Glory of having taken Syracuse, makes me sufficient amends for all. Live then, *Syracusans*; Live: but let the Plunder of your Goods be the Punishment of your Obstinacy, and the Reward of my Soldiers.* Thus spake *Marcellus*, and immediately ordered the *Questor* of his

Year of
R O M E
DXL.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHVS, Consuls.

³⁴ See what we have said of *The Fountain of Arethusa*, when we spoke of the City of *Syracuse*, Vol. 2. p. 471. Note 7.

³⁵ The Island of *Ortygia*, one of the Quarters of *Syracuse*, lay between *The Great*, and *The Little Port*, of that City. The former reached from the Island to the *Plemmyrian* Promontory. The latter lay between *Ortygia* and *Acradina*.

Year of Army to go into *Ortygia*, and take Possession of the King's Treasures, for the publick Treasury. After which, we don't find that the General reserved any of the Plunder for himself, but gave up all the Booty to his Troops.

DXL.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHVS, Consuls.

As soon as the Trumpet sounded, the *Romans* dispersed themselves in *Acradina* and *Ortygia*, and nothing escaped the Avarice of the Pillagers. Nay, the enraged Soldiers went beyond their Orders, and adding Cruelty to Avarice, did not spare the Blood of the Citizens. The greatest Man in *Syracuse*, the incomparable ³⁶ *Archimedes*, lost his Life in this Tumult; but the Circumstances of this tragical Adventure are differently related; and we will mention only what to us seems most probable. During the sacking of *Acradina*, *Archimedes* was shut up in his Closet, and was so intent on a Demonstration in Geometry, that neither the Noise of the Soldiers, or the Cries of the People, drew off his Attention from it. He was very calmly drawing his Lines; when he saw a Soldier enter his Room, and clap his Sword to his Throat; and *Archimedes* said to him, *Stay one Moment, Friend, before you kill me; my Demonstration will be finished immediately*. The Soldier was surprized at this Unconcern, in the midst of so much Danger, and ordered him to follow him to the *Pro-Consul*. *Archimedes* obeyed; and took under his Arm a little Box full of Spheres, Sun-dials, and other Instruments, which he designed for a Present to the *Pro-Consul*. But the Soldier's Avarice was too great to resist the Temptation of so much Gold and Silver, as he thought the Box contained; and the barbarous Villain killed the Man upon the Spot, who had no Treasures but those of his Mind. Thus perished the illustrious *Archimedes*, who had no Taste for any Pleasures in Life, but those of Study. For the sake of that, he despised every thing else. He often denied himself the Necessaries of Life, and was dragged from his Meditations, in spite of himself, and forced to take a frugal Repast. He was so negligent of his Person, that his Friends were forced to drive him to the publick Baths, to make him preserve a Decency suitable to his Rank. And even then, he would lose no Time, but employed himself there in drawing mathematical Figures on the Cielings of the Stoves, with the Water in which he bathed. The Contemplation of the Heavens and the Earth, gave him such Delights, as rendered all other Pleasures tasteless and insipid to him. This was the only *Siren* that charmed his Soul. And yet he at last lost his Life by the Hands of a brutal Soldier; but his Name will live as long as those of Heroes. *Marcellus* lamented the Loss of him, took an utter Aversion to his Murderer, and shewed Favour to all his Relations for his sake.

THUS by the many Instances of Moderation and Humanity which *Marcellus* shewed in a *Greek* City, he rectified the Ideas Foreigners had conceived of the *Romans*. All Men allowed they had Valour, and Probity; but the *Greeks* thought they infinitely excelled them in social Virtues. They compared their own great Commanders with those of *Rome*, and found in the latter an unaccountable Severity of Manners, which approached very near to Rusticity. But *Marcellus* effaced all these Prejudices; and gave another Proof of his Clemency, in relation to a whole City.

§. XXII. *ENGIVM* ³⁷ was one of the most ancient Colonies the *Cretans* had

³⁶ Other Authors, according to *Plutarch*, say, that *Archimedes* was killed by some Soldiers, who met him carrying a Chest full of Mathematical Instruments to *Marcellus*. Some say, he was busy in drawing Lines, and solving some Geometrical Problems, when a brutal Fellow met him, and asked him his Name. *Archimedes*, lost in Thought, desired the Soldier not to interrupt him: Upon which the Barbarian, enraged at this Answer, cast a furious Look at him, and laid him dead at his Feet. This famous Geometrician, whose Memory will never die, was buried at *Syracuse*. *Cicero* glories in his fifth Book of *Tusculan Questions*, in having discovered the Tomb of *Archimedes* under an Heap of Thorns and Briers, without the Gate *Acragana*, in a Place set apart for the Burial of the Dead. He made this Discovery when he was exercising the Office of *Prætor* in *Sicily*. What seems surprizing, is, that the Merits of *Archimedes* should have been so much forgotten among his own Countrymen, that they scarce knew he was a *Syracusian*; and were Strangers to the Place where his Tomb was. It was known by its having a Cylinder in a Sphere

upon it. According to *Plutarch*, he desired his Relations and Friends, that no Ornament might be put on his Tomb, but the Figure of a Cylinder. It is well known, that he was the first Inventor of one of the most fruitful Demonstrations in Geometry, viz. That the Superficies of half a Sphere, is equal to the Superficies of a Cylinder of the same Base and Height. Whence he inferred, that the Superficies of a Sphere must consequently be four times the Area of its great Circle. *Cicero* adds, that there still remained on this Tomb some Traces of an Inscription in Verse, which probably described this wonderful Theorem, for which the Mathematicians are indebted to him. The Ancients have transmitted to us several of his Treatises, which were carried into *Italy*, after the taking of *Constantinople*.

³⁷ The City of *Engivum*, or *Engivum*, stood near Mount *Mauro*, which the *Sicilians* call *Mandonia*, about the Head of the River *Alesus*. *Cicero*, in his third *Oration against Verres*, makes it one of the most considerable Cities in *Sicily*.

founded

founded in *Sicily*; and the *Engyans* had received from their Founders a strange Superstition, which it was dangerous to contradict. It was confidently affirmed that certain Goddesses, called ³⁸ *The Mothers*, appeared from time to time in a Temple in the City. Nevertheless, one *Nicias*, a Man of Wit, and one of the most considerable Men there, had sometimes talked very pleasantly of this pretended Apparition. But his greatest Crime was his being inclined to the *Romans*, whilst the rest of the City favoured the *Carthaginians*; and his Countrymen had Thoughts of destroying him, under Pretence of punishing him for his Impiety, in denying the Apparition of *The Mothers*. However *Nicias*, who suspected the Ill-will of his Fellow-Citizens, found out an Expedient to deliver himself out of the Hands of his Persecutors. He counterfeited Madness. One Day as he was haranguing in publick, he fell down on a sudden, distorted himself several Ways, roared out like a Madman, and rent his Cloaths in Pieces. Upon this, he was thought possessed by the *Furies*, and every one acknowledged the just Vengeance of the injured Goddesses. At length, on account of this pretended Delirium, he was suffered to go out of the City. His Wife soon followed him, under Pretence of seeking for her Husband, who was running about the Fields. And then, the Husband, Wife and Children, retired to *Marcellus*, who took them under his Protection. This therefore made the *Engyans* the more furious against the *Romans*, and they carried their Resentments to such Excesses as the *Pro-Consul* thought it necessary to punish. He flew to *Engyum*, entered the City, and was ready to execute Vengeance. But *Nicias* interposed, and interceded for his Countrymen, and in particular for his most cruel Enemies; and *Marcellus* was not inexorable. He pardoned the Criminals, and would not suffer their City to be hurt. Nay, he also enriched *Nicias*, and by his Liberalities made him more considerable in his native City, than he was before. By these Means, the Reputation of the *Roman* was extended far among the *Greeks*; and They allowed that *Marcellus* was as well qualified to gain the Hearts of Men, as to take their Cities.

§. XXIII. In the mean time, the *Roman* Republick still continued to be infected with that dangerous Guest who had come to her over the *Alpes*. *Rome* was victorious in *Sicily* and *Spain*; yet still *Hannibal* had not crossed the Seas, but continued running over the *Roman Provinces*; and was more intent on surprizing Cities, than besieging them, or giving Battel. The two *Consuls*, young *Fabius*, (under the Direction of the Great *Fabius* his Father,) and *Titus Sempronius*, were watching his Steps, and had reduced him to Inaction. All was peaceable at *Rome*; only Religion suffered by the Concourse of the Sluggards who were driven thither from all Parts of *Italy*, by the Disturbances of the War. Every one of these Fugitives had brought thither his own Gods, and his own Way of Worship; and this introduced a thousand Innovations in Religion. Neither the Gods nor Men at *Rome* seemed to be the same now as formerly. All the *Romans* in the City, especially the Women, devoted themselves to new Divinities, which now shared the Worship that heretofore was unanimously paid in the Temples to the old Gods. It was not only in secret, and in private Oratories, that new Ceremonies were practised, but even in the *Forum*, and on the *Capitol*. Great Numbers of deluded Persons followed those wretched Fortune-tellers, whose Beggary drove them to the City, and who knew how to make their Advantage of the Credulity of the People. Juggling and Deceit became a Trade among these Impostors; and he that could deceive best soon grew richest. At first, the less credulous were merry upon it; then the honestest Part murmured at it; and at length, the Evil became so great and so general, that Complaints were made to the Senate of it. The *Conscript Fathers* reprimanded the *Ædiles*, and *Triumviri Capitales*, for not having opposed the Introduction and Practice of these Novelties; but after all, the mad Zeal of the People was such, that it was too strong for the Laws and inferior Magistrates to re-

³⁸ The Pagans gave the Name of *Mothers*, to certain Goddesses of the first Rank; as particularly to *Cybele*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, and *Vesta*. In like manner the God whose Protection was implored, was often invoked by the Name of *Father*. *Cicero* also speaks, in the Place just now quoted, of a famous Temple erected in the City of *Engyum*, in Honour to *Cybele*, or *The Grand-Mother*. This Temple

which was dedicated to *The Mothers*, was, according to *Plutarch*, supposed to have been built by the *Cretans*. And that Author adds, that there were Javelins and brazen Helmets shewn in it, with Inscriptions which made it believed that *Meriones* and *Ulysses* had consecrated them to the Goddesses stiled *The Mothers*.

Year of.
R O M E
DXL.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
TIB. SEMPRONIVS
GRACCHVS, Consuls.

Year of strain. The *Ædiles* and *Triumviri* had been repulsed, as often as they had ventured to attempt to disperse these superstitious Assemblies, and to destroy the Altars that were erected even in the *Forum Romanum*. Nay, these publick Officers narrowly escaped Blows. However, there was still one Remedy left, to stifle the growing Superstitions. The Senate ordered the *Prætor Attilius* to extirpate out of the City, both the Seducers, and the Instruments they used, to carry on their Deceit. The Priests and foreign Diviners had infested *Rome* with Libels, in which they had artfully spread the Poison of their Novelties; and the *Prætor* therefore assembled the People, read the Order of the Senate to them, and published this Edict. *I command all Persons who have any Books of Divination or Prayers, containing Instructions concerning the Rites of Sacrifices, to bring them to me, before the first Day of April. And I forbid all Persons offering any Sacrifice, in publick or in any sacred Place whatsoever, according to the new and foreign Ceremonies.* The Edict was put in Execution, and the Peace of the Publick was restored, as soon as Religion was put upon its old Foot. An Affair which well deserves to be considered by Politicians! All Alterations in the publick Worship, are attended with Diffentions in the State. They divide and sower the Minds of the People, put their Passions into a Ferment, and often lead them on from Murmurs to open Rebellion 39.

DLX.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
TIB. SEMPRO-
NIUS GRAC-
CHVS, Consuls.

39 This Year 540 was remarkable, according to *Livy*, for the Deaths of *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*; of *Caius Papirius Masso*, the Son of *Lucius*, and one of the inferior *Pontif- fices*; of *Publius Furius Philus*, the *Augur*; and of another *Caius Papirius Masso*, one of the *Decemviri*, who had the Care of the *Sybilline Books*.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XXXI.

THE Roman Armies now gained the Ascendant in all Places. In *Sicily*, *Marcellus* was besieging *Syracuse*, which he took in the Beginning of the Year of *Rome* 541. In *Spain*, the two *Scipio's* were gaining many Conquests, and procuring their Republick Allies, even in the midst of *Africa*. In *Italy*, *Hannibal* indeed made himself dreaded; but not so much by any signal Enterprizes, as by his Diligence in seducing the Allies of the *Romans*. He was immovably bent on *Tarentum*, and was continually hovering about it, to surprize it. Such was the Situation of Affairs, when the *Consulship* of young *Fabius*, and *Titus Sempronius Gracchus* was near expiring; and it was time to chuse their Successors. The Custom then was to hold the *Comitia* for the great Elections, at least a Month before the *Consuls* for the Time being went out of their Office. From the time of their Election, to that of their entering upon their Office, they were only called *Consuls elect*, and had no Power.

It belonged to one of the *Consuls* for the expiring Year, to preside in the *Comitia* in the *Campus Martius*; but *Fabius* and *Sempronius* were now both busy Abroad, one in keeping *Hannibal* in Awe, the other in opposing the Enemies the *Carthaginians* stirred up; and Application was therefore made to *Sempronius*, as the eldest *Consul*, to nominate a *Dictator*, whose Office should be confined to the holding the *Comitia by Centuries*. *Sempronius* pitched on *C. Claudius*, surnamed *Centho*; and he was invested with the *Dictatorship* for a few Days. His General of Horse was one of the Candidates for the *Consulship*, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, who had been twice *Consul* already: and he was now promoted to that Office by the *Comitia* a third time; and with him *Appius Claudius*, surnamed *Pulcher*, who had signalized himself in *Sicily*, under *Marcellus*. In the same Assembly the Republick also chose four *Prætors*; 1. The Brother of the *Consul Fulvius*, whose *Prænomen* was *Cneius*, and to whose Lot it fell to command the Army in *Apulia*: 2. One *C. Claudius*, surnamed *Nero*, to whose Lot it fell to go and command a *Legion* in the Neighbourhood of *Suessula*, which was brought thither from *Picenum*: 3. One *M. Junius*, surnamed *Silanus*, who was put at the Head of two *Legions*, to act against the *Hetrurians*, and keep them in Awe: 4. And lastly, one ² *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, who in his *Prætorship* took the new additional Surname of *Scylla*, which we shall see so illustrious hereafter, that we think it not proper here to omit giving an Account of the Occasion of it. This *Prætor Cornelius*, was one of the *Decemviri* who were the Guardians of the *Sybilline Books*; and he is said to have discovered by those Oracles, that for the Prosperity of the *Roman Arms*, it was necessary to institute *Games* in Honour to *Apollo*. And another ³ Prophet of the same

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.

Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

Macrob. Sat.
B. 1. c. 17.

¹ This *Appius Claudius Pulcher* had been *Marcellus's* Lieutenant, in the Year 539, at the Siege of *Syracuse*, according to *Livy*, B. 24. who adds, that *Appius* went to *Rome* towards the End of that Year, to sue for the *Consulship* for the next Year, 540. But it is plain that the *Comitia* had then no Regard to his Petition, since the Historians don't place his first *Consulship* before the Year 541.

² *Macrob. Saturnalia*, B. 1. gives the *Prætor Publius Cornelius*, the Surname of *Rufus*, together

with that of *Sylla*. *Livy* surnames him *Rufinus*. He was descended from the *Patrician* Branch of the *Cornelii Syllæ*.

³ *Livy*, B. 25. relates the Words of the two Prophecies which were ascribed to *Marcius*. The first relates to the Battel of *Cannæ*, and runs thus: *Romans, dread the River which waters the Plains of Cannæ. Don't venture to fight in the Fields of Arpi, a City built by Diomedes. But, to your great Misfortune, you will not believe my Words, till af-*

Year of same kind, named *Marcus*, affirmed that the proper Person to celebrate these
R O M E Games was the *Prætor* for the time being. *Cornelius* therefore, who was both
 DXLI. *Prætor* and *Decemvir*, instituted the *Apollinarian* 4 Games, upon these Authori-
 Q. FULVIUS ties; and hence he had the Surname of *Sybilla*, which was afterwards by Corrup-
 FLACCUS, AP. tion changed into that of *Sylla*.
 CLAUDIUS
 PULCHER,
 Consuls.

ter the Ground has been covered with the Blood of your Legions. You will then see with Regret several thousand dead Bodies of your Soldiers fill up the River, and become Meat for Fishes and Birds. All that I now foretell I have from Jupiter.

The second Prophecy relates to the Institution of *The Apollinarian Games*. Romans, said *Marcus*, if you would repulse a foreign Enemy, who brings the War into your Provinces, I advise you to make a Vow to consecrate Games to the Honour of *Apollo*; and to celebrate them every Year. The publick Treasury, and private Persons, shall both contribute towards defraying the Expence of the Solemnity. The *Prætor Urbanus* shall preside at these Games. The *Decemviri* shall celebrate them, according to the received Rites of the Greeks. If you religiously discharge the Duty you oblige your selves to pay to *Apollo*, you shall live in Tranquillity, the Republiek shall gain new Lustre, the God whose Protection you shall have deserved, will carry Death among your Enemies, and they shall be destroyed by him.

4 *Livy's* Account of *The Apollinarian Games* is this. A famous Diviner named *Marcus*, had written certain Books which were deemed prophetic. The Senate had ordered the *Prætor Marcus Attilius*, in the Year 540, to enquire after these Sorts of Writings; and those of *Marcus* having fallen into his Hands, he delivered them to his Successor *Publius Cornelius Rufinus*. Among these were found two Rhapsodies, the first of which foretold the unfortunate Battel of *Cannæ*; and the Event confirmed the People in the Belief of it. The Romans, without considering whether the Prediction had been supposititious, or made after the Action, readily owned that this previous Account of the pretended Prophet was a short History of that fatal Battel: And this was enough to gain the Diviner's Book Credit. The People then thought it Matter of Duty strictly to do whatever was required in the second Rhapsody, concerning the Establishment and Celebration of *The Apollinarian Games*. The *Prætor* read it to the assembled Senate, in Presence of the *Pontifices* and *Prætors*. They spent a whole Day in interpreting the hidden Meaning of the mysterious Terms of the Oracle. The next Day the Senate, by a Decree made on purpose, gave the *Decemviri* a Commission to consult the *Sybilline Books*, concerning the Manner of celebrating the new Games, and the Sacrifices ordered by *Marcus*, to be offered up in Honour to *Apollo*. Upon the Report of the *Decemviri*, the *Conscripse Fathers* made a solemn Vow to give the People the Shew, the Celebration of which *Marcus* recommended to them; and at the same time ordered the Sum of twelve thousand *Asses* to be paid the *Prætor*, for the Expences of the Ceremony, and the Sacrifice of two great Victims. This Decree was followed by another, which committed the Care of solemnizing this Festival, after the *Greek Manner*, to the Guardians of the *Sybilline Oracles*. Above all, particular Orders were given, That they should sacrifice to the God who was then the chief Object of the publick Worship, two white Goats and an Ox; That a Cow should be sacrificed at the Altar of *Latona*; and, That by way of Distinction, the Horns of these Beasts should be gilt. The *Prætor* was to preside at these Games; and *Publius Cornelius*, who was the present *Prætor*, prepared to celebrate them in *The Great Circus*, and published an Edict, enjoining all the Citizens to prepare an Offering for *Apollo*, according to their Abilities. This, says *Livy*, was the Origin of *The Apollinarian Games*. They were instituted, adds he, in order to gain the

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 Protection of that God against *Hannibal*, and not to put a Stop to an epidemical Disease. *Livy* and *Festus* both say, that the People assisted at this Shew crowned with Lawrel. The Roman Ladies then made their *Supplications*, and went in Procession to the Temples dedicated to *Apollo* and *Latona*. Publick Feasts were made, and the Festival was spent in different religious Exercises. *Macrobius* says, *Sat. B. 1.* that the People were assembled in the Theatre to assist at the first Celebration of these Games, when all on a sudden a Report was spread among the assembled Citizens, that the Enemy was at the Gates of Rome. Upon this, they instantly left the Shew, ran to Arms, and joined to defend their Walls. The *Carthaginian Troops* were soon dispersed; and the Romans, whose Minds were on this Occasion full of the God, whose Festival they were actually celebrating, easily believed that they were indebted to him for their Victory. Their Imaginations grew warm in the Heat of Battel, and the Sight of a routed Army making them fancy *Apollo* had fought for them, the Event was thought miraculous. All agreed to realize the Prodigy, in Honour to the God their Protector, whom they worshiped, and to authorize the Worship they paid to him. With this Persuasion they returned to the Theatre; and were surprized to find there an old Roman, named *Caius Pomponius*, dancing to the Sound of a Flute, which he had done during all the time of the Action. The Spectators thought this auspicious; concluded that the Games had not been interrupted; and all cried out, *All is well, since the Old Man is dancing.* SALVA RES EST; DUM SALTAT SENEX. And from that time, this Way of speaking became proverbial among the Romans, to express the happy Success of any Enterprize. *Verrius* mentions the same Fact, under the Consulship of *Caius Fulvius*, and *Caius Sulpicius*. He says that *Marcus Calpurnius Piso* was then *Prætor*, and presided at *The Apollinarian Games*. But we don't find, either from the Historians or the *Fasti Consulares*, that there were two Consuls of this Name in one Year. It is probable enough that the Text of *Verrius* has been altered by the Copyists; which is *Anthony Augustin's* Opinion of it. He thought, with Reason, that *Verrius* meant *Publius Sulpicius* and *Cneius Fulvius*, who were Consuls in the Year of Rome 542. Yet this Correction does not save the manifest Contradiction with which *Festus* reproaches this old Annalist. After he had placed this Adventure of the old Man in the Consular Year just mentioned, he in another Place makes use of *Simnius Capito's* own Words, to prove that the Institution of *The Apollinarian Games*, and all these other Circumstances, happened in the Consulship of *Quintus Fulvius* and *Appius Claudius*. The Old Man who danced changes his Name of *Pomponius*, into that of *Caius Volumnus*. He, says *Verrius*, acted the Part of those Parasites, who are introduced in Comedies, for the Diversion of the Spectators. Again, *Servius*, on the third Book of the *Æneid*, relates the Thing differently. According to him, The Mother of the Gods being enraged with the Romans, would not be appeased by the Sacrifices or Games instituted to her Honour. Only one old Man found out the Secret of appeasing her, by dancing during the Celebration of *The Games of the Circus*. These Variations therefore can only be ascribed to the Uncertainty or Confusion of the Fact supposed. Add to this, that we ought here to remember, what has been elsewhere observed, concerning the Superstition of the Romans, in the Celebration of their Festivals.

THE same *Comitia* chose also *Pro-Consuls*, who were all put at the Head of different *Roman Armies*. *Sempronius* was continued in the Command of his *Legions*, whom he had made excellent Soldiers. His Province was *Lucania*. *Marcellus* continued in *Sicily*, in Quality of *Pro Consul*; and after he had made himself Master of *Syracuse*, had the Government of all the ancient Kingdom of *Hiero*. *Publius Scipio*, as *Pro-Consul* in *Spain*, where he had made War, ever since the first Year after *Hannibal* had passed the *Alpes*, again shared the Command of the *Roman Troops* there with his Brother *Cneius*. He had at *Rome*, a Son of his own Name *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, whose Merit was superior to his Years. Tho' formed to Heroism from his Infancy by his Father, he had not followed him into *Spain*; doubtless, lest his being at so great a Distance, should cause him to be forgotten, in the Distribution of the Dignities of the Republick. Tho' already honoured more than once with several military Employments, he had not yet obtained any of those Offices, which were gradual Steps to the *Consulate*. But his Age had been the only Obstacle to his Advancement. The *Curule Ædileship* was the first of these Dignities; and according to the Laws, none could stand for it, who was not at least thirty Years of Age; whereas young *Scipio* was yet but three ⁶ and twenty. So that a Regard for the Laws suspended the Effects of the Favour of the People towards him. Nevertheless, acknowledged Merit gives Confidence. Notwithstanding his Age, he ventured to put his own Name, and that of his Brother *Lucius*, among the Candidates for the *Curule Ædileship*; and a Zeal for the Observation of the Laws, rather than any Ill-will to him, created him Adversaries among *The Tribunes of the People*. The only Reason they gave for opposing his Pretensions, was his Youth; but *Publius* still persisted. *The Want of Years*, said he, *is not so strong a Barrier, but that the People may surmount it. They who make Customs, may dispense with them.* The *Curule Ædiles* were chosen by the *Tribes*; and as soon as they were assembled in *Comitia*, the Friends of young *Scipio* ran from *Tribe* to *Tribe*, and by his Presence alone he gained the Hearts of all the People. They called to mind the prudent Conduct and Services of his Father and Uncle in *Spain*, and universally inclined to favour him. Upon which, the *Tribunes* thought fit to drop their Opposition; and the two Brothers, ⁷ *Publius* and *Lucius Scipio*, were nominated *Curule Ædiles*. A

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

Livy, B. 25.
c. 2.
Vell. Patern.
B. 2.

Polyb. B. 10.
c. 5.

ivals. The least Interruption in the Ceremonies, the most excusable Fault, was deemed an Irregularity which the Gods would punish. In order to expiate it, the Sacrifices were begun again, and they sometimes carried their Scruples so far, as to begin them thirty times. *The Apollinarian Games* had no fixed Day in the Calendar for their Celebration, for some Years after they were instituted. The *Prætors* only vowed in general to celebrate them; and it belonged to them to appoint the time for it, before their Office expired. But in the Year of *Rome* 545, the Senate by a Decree fixed the Celebration of them to *The third of the Nones of July*, according to *Livy*; that is, to the fifth Day of that Month. But the old *Roman Calendar* postpones them one Day, and places them on the sixth Day of *July*. They were celebrated in the *Circus*. During the Solemnity, the *Romans* sung an Hymn in Honour to *Apollo*, as in *The Secular Games*. But tho' it was the *Prætor's* Right to preside at the Celebration of the *Apollinarian Games*, *Dio* says, B. 43. That one of the *Curule Ædiles* performed these Ceremonies, at the Expence of *Cains Cæsar*.

⁵ See what we have said of the Office of the *Curule Ædiles*, their Functions, Privileges, and the Age required to qualify them for that Dignity, B. 14. p. 77 of Vol. 2. Note 51.

⁶ This is the same *Scipio*, who had already signalized himself at the Battel of *The Tefsin*, where he, by his Valour, saved his Father *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, after he had been wounded. *Polybius* says, that the Father gloried in declaring his Son to have been his Deliverer; and adds, that he gave him his Title before all People, and rewarded his Bravery with a *Civic Crown*. But some Authors say, at the young *Roman* had the Modesty to decline

so glorious a Reward. He was then but seventeen Years of Age, according to *Florus*. And *Orosius* and *Zonaras* say, he had not laid aside the *Prætexta*, or Robe bordered with Purple, which the young Noblemen used to wear, till they were at least in their sixteenth Year. But be that as it will, if we suppose, with most Historians, that he was seventeen in the Year of *Rome* 535, when *Hannibal* fought the Battel of *The Tefsin*, he could scarce have been twenty three, when the *Comitia* raised him to the Dignity of *Curule Ædile*. *Vinandus Pighius* is mistaken in his Calculation, when he places young *Scipio's* *Ædileship* in the Year 540; and for this reason, he makes him but twenty one, (or in his twenty second Year) instead of twenty three.

⁷ According to *Livy*, *Publius Cornelius Scipio's* Collegue in the *Ædileship*, was one *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*. Yet *Polybius*, and *Velleius Paternulus*, say, that the People made his Brother *Lucius* his Collegue. The two *Ædiles*, says *Livy*, distinguished themselves by their Bounties. They gave the People the Shew of *The Roman Games*, with all the Magnificence that the present Situation of Affairs would admit of; and distributed Measures of Oil in all the Quarters of *Rome*. The *Plebeian Ædiles*, *Lucius Villius Tappulus*, and *Marcus Fundanius Fundulus*, signalized themselves also. They accused some *Roman Ladies*, whose Virtue was suspected, at the Tribunal of the People; and those who were convicted, were banished. These two Magistrates likewise celebrated, two Days together, *The Plebeian Games*, which used to be celebrated, in Memory of the Reconciliation of the People with the *Patricians*, in the first Ages of the Republick. This Solemnity was accompanied with a religious Feast, in Honour to *Jupiter*.

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happy

Year of happy Prefage for the *Romans*, who could not too soon begin to admit two Heroes to publick Offices, one of whom was to conquer *Africa*, and acquire the Surname of *Africanus*; the other to subdue *Asia*, and be stiled *Asiaticus*.

ROM E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 25.
c. 3.

AND to the *Pro-Consuls*, the Republick added *Pro-Prætors*. *Sempronius* continued to command a Body of Troops near *Ariminum*, with that Title; and *Cornelius Lentulus* to govern the ancient *Province* which the *Romans* possessed in *Sicily* before the Reduction of *Syracuse*. The Command of the *Roman Fleet* on the Coasts of *Sicily*, was also again given to *Otacilius*, with the Title of *Pro-Prætor*; and that of another Fleet, to *Valerius Lævinus*, who was to watch the Motions of the *Greeks*, under the same Character. And lastly, *Mucius Sævola* was also named *Pro-Prætor*, and continued in *Sardinia*, at the Head of his old Army.

§. II. BUT the new *Consuls* did not think these Troops were sufficient for so many Generals. As soon as they entered upon their Office, they raised two new *Legions* in *Rome*, which increased the Number to twenty three. A surprising Multitude of Soldiers to be all raised out of the *Citizens of Rome*; exclusive of the Troops of the Allies, which were at least as many as the *Legionaries*!

It must be confessed, that *Rome* was exhausted of Men, by these frequent Levies. But nevertheless, this did not abate the Zeal of the *Consuls*, in multiplying their *Legions*; insomuch that it was deemed necessary to pass a Decree of the Senate, to prevent their pressing the rest of the *Citizens* into the Service. However, for the Satisfaction of the *Consuls*, the *Conscript Fathers* nominated *Triumviri*, to search for all the young Men in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, who were fit to bear Arms; and these *Triumviri* went to all the Villages, Fairs, Markets, and Courts of Justice, within some distance of *Rome*, and there chose out young *Citizens* of free Condition. They did not much examine, whether they were of a legal Age, provided only they were strong-bodied Men, and able to bear military Fatigues; and *The Tribunes of the People*, on the other hand, were desired to prevail on their *Comitia* to consent, that the Years they served under the Age of seventeen, should be reckoned as much as if they were past it. Thus the two *Legions* were filled; but the *Consuls* delayed their Departure, by an Incident which revived the Hatred of the People to the *Publicans*.

§. III. A little time before, one *Pomponius*, a Man of Business, had without any Commission, made himself General of an Army; his Rashness had been punished by the Rout and Massacre of the Troops he had assembled; and the Odium of this false Step, and the fatal Consequences of it, rebounded on the whole Order of *Publicans*.

POMPONIUS had thereby increased the Aversion Men naturally have for those who manage the publick Money; and another Person of the same Body, named *M. Postumius*, now utterly ruined the Reputation of the *Publicans*. He was born at ^s *Pyrgi* in *Hetruria*, and had put himself at the Head of a Company of Tradesmen, who undertook to convey Ammunition and Provisions by Sea, to the *Roman Armies*, which were making War in foreign Countries. The Republick promised to indemnify his Company from all Losses they might suffer by sudden and unforeseen Shipwrecks; which was highly reasonable: but *Postumius* was too covetous to be content with honest Gains, and his Avarice made his Intervention fruitful. He placed to the Account of the Republick many Shipwrecks which had never happened; and to complete his Roguery, had often overloaded old Barks with Merchandizes of little Value, and thereby sunk them. These Boats had indeed been lost at Sea, but designedly and knavishly; and tho' the *Publicans* had taken care to save their Rigging, yet he made the Losses to amount very high, and demanded great Sums in Consideration of them. These Rogueries had come to the Ears of the *Prætor Attilius* the last Year, and he had complained of them to the Senate; but in those troublesome Times, the *Conscript Fathers* had not cared to break with the Body of *Publicans*, whom they thought useful at that time. Two of the *Tribunes of the People* therefore thought *The Roman People* would more severely revenge the Injuries of the Publick; and they cited the Cri-

See Capit.

^s The City of *Pyrgi* stood on the Coasts of the *Tyrrhenian Sea*, near the Place where now stands a little City called *Santa Severa*, in *The Patrimony of St. Peter*.

iminal to appear before the *Comitia by Tribes*. These honest *Tribunes* were two Brothers, *Spurius* and *Lucius Carvilius*; and the Cause was heard in the Capitol, in the open Court before the Temple of *Jupiter*. The *Comitia* were never more numerous; they almost filled the whole Place. And now the two Accusers had already in studied Harangues, exposed the Villanies of *Postumius*; and the People, who have always a strong Aversion to those who manage the publick Money, had already concluded that the Offender should be amerced two * hundred thousand *Asses* of Brass; when the *Publicans* had recourse to Chicanery.

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.
*645/166. 8d.
Arbutnot.
Livy, B. 25.
c. 3.

SERVILIUS CASCA, a near Relation of *Postumius*, was one of the *Tribunes of the People*; and the Refuge of the Defenders of the Accused, was to engage him, to oppose the Determinations of his Collegues: But it was all to no Purpose. The People drowned his Voice with their Clamours, so that his Protest could not be heard; and the Judges would attend only to the Witnesses against the Criminal. After he was fully convicted, the Officers of the *Comitia* divided the *Tribes* to give their Suffrages; Urns were brought for the Names of the *Tribes*, that that *Tribe* whose Name was first drawn out, might vote first; and all things were ready for giving Judgment; when the *Publicans* made fresh Application to *Casca*, to engage him at least to respite the Sentence till another Day. But the People cried out against this Arrest of Judgment; and then the *Publicans*, despairing of Success in it, had recourse to Violence. They observed, that there were no *Apparitores* near the Place where the *Tribunes*, and the Consul *Fulvius* at their Head, sat; and that *Casca* sat at the End of the Bench, in great Confusion, at the Refusals and Hisses of the People. On his Side therefore, the *Publicans* mounted *The Tribune*, and from thence insulted, sometimes the People, and sometimes their Magistrates. And they were just ready to come to Blows, when the Consul said to the *Tribunes*; *You see how little Respect they have for your Persons. If you don't dissolve the Assembly, the Affair will end in Sedition.* The *Tribunes* therefore took the safest Method, and dismissed the People; but with full Resolution to pursue the Affair, and suppress the Insolence of an avaritious, and factious Body of Men. Accordingly, the Senate was assembled the next Day. The Consuls made a Report to the House, of the Tumult the Day before, complained of the Insolence of the *Publicans*, and demanded Justice for the Insult offered to the Majesty of *The Roman People* assembled in *Comitia*. *What*, said they, *was the great Camillus condemned to Banishment by the People when provoked? Could not the Decemviri, the Authors of our Laws, and whose Posterity yet shine among our Patricians, resist the Authority of the Comitia? And shall one Postumius, a Man come from Pyrgi, have the Insolence to suspend the Suffrages of the People, disperse a lawful Assembly, despise the sacred Persons of our Tribunes, make the Place of our Assemblies a Field of Battel, beset The Tribune of Harangues, seize it, and stop the Mouths of his Accusers, by Violence? Nothing but the Moderation of our Magistrates could stop the Rage, even of Publicans, and prevent their filling the Capitol with Slaughter. The Tribunes indeed wisely gave way to the Storm, and are much to be commended, for that Moderation with which they bore the Contempt of their own Dignity, and the Injury done The Roman People. But shall we longer tolerate, what could not be revenged on the Spot?*

UPON this, the *Conscrip*t Fathers were filled with Horror at these unworthy Proceedings of the *Publicans*. They all judged it an unpardonable Insolence; and passed a Decree, declaring the Violence of the Day before, a dangerous Precedent, and an open Insult on the Republick.

AND then, the two *Carvili*, being authorized by the Senate, proceeded in a different manner. They no longer considered it as a civil, but a criminal Affair. They no longer regarded the Fine which had been agreed on; but first cited *Postumius* to appear: and in case he refused to give Security, they were ordered to imprison him. The Criminal therefore, for fear of an Attachment on his Person, found Sureties; and then disappeared. He was therefore condemned for Contumacy, at the Motion of the *Tribunes*, and this Decree was past; That, if *Postumius* did not appear before the first Day of May, and answer to his Accusation, he

* This Sum of two hundred thousand *Asses* may easily be computed, according to the Rules several times mentioned of reducing Roman Money to French.

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

should be banished all the Roman Territories for ever; none should dare to give him Shelter; and his Effects should be confiscated and sold. Nor was this all: All the *Publicans* who assisted in the Tumult, were cited to appear, as Criminals, before the *Comitia*. They were required to give Sureties, who should promise to produce them in Court; which some refusing, were dragged to Prison; as were several others who offered to comply. And lastly, several of them, for fear of being seized, fled into voluntary Banishment. Thus *Rome* was delivered from a Company of factious Men, whose Audaciousness was as great as their Avarice.

§.IV. AFTER this, new *Comitia by Tribes* were assembled on a more pacifick Occasion. The *Pontifex Maximus*, *Cornelius Lentulus*, had died the last Year; and a Successor was now to be chosen. The *Pontifical* College, which consisted of eight Persons, half *Patricians*, and half *Plebeians*, had a Right to chuse the other *Pontifexes* themselves, without the People. But the *Pontifex Maximus* was to be chosen by the assembled People, out of these inferior *Pontifexes*. Competitors were not wanting for so high a Dignity; and Intrigues took place in this as well as other publick Elections. The Candidates now were three; *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus*, who was now *Consul* the third time, and had been *Censor*: *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who had been twice *Consul*, and once *Censor*: and *P. Licinius*, who was then a Candidate for the *Ædileship*, but had yet enjoyed no *Curule* Magistracy. And the Assembly of the *Tribes*, in which *Cornelius Cethegus*, one of the ¹⁰ *Pontifexes*, presided, preferred the young *Licinius* before the old *Consuls*. An event the more memorable, as it was very rare. In the Space of sixscore Years, only this one Man ¹¹ was promoted to the supreme *Pontificate*, without having first passed through the *Curule* Magistracies. So capricious are popular Elections! In them, Merit, Age, and Services, are often esteemed as nothing.

So much Business at home had long detained the *Consuls*; but at length they set out for the War, after they had spent one Day in discharging the Ceremonies of Religion. Ever since the Arrival of *Hannibal* in *Italy*, the most trifling Prognosticks were thought dangerous; and Terror made the People invent Prodigies, which had no Appearance of Truth in them. Nevertheless, it was necessary, in order to satisfy the Superstition of the People, that some Time should be set apart for Expiations, to avert the ill Effects of these Presages.

§.V. WHEN that was done, the *Consuls* joined their Forces, marched together to *Samnium*, and resolved to besiege *Capua*. To subdue this important Place, was to root out the Foundation of their Misfortunes, and deprive their Enemy of his chief and safest Refuge. And whilst the *Consular* Armies were preparing to take Advantage of all Events, *Hannibal*, on the other hand, did not forget his wonted Stratagems to surprize *Tarentum*, or at least *Thurium*. The artful *Carthaginian* knew how to make a good use of the Hatred these two Cities had conceived to the *Roman* Republick, from a late Act of Severity, which we cannot fully relate, without returning back a little.

ROME had at the same time discovered both *Hannibal's* Motions to invade *Tarentum*, or *Thurium*, and the Inclinations of these Cities to the *Carthaginians*; and therefore the Senate took a Precaution which they thought necessary. They not only placed strong *Roman* Garrisons in these two Cities; but likewise demanded of the Inhabitants a good Number of Hostages, who were brought to *Rome*, and kept in a House belonging to the Publick, on the Hill *Aventinus*, over-against the Temple of *Liberty*. But the Hostages were but slightly guarded. It seemed to be neither for their own Interest, nor that of their Country, to make their Escape. So that a *Tarentine*, named *Phineas*, a restless, and turbulent Man, who had long been at *Rome* as Envoy from *Tarentum*, and lived disorderly there, easily found Access to the Hostages; and being uneasy at not having been able to conclude any publick Business, he was the Author of an Action, which proved fatal to these his Countrymen. In the frequent Conversation he had with them, he

¹⁰ In After-times, the *Consuls* were obliged to preside in these *Comitia by Tribes*, in which were chosen a *Pontifex Maximus*, or other *Pontifexes*, the Choice of whom also, then belonged to the People. We have a Proof of this in a Letter of *Cicero* to *Brutus*. He says, that the Death of the two *Consuls* *Murcius* and *Pansa*, prevented the Election of

the *Pontifexes*, till the *Comitia by Centuries* had filled the vacant Places.

¹¹ The Name of this Man, who was raised to be *Pontifex Maximus*, without having passed through the *Curule* Offices, was, according to *Livy*, *Publius Cornelius Calpurnius*.

persuaded them to make their Escape, and assisted them in it. He gained some of their Guards, who were appointed to take care of the neighbouring Temple; and with their Assistance *Phineas* escaped in the Beginning of the Night with the Company whom he conducted, and brought them through By-Roads as far as to ¹² *Terracina*, a City in the Country of the *Volsci*, called also *Anxur*. In the Morning, *Rome* was surprized to find the Hostages gone, pursued after them, overtook, and seized them, at *Terracina*; and exercised Severity upon them, in a very extraordinary manner. The *Romans* might have saved the Hostages of the two Cities, which then inclined to revolt, and thereby secured the Fidelity of the *Tarentini* especially, by keeping these valuable Pledges of it, under a stricter Guard. But Rage blinded them. They condemned all the Hostages to be whipped with Rods, and thrown down headlong from the *Capitol*, into the *Forum Romanum*.

As soon then as this Tie, which was the Band of Union between the *Tarentini* and *Thurians*, and the Republick, was broken, these two principal Greek Cities conceived an implacable Hatred for the Republick. However, they dissembled it at first. *Tarentum* was full of *Romans*, and *C. Livius*, surnamed *Macatus*, who had the Command of them, was too strong to be insulted. But their Grecian Artifice supplied the Place of open Force. From that time, thirteen young Men, of the principal Nobility in the City, resolved among themselves to deliver it up to *Hannibal*. Two Lords, *Nico* and *Philemenus*, or *Philomenus*, put themselves at the Head of the Conspirators, and carried on the Plot with Address. Their main Point was to treat with *Hannibal*; but it was not safe to correspond with him by Letter. Their Expedient therefore was to pretend they were going on one of those Hunting-matches which are made in the Night; and they all thirteen went out of *Tarentum* by different Ways, in order to go to the Place appointed. The *Carthaginian* Camp was not then far off. They soon found their Way to it, cross the Forests; and, that they might not surprize the Centinels with their Numbers, *Nico* and *Philemenus* only, made the Attempt, hid their Companions in the Thickets in the Forest, and appeared before the Gate of the Camp. And in short, they were immediately carried to the General's Tent; and there told him the Design they had formed, and the Cause of their Rage against the cruel Republick.

HANNIBAL was very ready to follow the Path which *Fortune* pointed out to him, to make the Conquest he had so long desired, without any Hazard. But it was necessary for the Conspirators to conceal their Conference with him, and the Cause of their too long Absence from the *Roman* Garrison; and they therefore pretended, that they had been detained by an ardent Desire of getting some Spoil from the Enemy. In order to cover this, *Hannibal* suffered them to take a Herd of Oxen, which were grazing in a neighbouring Pasture; and with this Prey they returned into the City, and were graciously received. The Conspirators promised the *Roman* Governour that they would bring him more of those Convoys, from time to time; and under that Pretence, they easily obtained Leave to go often out of the City. Had the Governour been in the least suspicious, or vigilant, he must have discovered the young Conspirators. But *Livius* was a Man of Pleasure. He suspected no body who made him Presents of Delicacies for his Table; and it was indeed a kind of Miracle to see a *Roman* so little upon his Guard. *Philomenus*, who was a professed Sportsman, often sending him Game, this was enough to gain his Confidence and Favour. So that Leave being too readily granted sometimes to hunt, and sometimes to go upon a Party against the Enemy, the Conspirators had several Conferences with *Hannibal*. And at length, they drew from him this Promise, which he confirmed with an Oath, *That when he should become Master of Tarentum, the Inhabitants should enjoy their Laws, Liberties, and Estates, without Infringement; and That they should not be subject to pay any Tribute, or obliged to receive a Carthaginian Garrison, without their own Consent: Provided nevertheless, that all the Effects of the Romans in Tarentum, should be given up as free Booty to his Troops.*

§. VI. As soon as these Conditions were agreed on, the next thing was to put the Design in Execution; and in order to facilitate the Access of the Conspirators

Year of
R O M E
DXII.

Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

*Polyb. B. 8.
c. 19.
Liv. B. 25.
c. 8.*

¹² See our Account of the Cities of *Terracina*, or *Anxur*, B. 16. p. 147. of Vol. 2. Note 21.

Year of R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS,
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

to his Camp, *Hannibal* agreed on a certain Signal, which they were to give, as oft as they desired to be admitted to him. By this means, *Hannibal* and *Philomenus* had more frequent Conferences. The Pretence of Hunting coloured over the nocturnal Excursions of the *Tarentini*; and the Game he gave the Governour and Officers of the *Roman* Garrison, opened the Gates of the City to him, at all Hours of the Night. But he always went attended with a great Number of Men, and a Pack of Dogs. It was said, that hunting was his sole Delight, and that all other Pleasures were insipid to him. And the better to carry on the Deccit, *Hannibal* made People hunt for him; so that *Philomenus* always returned loaded with Venison, tho' he had spent a great deal of his Time in conferring with the *Carthaginian*.

EVEN in the Night-time, the *Romans* opened a Postern-Gate to him, upon the first Whistle, and received a Part of the Prey he brought home; and this Management continued long, without any Suspicion of the Traitor. Till at length, the Time came for putting the Enterprize in Execution. *Hannibal* had some time before retired to the Distance of three Days Journey from *Tarentum*, doubtless the better to cover the Designs of the Conspirators; and he continued a great while in his new Camp, where he feigned himself sick, to prevent the Distrusts both of the *Consuls* who watched him, and of *Livius* who feared him. In this Post, where he was thought idle, he received Dispatches from the Conspirators, desiring him to hasten near to *Tarentum*, and be in a Readiness to favour their Attempt: And the *Carthaginian* accordingly took a large Detachment with him. He chose out ten thousand of the most active and brave Men he had in his Troops, partly out of the Cavalry, and partly out of the Infantry; and ordered them to take four Days Provisions. Then he ordered eighty *Numidian* Horse to go before him, and to keep his March secret, commanded them to watch all the Roads, and drive back again, or kill, all that were going for *Tarentum*. This Squadron of *Numidians* passed for a Party of *Carthaginians*, and no body imagined it was followed by an Army. So that *Hannibal* concealed his March, and came at length within about fifteen Miles of *Tarentum*, where he made a Halt, on the Banks of a River, which ran in a Valley, surrounded on all Sides with Hills. This was a private solitary Place, where it was not easy to discover them; and there he assembled his Detachment together, and, without opening his Design, ordered his Soldiers to keep close together, to be always in a Readiness to obey their Officers, and to attempt nothing on their own Heads; promising them, at the same time, that they should very soon reap the Fruits of their Obedience.

WHILST *Hannibal* lay concealed in this Valley, *Philomenus* came to him (having doubtless left *Tarentum* under Pretence of a Hunting-match,) and represented to the *Carthaginian* General the State of *Tarentum*, and the favourable Opportunity that offered, to seize it the next Night. To day, said he, the *Roman Governour* is to be at a great Entertainment, which is to be given near the Temple of the Muses, in the Market-place; *Livius* will be intemperate at the Feast, and if we make Haste we shall find him loaded with Wine, and very sleepy upon a full Stomach. And indeed, tho' News was brought to *Livius*, in the midst of his Mirth, that a Party of *Numidian* Horse appeared in the Neighbourhood of *Tarentum*; yet the Governour was under no Concern at it. This even confirmed him in his Thoughts that *Hannibal* had not left his Camp; and he postponed chasing away the Pillagers till the next Day. He still had no manner of Apprehension of Danger, and continued at Table till Night. In the mean time *Nico*, and the rest of the Conspirators, all acted their Parts with Success. Some watched *Livius's* Return to his House, joined him in the Way, and, that they might be the more familiar with him, pretended to be heated with Wine, and amused him with agreeable Discourse. The *Roman*, whose Entertainment had put him in excellent Humour, was delighted with their Pleasantry; and the young Conspirators did not leave him till he was fast asleep. Then they gave Notice of it to their Companions, who lost no time, but instantly prepared every thing for bringing in *Hannibal*. It was about Midnight, and all was silent in and about *Tarentum*, when *Philomenus*, who was out of the City as usual, came to the Postern-Gate, which used to be opened to him upon the first Whistle. He followed two young Men who carried a wild Boar of an enormous Size in a Hand-barrow; and when the Wicket was open, and the

Roman

Roman upon Guard there was examining the Beast, *Nico* ran him through with his Hunting-Spear. Then thirty *Carthaginians* entered in an Instant, after the Boar, broke the Gate down, brought in a Company of their Fellow-Soldiers, spared none of those upon Guard; and the Enemy were already Masters of this Part of the Town.

§. VII. As for *Hannibal*, he was to enter it by the Gate ¹³ *Temenides*, which looked towards the Country; and he therefore drew near it, and lighted a Fire, on an Eminence called *Hyacinthos*, to give Notice of his Arrival. *Nico* soon answered this Signal with another which was agreed on; that is, he lifted up a lighted Flambeaux in the City: And this was the Moment pitched on for *Hannibal* to invest the Gate on the Out-side. Within, *Nico*, with his Men, fell on the Guard that kept the Gate *Temenides*; killed all the *Romans* they could find there; and immediately the Gate was opened. *Hannibal* entered without Resistance, and passing thro' the Street *Bathea*, came and drew up his Infantry in the Market place. As for his Cavalry, he left them, to the Number of two thousand, without the Walls; doubtless to fall upon the Garrison, if they marched out. And then *Hannibal* made it his first Business to send to the *Tarentini* to keep in their Houses, and not be affrighted; and to give Orders, that not one of the *Romans* which his Men met should be spared.

ACCORDINGLY, the *Carthaginians* dispersed themselves over several Quarters of the City, and put every *Roman* they could find to the Sword; and in the mean time, the Terror was exceeding great among the *Tarentini* themselves. *Livius* was one of the first who was informed of the Surprise of the Place; and tho' not yet recovered from his Drunkenness, had the Presence of Mind to repair to one of the Gates which looked towards the Sea, with his Domesticks; opened it; went on board a Bark, with his Attendants, and escaped to the Citadel, which was guarded by *Romans*.

In the mean time, *Philomenus*, who was wholly bent on revenging on the *Romans* the Blood of the Hostages executed at *Rome*, sounded a Trumpet, on the Top of the publick Theatre, after the *Roman* Manner. The Soldiers of the Garrison, deceived by it, ran together from different Quarters, without any Order, and fell in with a Body of *Carthaginians*, who killed them all. This Massacre was the Work of the Night. At break of Day, several of the *Tarentini*, who had heard a great Tumult and Noise in the Dark, and not knowing whence it proceeded, imagined that the *Romans* had quarrelled with one another; were much undeceived, when they saw the *Carthaginians* stripping the dead *Romans*.

HOWEVER, a great Number of the *Romans* had gained the Citadel, and secured themselves there. Then *Hannibal* published an Order all over the City, That the Inhabitants of *Tarentum* should all come to the Market-place, without Arms, and without Fear. And indeed their Fears were dissipated by the young Conspirators, who assured them that *Hannibal* was come into their City, only to deliver it from the *Roman* Yoke. Nevertheless, these Assurances did not satisfy all the Citizens; those who had entered into any Measures with *Rome*, or were Friends to her, repaired to the Citadel, and were there protected. Only those who had no Regard to the *Romans* obeyed their new Master, and came without Arms to the Market-place; where the *Carthaginian* General received them in the most gracious Manner. *Hannibal* knew how to lay aside his Fierceness, upon proper Occasions, and calm Mens Minds, after he had filled them with Terror. He put the *Tarentini* in mind of his Goodness to them after the Victories of the Lake *Thrasimenus*, and *Cannæ*; and gave them Reason to hope for greater Favours. He exaggerated the Sufferings of their Hostages by the Cruelty of *Rome*, and promised them a very different Treatment. And lastly, after he had invited them to return peaceably, every one to his own House, and write over his Door the Word *Tarentini*, he dismissed them. This Inscription was to distinguish their Houses from those of the *Romans*. And

¹³ It is probable enough that the Name of the Gate *Temenides* was taken from *Temenus*, one of the Descendants of *Hercules*, or one of the *Heraclidae*. He, with his younger Brothers *Cresspho* and *Aristodemus*, had driven out the *Pelopide*, and possessed himself of *Peloponnesus*. From his Brother

Aristodemus, the Kings of *Lacedæmon* descended. Now we know, and have already observed, Vol. 2. that *Tarentum* was a Colony of *Lacedæmonians*. And she preserved the Memory of her Foundation, by the Greek Names which were given to the different Quarters of the City.

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.
Livy, B. 25.
c. 9.
Polyb. B. 8.
c. 23.

Year of
ROM E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

Hannibal therefore added, that if any Person put it over one *Roman* House, he should be punished with Death. Then he divided his Troops into two Bodies, one to plunder the Houses that had no Inscription upon them; the other to guard the Pillagers against any unforeseen Attacks: The Ravage was carried on without Disorder, and the Booty taken only from the *Romans*, surpassed the Hopes of the most covetous *Carthaginians*.

§. VIII. AFTER this, *Hannibal's* whole Concern was to secure himself against the *Romans* who were retired into the Citadel. It was strong by Situation, and by Art. It was built on a *Peninsula* formed by the Sea, which almost surrounded it, and contained a flat Piece of Ground, in the midst of steep Rocks, which made it inaccessible on three Sides. After some vain Attempts, the *Carthaginian* despaired of taking it by Assault; and was therefore forced to guard that Side of the City which was next the Citadel, with Walls. As it now lay entirely open, it exposed the City to the Insults of the *Romans*.

HANNIBAL foresaw, that the Enemy would not tamely suffer him to erect a Barrier to hinder them from entering *Tarentum*, but would do their utmost to ruin the Works of the *Tarentini*; and he therefore kept his Army ready formed, to sustain the Workmen. The cunning *Carthaginian* also foresaw that the *Romans* were too brave not to pursue the Attack with Vigour; and that they would probably suffer their Ardour to carry them too far; and he hoped thereby to draw them into an Ambuscade, and greatly to weaken the Garrison of the Citadel by the Numbers he should kill. Accordingly, when the Ditch which was to divide the City from the Citadel was already dug, and nothing remained but to lay the Foundations of a Wall over against that of which the *Romans* were Masters, then the latter made a Sally, to ruin the Works that were begun. At first, *Hannibal* received them but faintly, and by a feigned Flight retired with his Troops behind the Ditch. The *Romans* pursued his Men quite into the City; and then being surrounded on all Sides, some of them perished in the Streets of *Tarentum*, and others were cut in Pieces in the Ditch. And the Slaughter of the *Romans* was so considerable, that they no more attempted to interrupt the Works of the *Tarentini*. *Livius* saw the Wall rise, without endeavouring to oppose it, and only concerned himself about preserving the Citadel.

BUT *Hannibal* was not content without digging a second Ditch within the Rampart; and as he had thrown the Earth towards the City, he supported it with Piles, and stuck it thick with Palisades, and thereby made it as strong as a Stone-Wall. Behind this Bulwark he also built other Works, which made the City impregnable on the Side of the Citadel; and then the *Tarentini* thought themselves secure enough to be able to defend their City themselves, and to dispense with the *Carthaginian* Garrison. *Hannibal* therefore, for fear of giving Umbrage to his new Friends, retired to a River five Miles from *Tarentum*, which had two Names. It was sometimes called the ¹⁴ *Galesus*, and sometimes the *Eurotas*, from the Name of a River in the Country of the *Lacedæmonians*, the Founders of *Tarentum*.

§. IX. WHEN *Hannibal* had pitched his Camp on the *Galesus*, his Thoughts were wholly bent upon besieging the Citadel in Form. He often visited the City, which he had put into a Posture of Defence, and where he had left no more Men than were necessary to assist the Inhabitants in finishing their Works; and then he considered, that after all, the City was accessible on one Side. He observed, That the Neck of Land that led from the Citadel to the City, was smooth; and That the Citadel was there defended only by a Ditch, and a single Wall; and therefore he undertook to batter it, at that Place. He had already advanced his Machines, and his Line of Circumvallation was already formed, when the *Romans* received a Reinforcement by Sea, from *Metapontus*, a *Roman* City, on *The Gulf of Tarentum*; and these Succours raised the Courage of the *Romans*. They made a Sally the very next Night, ruined the Works of the Besiegers, and burnt their

¹⁴ The River *Galesus*, which the Natives of the Country now call *Tara*, rises in one of the *Apenines*. In the time of *Polybius*, it was, according to him, generally called *Eurotas*; which was the Name by which the *Lacedæmonians*, who had settled

near the *Galesus*, called a River in the Territory of *Lacedæmon*. They gave the same Name to this River, which watered the City of *Tarentum*, to perpetuate the Memory of their Origin.

Machines. This Repulse therefore made *Hannibal* lay aside the Thoughts of continuing the Siege; but he judged it indispensably necessary, that he should secure the *Tarentini* a free Passage to the Sea.

THE Citadel which the *Romans* possessed, was at the Mouth of the Port, and thereby the Inhabitants were at present deprived of all Communication with the Sea. No Ship could enter the Port, or go out of it, without the Consent of the *Roman* Garrison. So that *Tarentum* thereby suffered some of the Inconveniencies of a Siege; and the *Carthaginians* foresaw the Consequences of this melancholy Situation. There was a great Scarcity of every thing in the City, and as great a Plenty in the Citadel. *Hannibal* therefore resolved to stop up the Port from the *Romans*, and leave it open only to the *Tarentini*. This he thought the only Expedient to force the former to quit their Post, and to ease the latter of their present Difficulties. They could now receive no Benefit from the Port, by which they had subsisted, and only possessed an useless Part of it. But the Difficulty was, how to put this necessary Scheme in Execution: and the only Way to deprive the *Romans* of all Communication with the Sea, and to open one with it for the *Tarentini*, seemed to be; to bring a *Carthaginian* Fleet from *Sicily*, to cruize round the Port, and suffer only such Ships to enter it, as were designed for the City. Any other Method of answering this End, was deemed utterly impracticable. How, said the *Tarentini*, can any Ships that accidentally, or designedly, come to the Port, enter it, without being exposed to the Insults of the Citadel? Or how can any Ships that are in the Port, get out to Sea?

BUT *Hannibal* was not a Man to be discouraged by Difficulties. It was scarce possible to get a Fleet from *Sicily*; nevertheless, he found means to supply this Defect. The *Tarentini* had a pretty good Number of Ships in their Haven, which they could not get to Sea, because they feared the *Romans* would batter them to pieces from the Top of the Citadel, as they passed: the industrious *Carthaginian* therefore formed a Scheme which raised the Admiration of all the Ancients. This was to remove the *Tarentin* Ships by Land, and convey them to the Sea, without bringing them out of the Mouth of the Port. He had observed, That from the Haven to the Place where the Sea made an Elbow, as it watered the *Peninsula* of the Citadel, the Ground was level, and the Way large and free; and he thought that the less heavy Gallies might be conveyed to the Sea, that Way, on Carriages made for that Purpose. The People were surprized at the Novelty of the Design; but when it was examined into, it did not appear impracticable: and every one put his Hand to the Work. They joined several Carts together, and made Carriages, upon which they raised the Ships; and with great Difficulty, and no less Success, drew Gallies with all their Rigging, from one Part of the Sea to the other. By this means, the Citadel, which before commanded the Sea, now found it difficult to get Provisions, that Way. The *Tarentin* Ships, which before were useless in the Haven, lay at Anchor at the Mouth of it, and suffered no Barks to pass them, but such as were loaded with Provisions for the City. Whence it is easy to judge, how great Esteem this must gain *Hannibal* in *Tarentum*, which resounded with his Fame. But he did not tarry long to receive these Applauses; he soon returned to the Banks of the *Galesus*, and left the Citadel blocked up both by Sea and Land. It must be owned, that he had Capacity enough as a General, to have conquered the whole World; if he had had, any other Enemies to cope with, but the *Romans*.

§. X. HE was yet within reach of *Tarentum*, when he received a Deputation from the *Capuans*. The two Consuls, *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Appius Pulcher*, had joined their *Legions*, and having encamped in *Samnium*, seemed to design to besiege *Capua*. They had already laid the Country waste all round the City; the Inhabitants were already oppressed with as great Famine, as is usually felt, at the latter End of a Siege; and this obliged them to have recourse to the Author of their Revolt, and the Protector of their City. *Hannibal* loved *Capua*. It was his first and best-beloved Conquest, in *Italy*. But on the other hand, he flattered himself with Hopes of seeing the Citadel of *Tarentum* soon reduced. The Enterprize had been begun with too much Glory, not to be pursued with Ardor; and he therefore found out an Expedient to relieve *Capua*, without leaving the Neighbourhood of *Tarentum*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 26;
c. 13.

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls

HANNO, one of the *Carthaginian* Generals, commanded a Body of Men in *Bruttium*; and *Hannibal* ordered him to advance towards *Capua*, and carry thither as much Corn, and other Provisions, as he could collect in the neighbouring Places. The Business required Dispatch, the City being destitute of Provisions, and threatened to be invested; *Hanno* therefore did not delay one Moment. He marched through Roads which were a great way from the *Roman* Camp, arrived within some Miles of *Beneventum*, and encamped on an Eminence. From thence he sent Detachments to fetch all the Corn which had been laid up in all the Granaries in the whole Country the last Summer; and after these Preparations, he sent the *Capuans* word of the Day, and Hour, when they should send him Carriages, and Horses to fetch this Corn to their City. But they were so strangely corrupted with Effeminacy, that even extreme Want could not rouse them out of their Indolence. They sent but about four hundred Waggon's, and a small Number of Mules, to carry that vast Quantity of Corn, which *Hanno* had gathered together out of all the Country; and he was provoked at this intollerable Negligence. Nay, he could not help expressing his Indignation; and ordered the *Capuans* to return on a Day appointed, with more Carriages, to remove the rest of the Provisions. What vast Quantities of all Sorts must have been wanting, to subsist so large, and so populous a City? Yet even Hunger, which makes the very Beasts industrious, could scarce conquer the Indolence of the *Capuans*; and they were severely punished for it.

In the Interim between the Removal of the two Convoys of Corn, the *Beneventini* had time to inform the *Consuls* of the second, which was soon to set out for *Capua*. Upon this, *Fulvius* immediately left his Camp at *Bovianum*, where he was residing with his Colleague, and after a very expeditious March, arrived at *Beneventum*, and concealed his Troops in that City. He entered it by Night; his Arrival was kept very secret; so that *Hanno* thought himself safe; and to hasten these Supplies of Provisions, marched himself out of his Camp, to collect in the Fields, the Corn he designed for *Capua*.

DURING his Absence, two thousand *Capuan* Carts arrived at the *Carthaginian* Camp, and put it into Confusion. The Carters mixed with the Soldiers, and the Peasants, who came from all the neighbouring Country, obstructed them in doing their Duty; and this Disorder was not unknown to the *Consul*. In the Evening therefore, he ordered his Troops to be got ready to attack the Enemy's Lines in the Night; marched out of *Beneventum* at three in the Morning, leaving his Baggage there; and by Break of Day, appeared before the Enemy's Camp. But as it was posted on an Eminence, he found it very difficult to take it by Assault. The *Carthaginians* defended the Approaches to their Ramparts, and fighting from the upper Ground, for some time repulsed the *Romans*, who endeavoured to climb up the Ascent. Nevertheless, the Valour of the *Romans* at length conquered this first Resistance, and the *Legionaries* made their Way through Wounds and Death, quite to the Ditch, tho' the Enemy made a terrible Slaughter of them. But then the *Consul* was grieved at the Loss of so many of his dear Soldiers, and Compassion gained the Ascendant in his Heart, over a Love of Victory. He resolved to quit the Enterprize, to spare the Blood of his Troops. And assembling his *Tribunes*, he told them, That he thought it proper to return immediately to *Beneventum*; That he would come back the next Day with his Army, and block up the Camp, to hinder *Hanno* from entering it, and the Convoy from going out of it; and That in order to be sure of reducing the Enemy, he would write to his Colleague to join him, and make that Place the Seat of the War. At which Words, he founded a Retreat.

BUT the timorous Resolution of the General was not agreeable to the *Roman* Soldiery; and he was neither heard, nor obeyed. Some *Manipuli* especially, which were already advanced quite up to one of the Gates of the Camp, could not resolve to retire. *Vibius*, who commanded these brave Men, snatched an Ensign out of the Hands of him that bore it, threw it upon the Rampart of the Besieged, and then cried out with a strong Voice; *Let me and my Companions become the Curse of all Men, if we do not take the Roman Standard out of the Enemy's Hands!* This Battalion wholly consisted of *Peligni*, that is, *Latin* Soldiers, whose Intrepidity was known. They crossed the Ditch after *Vibius*, mounted the Rampart, and by their Boldness, encouraged the whole *Cohort*. Then the *Consul*, surprised

prized at this unexpected Sight, spake another Language, and exhorted his Troops to carry on the Assault. The Danger of the *Pelignian* Battalion, was a strong Motive to the rest to follow, and assist it; and they advanced, without considering the Danger. They climbed up the Rampart; and nothing now appears steep or difficult to these brave Men. Neither Arrows nor Darts terrify them; neither Blows nor Wounds stop them. They bleed till they faint, yet still labour to go on, and die on the Enemy's Ground. Such Force have Example and Emulation on generous Minds! In short, the *Consular* Army took the *Carthaginian* Camp in as little time as if it had been pitched on flat Ground, and unguarded.

THE Action was now nothing but a mere Butchery. Soldiers, Carters, and Peasants, were all put to the Sword, without Distinction. Above six thousand were killed, and about seven thousand Soldiers made Prisoners. The Booty was immensely great; Corn, Forrage, Carts, and Horses, were all seized by the Conqueror. Nor was this all; *Hanno's* Effects, the Utensils of the *Carthaginians*, and whatever they had brought from the neighbouring Countries, all fell a Prey to the *Roman* Soldiers. But the General did not immediately distribute it among them. He returned to *Beneventum*, after he had levelled the Entrenchments of the Enemy, and there waited for his Colleague, whom he had sent for.

AFTER the Arrival of *Appius*, the military Rewards were distributed. *Vibius*, and one *T. Pedanius*, were most distinguished. The latter was a *Centurion* of the *Principes* of the third *Legion*; and the Example of *Vibius*, and the Exhortations of one of the *Tribunes* of his *Legion*, encouraged him likewise to make an Assault upon the Camp. As a *Roman*, he was ashamed to give way to a *Latin*, in Point of Valour: and therefore he likewise threw a Standard on the Enemy's Ramparts, and incited his *Legion* to go and take it from the *Carthaginians*. By that means, the Camp was assaulted on two Sides, and carried by Force; and the two brave Men were rewarded, as they deserved, at the Head of the two *Consular* Armies.

§. XI. As for *Hanno*, he had nothing to do, after the Loss of his Camp, but to return into the Country of the *Bruttii*. Of all his Army, he had only a few Horse left, which served him for a Guard. He led them as far as to ¹⁵ *Cominium*, a City of the *Hirpini*, through By-Roads, rather like a Man who fled, than a General who made an honourable Retreat; and it is impossible to express the Consternation, into which the Absence of *Hanno*, and the taking of the *Carthaginian* Camp, threw the *Capuans*. For a voluptuous City, to sink from Delicacies and Plenty, into Want and Famine, was the most terrible Calamity. It was therefore necessary to send a second Deputation to *Hannibal*, who was still engaged, near *Tarentum*, in the Blockade of the Citadel.

THE Tranquillity he enjoyed on the Banks of the *Galesus*, was very suitable to the Inclinations he had imbibed at *Capua*. He was there waiting quietly for the Surrender of the Castle, which he would fain have starved out, and which cost him neither Assaults nor Battels. But he was still divided between *Capua* and *Tarentum*, and heard the Complaints of the *Capuans*. The Deputies represented to him, in a very lively manner, the Danger to which his best loved City would soon be reduced; and said, *The Consuls are at Beneventum, which is but one Day's March from us. So that the Enemy is in a manner at our Gates. If you don't hasten to our Relief, the Romans will take Capua from you, with more Expedition than they did Arpi. Not Tarentum itself, and much less its Citadel, ought to be judged of such Consequence, as to make you neglect the Interests of a City, which may be compared with Carthage herself.*

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.
Val. Max. B.
3. c. 2.
Livy, B. 25.
c. 14.

¹⁵ We have spoken, Vol. 2. of an ancient City of *Cominium*, situated on the Eastern Borders of *Samnium*, towards the South, or in *Hirpinia*, near the *Taurisian* Fields. By which we proved, against *Scipio Mazella*, that it was not the same Place as *Comino*, a little Village, where some Geographers place the Ruins of another *Cominium*. The latter stood on the Confines of *Samnium*, of the Country of the *Volsi*, and of that of the *Marfi*. The first, which is here spoken of, was distinguished

from the second, by the additional Name of *Caritum*. *Livy* calls it so, B. 25. An Appellation some Moderns derive from a neighbouring City called *Caritum*, situated in the Canton of the *Samnites*. They say, there are yet some Traces of the latter, found in the Place called *Gerito*, on the Confines of *Terra di Lavoro*, of *The Further Principality*, and of *The County of Molise*, on the right Side of the *Tamarus*, or *Tamaro*, a little River, which runs into the *Calor*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

BUT tho' this Discourse affected the *Carthaginian* General, it was no eas matter to induce him to move. He promised the Deputies, he would take care of *Capua*; but said that at present, he could only send them a Detachment of two thousand Horse, to prevent the *Romans* laying their Plains waste.

NEVERTHELESS, the *Romans* were so vigilant, that they frustrated *Hannibal's* Expectations, of reducing the Citadel of *Tarentum* by Famine. As soon as the Condition of the Place was known at *Rome*, the *Prætor Cornelius* sent his Lieutenant General, *C. Servilius*, in all haste to *Hetruria*, with Orders to get together as many Provisions as he could, embark them, and convey them to the Port of *Tarentum*. The Convoy arrived safe, forced its Way through the Barrier of the *Tarentine* Galleys, and stocked the Citadel with fresh Provisions. This was indeed a very seasonable Relief. The Besiegers were so fully convinced, that *Livius* could not long subsist in his Castle, that they already solicited the *Romans* to desert. The Garrison of the Citadel had been increased, all the *Roman* Soldiers who guarded *Metapontus*, having had Orders to repair thither; and this made so great a Consumption of Provisions.

§. XII. BUT this Convoy from *Hetruria* filled the Citadel with Plenty; and then the *Romans* were in a Condition to invite the *Tarentini*, to come and live at ease with them. Indeed *Hannibal* received some Advantage, by the Evacuation of *Metapontus*: That City, as soon as evacuated by the *Romans*, surrendered itself up to the *Carthaginians*. The former willingly sacrificed it to the Preservation of a more important Citadel: and the Inhabitants of *Thurium* followed the Example of the *Metapontini*, and with more reason. Some of the Hostages the *Romans* had condemned to die were *Thurians*; and the Resentment of their Fellow-Citizens was as great as that of the *Tarentini*. So that *Hannibal* now only made Conquests, by a proper Use of critical Conjunctions. He owed his present Success more to his Negotiations, or the Faults of his Enemies, than to his Arms. So much was he unlike himself! The *Thurians* entered into a private Treaty with the *Carthaginians*; and *Mago* was called from *Bruttium*, to take Possession of their City. Nevertheless, there was a *Roman* Garrison in *Thurii*, commanded by a *Roman* named *M. Atinius*, who was brave; but fiery, and inconsiderate. Notwithstanding the Discontents of the Inhabitants, *Atinius* had formed a Body of Troops out of the *Thurians*, and pretended to employ them against the Enemy, if he appeared in the Neighbourhood of their ¹⁶ City. *Hanno* soon advanced towards it with a Body of *Carthaginian* Infantry; whilst *Mago*, the General of the Horse, lay in Ambuscade behind the Hills, out of Sight of the *Romans*, whom he expected to make a Sally.

AND then, *Atinius* soon exposed his little Army, consisting of his *Roman* Garrison, and the Levies he had made in *Thurium*. The imprudent Governor knew nothing either of the Ambuscade *Mago* had prepared for him, or of the Treachery of those he led into the Field; till the first Attack he made on *Hanno's* Battalions discovered it. His *Romans* indeed did their Duty in the first Line. But the *Thurians* were rather Spectators of the Fight, than Parties in it, and seemed to wait for the Decision, to determine them what to do. Nevertheless, the *Romans* vigorously pushed the *Carthaginian* Infantry, which designedly retired, on purpose to draw *Atinius* near their Cavalry which lay in Ambush. Then *Mago* immediately left his secret Post, and fell on the *Romans* with a great Shout; upon which the treacherous *Thurians* fled. They had made but an ill Appearance in the first Attack; and the Sight of the Cavalry put them to the Rout, and they all took the Road to their City. What therefore could the *Romans* do, who were deserted on one Side, and on the other, surrounded with the *Carthaginian* Infantry and Cavalry! They fought for some time like Men desperate; afterwards gave way, and returned towards *Thurium*; and then the Treachery of the *Thurians* more fully appeared. They let their Countrymen into the City, but shut the Gates against the *Romans*; under pretence that they were afraid the *Carthaginians* who followed them, would enter their City with them, and take it by Assault. By this means, the unfortunate *Romans* were left without Refuge, exposed to the Darts of their Enemies; and few escaped the Slaughter. But *Atinius* avoided the Death

¹⁶ See what we have said of the Origin and Situation of the City of *Thurium*, anciently called *Sybaris*, Vol. 2.

he had deserved. He was first received into the City, more out of regard to his Person, than Affection to his Republick; and was afterwards sent away in a Bark. He had governed the *Thurians* with Mildness; and they therefore suffered him to take Refuge among them. But his Presence raised a Division among the Citizens, for some time; and the Dispute was carried even to Sedition. Some were for preserving the City for the *Romans*; others for delivering it up to the *Carthaginians*, and submitting to the Power of the Conquerors; and the latter prevailing, *Thurium* received a *Carthaginian* Garrison.

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

§. XIII. HOWEVER, the Advantages gained by *Hannibal*, in the East of *Italy*, did not hinder the *Consuls* from entering the Territory of *Capua*; and that not only with Design to lay it waste, and increase the Famine in the City, but likewise to besiege it in form. They left *Beneventum*, full of Hopes of signaling their *Consulship* by so fine a Conquest. They thought it a Shame to the Republick, that a City so near *Rome* should be suffered to continue '7 five Years in a Revolt, without any Attempt to recover it. Whilst *Hannibal* was in the Neighbourhood, it would have been rash to attack it; but now, the *Carthaginian* was at a great Distance, and his faithful *Hanno* had lately received a Repulse, almost in sight of *Capua*. The time was past, when the *Romans* were obliged to avoid the formidable Cavalry of the *Carthaginians*, and keep their Armies on Eminencies, to avoid coming to a Battel. *Hannibal* had conquered himself in *Capua*, and *Marcellus* had taught the *Romans* that he was not invincible. All these Considerations therefore made the *Consuls* venture upon the Siege of that City.

BUT after all, the *Consuls* did not think their two united Armies strong enough to withstand the whole Power of the *Carthaginians*. They foresaw, that as soon as the Siege should be begun, *Hannibal* would leave every thing else, and they should have all the *Carthaginian* Forces dispersed about in the Neighbourhood of *Tarentum*, and in *Bruttium*, to cope with. And therefore, to prevent *Hannibal* from making himself Master of *Beneventum*, which they were obliged to evacuate, and in order to guard the Country against the formidable Cavalry of the Enemy, they thought it proper to order the brave *Sempronius Gracchus* likewise, who was making War in *Lucania* with the Title of *Pro-Consul*, to draw near to *Capua*. Accordingly *Gracchus*, upon the first Orders, prepared to set out with his Cavalry, and his light-armed Infantry of *Volones*, which he had formed to Arms, and who had signaled themselves under his Command, in several Actions; and had already named a Successor to cover *Lucania*, with the few Troops he was to leave behind him. So that *Sempronius* had now nothing to do but to reconcile the Gods to him, before his Departure. To this End he offered Sacrifices to them; and, if we believe some superstitious Historians, the *Auspices* found nought but fatal Prognosticks in the Entrails of their Victims, and cautioned the *Pro-Consul* against the evil Counsels of false Friends. But whatever becomes of the Prediction, (for nothing is more common than to insert wonderful Incidents in Accounts of the tragical Fates of Great Men) we must conclude, that *Sempronius* did not believe the Diviners; since he suffered himself to be deceived by the flattering Hopes which an Impostor gave him.

LUCANIA was then divided into two Factions, one for the *Romans*, and the other for the *Carthaginians*. Among the chief of the *Roman* Party, there was a *Lucanian* named *Flavius*, who had long appeared zealous in the *Roman* Cause; and the Sincerity of his Friendship for *Rome* was not suspected. But he turned all on a sudden, and inclined to the *Carthaginian* Interest. He entered into a Correspondence with *Mago*, had a private Interview with him, and obtained a Promise of him, That *Lucania* should be entirely free, if he could find Means to shake off the *Roman* Yoke. The most ready Way to this, was to kill the *Pro-Consul*. It was their Attachment to him only, that made his *Volones* faithful to *Rome*, and invincible. Besides, *Flavius* thought the Head of *Sempronius* would be a very acceptable Present to *Hannibal*; and hoped to gain himself great Credit among his new Friends, by so important a Piece of Service; and therefore the

¹⁷ *Livy* reckons but three Years from the Revolt of *Capua*. But it is plain, that he ought to have reckoned five. This City went over to the *Carthaginians* in the Year of *Rome* 536; and consequently, from that Year to the Year 541, must have been five Years.

Year of Traitor made it his Business to abuse the Confidence the *Pro-Consul* placed in him, *ROME* to his Ruin.

DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.
Livy, B. 25.
c. 16.

HE accosted the *Roman* General with that Air of Zeal for the Interests of *Rome*, which he had always put on, and told him, that before he left *Lucania*, he would fain procure him the Glory of having united all the Hearts of his Countrymen, in favour of the Republick. *But this great Design*, said he, *cannot be compassed without your Assistance. I have indeed long and maturely considered it, and have at last brought it to bear. And as for you, it will only cost you a Conference with the chief Heads of the Lucani. Their Interests are not the same now as formerly. Rome is not on the same Foot, as immediately after her great Loss at Cannæ. Her most faithful Allies then deserted her; now, her Successes are continually bringing back those, who then swam with the Stream. They have likewise been since convinced that Rome is not inexorable. No Republick, say they among themselves, ever shewed so great an Inclination to Pardon; our Fathers have more than once experienced, that Repentance will pacify her after grievous Offences. Seize then, my Lord, this happy Opportunity of accomplishing their unexpected Return. The Chiefs of my Nation desire to meet you privately, in a solitary Place, pretty near the Roman Camp, and there enter into a Treaty with you. Hear their Supplications, and regain the Republick the Hearts of those Men, whom the Necessity of the Times alienated from her.*

It was no uncommon thing for the illustrious *Romans* to be off their Guard in Things wherein the publick Welfare was not immediately concerned. As for their Persons, they profusely and bravely sacrificed them to the Interests of their Country. And thus *Sempronius*, judging of the Sincerity of the *Lucanian* by his own, thought all he said probable. Magnanimity is never suspicious: And he therefore went to the Place appointed, attended only with his *Lictors*, and a small Guard of Horse. But he was scarce arrived there, before he found himself surrounded with *Carthaginian* Troops. *Mago* in Person, with a great Body of Foot and Horse, had hid himself behind the Hills, waiting for the Victim the perfidious *Lucanian* brought him; and, to the *Pro-Consul's* great Surprize, *Flavius* that Moment went over to the Enemy. A Shower of Darts were thrown at *Sempronius* and his Troop, and the *Pro-Consul* cried out, *We are betrayed, and must die. Let us then at least signalize the last of our Days with a Valour worthy of Rome! Let us turn all our Arms against the Traitor, and send him to the infernal Regions before us!* This said, *Sempronius* instantly dismounted, wrapped his left Arm in his *Paludamentum*, or *Consular* Cloak, (for neither he nor any Person with him had brought a Buckler) and rushed on towards the Enemy Sword in hand. But the *Carthaginians* would not suffer him to approach them. The *Romans* were at the Bottom, their Enemies at the Top of the Hills, and the latter wounded them with their Darts, at a great Distance. All their Care was to save the *Pro-Consul*, and take him alive. But the brave General found Means to make it necessary for the Enemy to kill him. He saw *Flavius* in the midst of a *Carthaginian* Squadron, ran towards the Traitor, and made so great a Slaughter, that the Enemy found it necessary to kill the *Pro-Consul*, to prevent his shedding a great deal of their Blood. And thus perished one of the bravest Generals of the Republick, at a time when she abounded with Great Men.

§. XIV. *SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS* had been twice *Consul*; and from the time of his last *Consulship* had been continued in the Command of those *Volones* whom he had formed to War. Both in the City and Camp, it was always a Question, whether he had most Prudence, or most Valour. A Man truly worthy of being remembered in all Ages, and who fell little short of the *Fabii*, the *Marcelli*, and the *Scipio's*. Historians indeed differ about the Place where he lost his Life; some saying that it was at *Beneventum*; and That he stained the Banks of ¹⁸ the *Calor* with his Blood. But others, with more Probability, affirm, that he was killed in *Lucania*, in the ¹⁹ Manner we have related. The Body of this Great Man was carried to *Hannibal's* Camp; and the *Carthaginian*, inhuman as he otherwise

¹⁸ The *Calor*, a River of *Samnium*, still retains its first Name, in that of *Calore*. It runs into the River *Sabbato*, near *Benevento*.

¹⁹ The most common Opinion is, that *Tiberius Sempronius* perished in those Plains of *Lucania* which *Livy* calls *The Ancient Plains, Veteres Campi*: And this

wife was, could not help shewing Marks of Esteem for the Brave *Sempronius*. He erected a Funeral-Pile for him, at the Gate of his Camp; and the Cavalry of his Army made their Evolutions round it, in Honour to the Deceased. The Spanish Infantry in the *Carthaginian* Army danced near the Pile, after their Country-manner, to celebrate his Obsequies; and did Honour to the Virtues of an Enemy, in the Person of *Sempronius* 20.

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS,
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

WITH

this Author observes, That *Mago* ordered the Body of this Great Man to be carried to the *Carthaginian* General, with the *Consular Fasces* which the Enemy had seized. But he adds, that some thought that *Sempronius* lost his Life in the Territory of *Benevento*. According to them, *Sempronius*, attended only by his *Lictors*, and three Slaves, walked to the *Calor* and washed himself; and a Body of Enemies, who were hid under the Willows, by the Side of the River, took the Opportunity of his being naked, and not in a Condition to defend himself, and killed him with the Flints they found on the Bank of the River. Others, says the same Author, have written, that he was killed five hundred Paces from the *Roman* Camp, by two Companies of *Numidians*, who accidentally happened to lie in Ambush there. They surprized the *Consul*, according to these Writers, offering an expiatory Sacrifice in the open Field, by the Advice of his *Auspices*, in order to avert the Effects of the Prefages which these Ministers said they had discovered in the Entrails of the slain Victims. Nor are Authors less divided about the Place and Order of his Funeral. Those who make him to have died on the Banks of the *Calor*, say, That the Enemy carried his Head to *Hannibal*, who sent *Carthalo* with it to the *Quaestor Cneius Cornelius*; and, That the latter paid the last Offices to the *Roman* General, the People of *Benevento* joining with the Army in celebrating his Obsequies. But *Livy* himself, after he has mentioned all these different Opinions, acknowledges that the Account we have given in the Text, was most conformable to the Historians, and the Tradition that prevailed in his Time.

20 *Livy* tells us, that the *Romans*, who were in a Confection ever since the deplorable Death of *Sempronius*, met with no better a Fate in *Campania*. The *Consuls*, *Quintus Fulvius*, and *Appius Claudius*, resolving to lay this powerful Country waste, led their Army thither. The greatest Part of their Soldiers, whom a Greediness of Booty had dispersed in the Plain, were all on a sudden invested by *Mago's* Cavalry, and a Company of *Capuans*. The Confusion that this sudden Attack produced was such, that the *Romans* could not form themselves, and therefore had no Refuge but in Flight. The Enemy pursued them; and they lost fifteen hundred Men, before they could reach the main Bodies of the two *Consular* Armies. This Success puffed up the *Capuans* with Pride; and they, naturally a bold People, made Sallies every Day, to harass the *Consuls*, even in their Entrenchments. Nay, they ventured to challenge them to give Battel. But *Fulvius* and *Appius* despised these Bravadoes. This rash Enterprize had cost them dear already; and they did not think it proper, in their present Situation, to expose their Troops to the Hazard of a Battel.

Nevertheless, says *Livy*, the *Romans* did not neglect to make the best Use of an Event, which had nothing considerable in it, except the Singularity of its Circumstances. In War, the most trivial Things sometimes prove of Importance, by the Effects they produce. And thus the following Adventure, had at least these happy Consequences, that it raised the Courage of the *Legions*, and abated the Pride of the *Capuans*.

Titus Quinctius Crispinus, a *Roman* by Birth, and *Badius*, a Citizen of *Capua*, were united to one another by a strict and tender Friendship. *Badius* having fallen sick at *Rome*, before the Revolt of his

Countrymen, had then found *Crispinus* very ready to assist him, and offer him all the Accommodations of a friendly Hospitality. But *Badius's* Rage against *Rome* now prevailed over his Duty and his Gratitude. He hated *Crispinus*, because he was a *Roman*; and resolved to destroy him. With this Design he went to the *Consul's* Camp, and desired a Centinel to bring *Crispinus* to him. The *Roman*, who had no Suspicion of the Treachery of *Badius*, came; expecting nothing from the Interview, but the Pleasure of seeing an old Friend. Tho' their national Interests were different, he could not think that a Dissolution of their Friendship, and therefore expected the same Reception from the *Campanian* here, as he had given him at *Rome*. But, to his great Surprise, the treacherous *Capuan* proudly declared, that the Design of his coming was to fight him. I challenge you, *Crispinus*, said *Badius*, let us mount our Horses, and try our Strength in the Sight of the two Armies; and let the Death of one or the other, shew which has most Bravery. What! replied *Crispinus*, have not we Enemies enough to fight with? Alas! let us rather shew our Courage against them. There are other People enough for us to beat, and to furnish us with ample Matter of Glory. But let us not aim to destroy one another. No; it shall never be said, that, in Defiance of the sacred Rights of Hospitality, I have dipped my Hands in the Blood of a Man, who is become dear to me on so many Accounts. I am concerned for your Life; so far am I from attempting any thing against it, that I would freely throw away my own to save it. Even in the Heat of a Battel I should have a Regard for you, on account of our former Friendship. But as *Crispinus* was about to return to the Camp, *Badius*, with an insulting Air, accused him of Cowardice. You are afraid; said he, and your Fear furnishes you with frivolous Pretences to avoid fighting. If the mutual Hatred of *Rome* and *Capua*, are not sufficient to break the Bands which tie you to me, or if the Fear of violating the Duties of Friendship restrain you, Know, I glory in hating you. I disavow my former Sentiments, in the Face of the two Armies. The Times are changed. My Zeal for the Interests of *Carthage*, ought to satisfy you that I hate you. I shall henceforward always consider you only as an unworthy Rival; the sworn Enemy of my Country, and our Gods. Let not then vain Scruples restrain you! If you dare, Accept the Challenge I give you. And these Insults therefore provoked the proud *Roman*. *Crispinus*, being pressed on by those who were present at the Interview, not to let such an Affront pass unpunished, no longer hesitated about complying with the repeated Instances of the mad *Capuan*. He only desired Leave to ask the Consent of his Generals, to whom he was accountable for his Conduct. The *Consuls* give him Leave to fight; and stir him up to Revenge. He takes his Arms, mounts on Horseback, and flies to the Place appointed. There he calls *Badius* by his Name; and the *Capuan* instantly appears on the Field of Battel. The two Champions ride full Speed at each other, fight, give each other repeated Blows, and the Victory soon declares for *Crispinus*. He runs *Badius* through the left Shoulder, over his Buckler, and he falls from his Horse. *Crispinus* immediately dismounts to dispatch him; but *Badius* leaves his Buckler and Horse behind him, and escapes to his own Party. *Crispinus* shews the Spoils of the Vanquished, and thereby proclaims his Shame, and his

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

WITH respect to the *Romans*, the Loss of this Great Officer a little disconcerted the *Consuls* Project of besieging *Capua*. They hoped that *Sempronius* would greatly help to secure the *Consular* Armies, when before the Place, by his Vigilance and Valour; and, to complete the Misfortune, the *Pro-Consul's* Army disbanded, upon the

his Defeat; and as a Proof of the Advantage the former had gained, he likewise holds up his Lance, stained with the Blood of *Badius*. The generous *Roman* is led to the Camp in Triumph, and is there received with the Acclamations of all the Army. The *Consuls* highly commend him, and order him the Rewards due to his Valour.

Hannibal having been informed of the March of the *Consuls* into *Campania*, had left the Territory of *Benevento*, to lead his Army towards *Capua*. Three Days after his Arrival, he drew up his Men in Order of Battel. The late Advantage gained by the *Capuans*, and *Mago's* Cavalry, made him promise himself the Defeat of the two *Consuls*. If, said he, a Subaltern could beat the Roman Legions without me; what may not we expect, when they have a whole Army to contend with, which under my Conduct has gained as many Victories as I have fought Battels? And indeed, as soon as *Hannibal* had sounded a Charge, the *Romans* being vigorously pressed by the *African* Cavalry, began to give way, upon the first Onset. Being overwhelmed with a Shower of Darts, they retired on all Sides, and lost Ground, when by Order of the *Consuls*, the *Roman* Cavalry began to move. Then all the Squadrons together briskly attacked the Wings of the *Carthaginian* Army, and almost the whole Action was between the Horse. Both Parties fought with great Ardour; and whilst they were zealously contending for the Victory, the Army which the Republick had committed to the Conduct of *Sempronius*, appeared on the Eminencies. Since the Death of this *Pro-Consul*, it had been commanded by the *Quæstor Cneius Cornelius*. The *Carthaginian* General was concerned at this Sight, and thought that these new Troops were coming to assist the *Consuls*; whilst the latter, who only saw the Reinforcement at a Distance, were afraid it was coming to increase *Hannibal's* Army. In this Uncertainty therefore, both Armies were alarmed. So that both Generals, as it were by Consent, founded a Retreat. The two Armies left the Field of Battel, and retired to their Camps with almost equal Advantage, except that the *Romans* lost a greater Number of Soldiers at the first Onset.

Then the *Consuls*, who had no other Design but to force *Hannibal* to leave the Territory of *Capua*, came to a Resolution to divide their Army into two Parts, to thwart the Projects of the *Carthaginian* General. They separated the Night following, and *Fulvius* took the Road to *Cumæ*; whilst *Appius* led his Troops into *Lucania*.

Hannibal, being informed of the Design and Marches of the two Generals, resolved to pursue one of them; but was long in doubt which to follow. At length, he resolved to pursue *Appius* closely with all his Army. But as cunning as the *Carthaginian* was, *Appius* out-witted him. The *Consul*, by feigned Marches, kept him always in Motion; and was pleased with sporting with his Activity, and disconcerting all his Measures. After he had led him on a great while in different Routs, the *Consul* designedly retired into private Ways, to deceive the *Carthaginian*. And then, he all on a sudden turned about towards the Side of *Capua*, and posted his Troops within sight of the City.

Thus *Hannibal* had been disappointed of his Aim, by the Prudence of *Appius*; but *Marcus Centenius's* Rashness gave him the Opportunity he wanted. This *Roman*, who was surnamed *Pannula*, was a considerable Man among the *Censurions* of the first Class. Being as formidable for his Valour, as his gigantick Stature, he had gained himself some Glory in the Armies; and he was yet very anxiously desirous of

signalizing himself by some very remarkable Action, tho' he had already served all the Years the Republick required. He therefore applied himself to the *Prætor Publius Cornelius Sylla*, and communicated to him his Design against *Hannibal*. This Magistrate introduced him into the Senate, where he appeared before the Senators with a great Air of Confidence, and spoke thus: *I know Hannibal well; and shall find it easy to overcome him. I will employ some of those Snares and Artifices against him, which he has often used to surprize our Generals. He has just now brought his Troops into Lucania; a Country with which I am well acquainted. Give me only five thousand Men, and I will make short Work with him. Be assured, I will repay the Carthaginians all the Mischiefs they have done us.*

The Senate were imposed on by these indiscreet Promises; and did not consider, that the Valour which is useful in close Fights, becomes a pernicious Rashness, in great Enterprizes, unless seconded by Prudence! *Centenius* had all the Talents of a private Soldier; but he wanted those of a General. Nevertheless, he obtained more than he asked. The Senators assigned him four thousand *Legionaries*, and as many *Auxiliaries*. Upon the Road several Volunteers joined him; and his Army was now almost doubled, since he left *Rome*. Thus, giddy with his own Projects, he arrived in *Lucania*, where *Hannibal* had halted, after he had in vain followed the Steps of *Claudius*. *Centenius* posted himself over-against the Enemy; and both Armies were formed. But the Success was far from answering the flattering Expectations of the rash *Roman*. What could be hoped for, from the fiery Valour of a private *Centurion*, against the Prudence and Activity of the Conqueror of *Italy*? Undisciplined Soldiers, for the most part raised in Haste, and weakly armed, could not long sustain the Attacks of a well-disciplined Army, used to Conquest. *Centenius* was sensible, when it was too late, that he had to do with a formidable Enemy, who joined all the Abilities of the General, to the Bravery of the Soldier. However, tho' the Contest was unequal, it is nevertheless true, that the *Romans*, who were over-powered with Numbers, found a Resource in their Despair. The Battel lasted two Hours, and not a Man lost Ground, whilst their Head animated them with his own Example. But at length, after he had considered of the Slaughter of his Men, *Centenius* despaired of the Victory. Being therefore forced to give way to a victorious Army, he called to mind his past Glory, the Vanity of his Promises, the Reproaches he must bear, if he survived the Shame of being overcome; and being uneasy under these Reflections, he threw himself into the midst of the Enemy's Battalions, and was soon after cut in pieces. Then the *Romans* whom the Sword had spared in the Heat of Battel, dispersed, and fled. But *Hannibal's* Cavalry had seized all the Passes. So that scarce a thousand Men escaped; the rest either perished with Hunger, or were slain by the Sword.

Whilst *Hannibal* was busy in *Lucania*, the *Consuls Quintus Fulvius*, and *Appius Claudius*, had invested *Capua*, and were preparing to begin the Siege of this City. With this View, they had taken care to bring to their Camp in different Carriages, all the Ammunition and Provisions that were necessary for an Enterprize of this Importance. As they were in Possession of *Casilinum*, a City near *Capua*, they fixed their Magazines of Provisions, for the Subistence of the Army, there. At the same time, the Men worked hard to repair the Walls of a Port, which *Fabius* had built at the Mouth of the *Pulturna*.

the Death of their Commander. The *Volones* thought themselves discharged from their military Oaths, when they had lost this great Man, for whom alone they had so much Respect, as to honour him more as their Father, than as their General.

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.

§. XV. Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consul.

Afterwards a City was built in that Place, and bore the Name of the River that watered it. The *Consuls* took care to provide this Place with a good Garrison. By the Help of it, the *Romans* were Masters of the Sea, and of the River, below *Capua*. By this Precaution, the two *Roman* Generals shut up all the Passages on that Side, and forced the *Besieged* to subsist without the Succours of Men and Provisions, which they might have received by Sea, in case of need. That the *Besiegers* might not want Provisions, the Corn lately arrived from *Sardinia*, and that which the *Prætor Marcus Junius* had bought in *Æturia*, was embarked at the Port of *Ostia*, and from thence transported to the maritime Places which belonged to the *Romans*.

Hannibal was not ignorant of all these Motions, and considered seriously how to relieve a City, on the Preservation of which, his Glory, and the Progress of his Arms in *Italy*, so much depended. But whether he judged that *Capua* did not yet want his Presence, or whether he thought that a new Enterprize would surprize the *Consuls*, and give a Diversion to the Army of the *Besiegers*, he for some time delayed complying with the repeated Instances of the *Capuans*, who had more than once implored his Assistance. The Advantage he had just gained against *Centenius*, made him promise himself Success against *Cneius Fulvius* in a second Battel. This *Prætor* commanded an Army in *Apulia*. Fortune called *Hannibal* thither; and there offered him a favourable Opportunity, which he should never recover, if he suffered it to escape him; or rather *Fulvius* himself, by his Imprudence, paved the Way for the Success which the *Carthaginian* General expected.

Some *Apulians* had stolen out of their own Country, to inform *Hannibal* of the Situation of the *Prætor's* Army. *Fulvius* had indeed conducted it with Prudence, in the Reduction of the Cities which had deserted the Republick, and gone over to the *Carthaginians*. But since that time, these Troops being fluffed with their Success, and loaded with Spoil, thought of nothing but enjoying the Fruits of their Labours. The Licentiousness which had been introduced into the Camp, had banished all military Discipline from thence. The Soldiers, left to their own Wills, had shaken off all Subjection, and no longer knew the Voices of their Commanders. They were drowned in Pleasures, and had lost the Habit of enduring Restraints and Fatigues. The General himself connived at these Disorders, and authorized them by his Supineness. This Account of the *Apulians* made an Impression on *Hannibal*. He had found, by late, as well as former happy Experience, what Troops, commanded * by an unexperienced General, are; and these happy Circumstances determined him to turn towards *Apulia*. The *Prætor Fulvius*, and the *Roman Legions*, were then encamped near *Herdonea*. Upon the News of the Approach of *Hannibal's* Army, *Fulvius's* Soldiers crowded round the military Ensigns; and were going to take them up, and march against the Enemy, without the General's * Orders: nor did any thing prevent them, so much as their Assurance, that they could do it when they pleased.

The Night following, *Hannibal* perceived the Disorder and Disturbance which reigned in the *Roman* Camp. He was told, that most of the *Legionaries* spread the Alarm on all Sides, and offered Violence to *Fulvius*, to force him to give the Signal for the Battel. This Disagreement between the General and his Soldiers, favoured the Designs of the *Carthaginian*, who knew how to make his Advantage of it; and he, from that time, depended on the Victory. The better to secure it, he posted three thou-

sand light-armed Men, in the Huts in the Neighbourhood, and in the Bushes; with Orders to appear all at once, and fall briskly on the *Romans*, as soon as the Action should be begun. And *Mago*, at the Head of two thousand Men, was commanded to seize all the Passages, through which the Fugitives would probably endeavour to escape; and thereby prevent it.

After these Dispositions, *Hannibal* appeared in Order of Battel, by Break of Day: and *Fulvius* was not long after him. He was forced to give way to the blind Impetuosity of his Soldiers; and he seemed to foresee his Defeat. In the meantime, his Troops, in order to prepare for the Battel, marched out of the Camp in a tumultuous manner, and with Precipitation. They ranged themselves without any Design, purely according to their Fancies; and soon after, they left their first Places, and went to others which they liked better, or thought more convenient, or less exposed to the Enemy. In this Tumult, it was not possible for them to conform themselves to the Rules constantly observed by the *Romans* in forming their Armies. The *Tribunes* in vain cried out, That the first *Legion*, and the Left Wing, made too great a Front; and That for want of being better supported, and having Depth enough, they would infallibly be broken. They in vain exhorted the Soldiers to close and multiply their Ranks. The untractable Men were deaf to these Remonstrances, and observed no Rules but the Dictates of their own Rashness and Impetuosity. So that the Defeat of a Body so disunited in all its Parts, cost *Hannibal's* Army but little Pains.

The *Carthaginians* had no sooner proclaimed the first Onset by their Shouts, but the Victory declared itself. The *Romans*, seized with a sudden Pannick, began to give way; and *Fulvius* had *Centenius's* Faults, without his Intrepidity. Upon seeing his Troops in Disorder, he also resolved to fly. He mounts an Horse, rides away full stretch with about two hundred Troopers, and like a Coward, abandons his Army to the Mercy of the Enemy. Being attacked in Front, Flank, and Rear, it was overpowered on all Sides, and the greatest Part of it fell by the Sword. In this horrible Massacre, of the eighteen thousand Men of which the *Roman* Army consisted, not above two thousand at most escaped the Slaughter: and after this complete Victory, the Enemy marched directly to the *Roman* Camp, and made themselves Master of it, with as little Difficulty.

The News of these two Victories gained by *Hannibal*, immediately upon one another, spread Terror and Consternation in *Rome*. Nevertheless, the Success of the two *Consular* Armies before *Capua*, diminished the Concern of the Republick. The Senate comforted themselves under their Losses with the Hopes of repairing them; and at the same time, sent *Caius Lætorius*, and *Marcus Metilius*, to the two *Consuls*. The Design of the Deputation was, to desire these two Generals to get the Remains of the Troops of *Centenius*, and *Cneius Fulvius*, gathered together; lest the Fugitives, driven by Fear or Despair, should surrender themselves up to the Conqueror, as it had happened, after the unfortunate Battel of *Canna*. The Senate likewise particularly required of the *Consuls*, that they would, with all possible Diligence, collect together the *Volones*, who after the Death of *Sempronius*, had abandoned their Colours; and according to these Orders, some Persons were sent into the Country to pick up these scattered Remains, and all was executed according to the Intention of the Senate.

But the new Victories of *Hannibal*, in *Lucania* and

* *Livy*, B. 25.
c. 20.

* *Livy*, B. 25.
c. 21.

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 25.
c. 32.

§. XV. AND to all these Misfortunes, succeeded another, on the Side of *Spain*, which threw the Republick into a Consternation. News was brought to *Rome*, that both the *Scipio's* were dead. These illustrious Generals both perished one after another, in the Space of one Month; and the Circumstances of the Story gave the *Romans* great Concern. We have already observed, that the two Brothers, *Publius* and *Cneius*, had began the Campaign with forming a Design for putting an end to the War in *Spain*, and leaving *Asdrubal* out of a Condition to carry an Army into *Italy*, to *Hannibal's* Assistance. Their Design in harrassing the *Carthaginians* so long on the other Side the *Pyrenees*, had been to find them Employment enough there, to prevent their passing the *Alpes*. And at length, they thought the time come for weakening *Carthage* so much beyond ²¹ *The Streights of Gades*, as should leave her little Inclinations to send another Army after *Hannibal*, through *Gaul*. The *Scipio's* had now augmented their Forces, with thirty thousand ²² *Celtiberians*, who had formerly sold themselves to the Enemies of *Rome*; and the *Roman* Generals had reason to expect great things from their Resolution and Constancy. Nevertheless, the *Carthaginians* had such considerable Forces in *Spain*, as to have three Armies there, commanded by three Officers of Reputation. *Asdrubal* seems to have been Generalissimo, and at the Head of the most considerable Army; *Mago* commanded the second; and another *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gisco*, the third. But the two last had now united their Forces, and encamped together. *Hannibal's* Brother indeed carried on the War separately; but without removing far from his two Collegues. He first posted himself on the Banks of the ²³ *Anas*, near a City formerly known by the Name of ²⁴ *Anitorgis*; but it would be now difficult to shew its exact Situation.

THE

and *Apulia*, did not abate the Activity of the *Romans*, in pursuing the Siege of *Capua*. *Decimus Junius* was posted at the Mouth of the *Vulturnus*; and *Marcus Aurelius Cotta* commanded at *Puteoli*. Their chief Business was to supply the Besiegers with Provisions. They continually carried them to the Camp, as fast as the Corn-Vessels arrived from *Sardinia* and *Hetruria*. *Appius Claudius* was now returned, and had rejoined his Collegue, who was then busy in removing from *Casilinum* the Provisions which were necessary for carrying on the Siege. The two *Consuls* being resolved to invest *Capua*, and pursue the Attack with Vigour, had also brought thither the *Prætor Nero*, who had encamped at *Suesfula*. He came before the besieged City with all his Troops, after he had put a tolerable Garrison in the Place he left. So that *Capua* had the Efforts of three Armies to sustain at the same time. The three Generals then prepared to draw Lines of Circumvallation, and Contravallation; and raised Towers at proper Distances, to batter the City. The Inhabitants in vain endeavoured, at different Sallies, to fall upon the Workmen, and interrupt or destroy their Works: they were always repulsed with Loss. So that they had nothing to do, but to keep themselves shut up behind their Walls. Then the Extremity to which they were reduced, forced them to have recourse to *Hannibal*. The Lines of Circumvallation were not yet finished, and they took this Opportunity to send Deputies to the *Carthaginian* General, who was gone, a little time before, from *Herdonea* to the Territory of *Tarentum*. They found him near *Brundisium*. The Design he had formed of recovering the Citadel of *Tarentum*, by Artifice or Force, kept him in these Quarters. The Envoys of *Capua* told him the miserable Condition to which they should soon be reduced, if not speedily succoured; and conjured him, by the most affecting Considerations, not to abandon a City, which came to claim his Protection, after she had sacrificed every thing that was most dear to her, for his sake; but in vain. They could get nothing from *Hannibal*, but mighty Promises. He only assured them, that he would soon come in Person; and added with an Air of Confidence, That the *Romans* could not bear his Presence; and That upon the first Report of his Approach, the two *Consuls* would infallibly raise the Siege.

So that the Deputies brought nothing back to *Capua*, but vain Hopes: and upon their Return, the Avenues of the City were so well guarded, that they found great Difficulty to enter it. Some Days before, the *Consuls* had received a Letter from the *Prætor, Publius Cornelius*, informing them, that the Senate thought it proper, that they should suffer the Inhabitants to come out of the City, and carry all their Effects with them. But this Liberty was to be granted no longer than to *The Ides of March*. After that time, those who had not taken the Benefit of the Indulgence of the Senate, were declared Enemies to the Republick, and guilty of Rebellion. These Terms were therefore offered to the *Capuans*. But they were infatuated, shut their Eyes against their own Interest, and consulted only their Rage. They obstinately rejected the Offers the *Consuls* made them, and returned them only with Outrages and insolent Menaces. Thus these Madmen conspired themselves to bring on their own Destruction.

²¹ *The Streights of Gades* were also called *The Streights of Hercules*, for Reasons already mentioned. The *Greeks* called them *Porthmos*; and *Strabo* calls them *The Streights of the Pillars*, because according to an ancient Tradition, *Hercules* set up Pillars on the neighbouring Shore, in memory of his ending his Labours there. They are now called *The Streights of Gibraltar*, which join the Ocean to the *Mediterranean*. They lay between *Andalusia*, and *Mauritania Tingitana*. They are about six Leagues long, and four broad, in the narrowest Place, between the City anciently called *Calpe*, new *Gibraltar*, and Mount *Abyla*, which the *French* call *The Mount of Ape*, and the *Spaniards*, *La Sierra de las Monas*, near the City of *Centa*.

²² Some Editions of *Livy* make them but twenty thousand instead of thirty thousand.

²³ See what we have said above, of the *Anas*, a River of *Spain*, vulgarly called *La Guadiana*. This Name is also given to a River in *Andalusia*, which was on the Confines of the Kingdom of *Granada*, and runs Northward. After it has been enlarged by two other Rivers, which the *Spaniards* call *Barbate* and *Quisada*, it runs into the *Guadalquivir*.

²⁴ We find no Traces in the ancient Geographers, of the City which *Livy*, B. 25. calls *Anitorgis*. But some guess, it stood on the Banks of the *Anas*;

THE two *Roman* Generals likewise marched together, and advanced to that Year of Side, where the *Carthaginian* Generalissimo was encamped. The Design of the *R O M E* two *Scipio's* was to give him Battel, before he could receive any Succours from *Mago*, and the Son of *Gisco*. But it was to be feared, that after the Defeat of *Hannibal's* Brother, his two Collegues would take Refuge in the Mountains, and spin out the War to a great Length. Whereas the *Romans* were desirous of putting a speedy End to it; and their haste caused their Ruin. The two *Scipio's* unfortunately separated, after they had divided their Troops between them. *Publius* being *Pro-Consul*, and the eldest, took two thirds of the *Roman* Soldiers, and left his Brother only one third, with thirty thousand *Celtiberian* Auxiliaries. A very imprudent Division! the Consequences of which may teach all Generals to take care how they employ a greater Number of Foreigners in their Armies, than of those who are principally concerned in the War.

DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

PUBLIUS marched with all his *Roman* Forces towards the Post which *Mago* and his Collegue possessed, about five Days Journey from the *Roman* Camp; and this hazardous March was contrary to all Rule, and became very prejudicial to his Brother *Cneius*. He was thereby left to the Mercy of his *Celtiberians*; and *Hannibal's* Brother knew how to take Advantage of these Circumstances. He had a good Number of *Spaniards* in his Camp, who spake the same Language as the *Celtiberians* in the *Roman* Army; and he made use of them to persuade their Countrymen to desert *Cneius*, and leave him to extricate himself out of his Difficulties with his little Body of *Romans*. These Mercenaries were easily corrupted with Money, especially as more was offered them, than they could hope to get in Booty from the *Carthaginians*, in case they conquered them; and besides, there did not seem to be any thing very odious in the proposed Desertion. They were not desired so to abandon the *Romans*, as to turn their Arms against them; but only to retire into their own Country, and get more Money by their Inaction, than they could have done by hazarding Battels. Thinking therefore their Interest, Safety, and Love of their Country, sufficient Excuses for their Desertion; the Chiefs of the *Celtiberians*, in Concert with their Soldiers, prepared to leave the Camp. The small Number of *Romans* which *Cneius* had left, was too weak to resist thirty thousand *Celtiberians*; and the prudent *Scipio* in vain made use of Prayers and Intreaties to stop the Fugitives. They marched away from him, Colours flying, and left him in a melancholy Situation. His Brother *Publius* was already too far off, to be able to rejoin him; and the Camp was too destitute of Men, to be able to maintain themselves in it. His only Refuge was, to keep at a distance from the Enemy, and retire, without coming to an Engagement. *Cneius* therefore passed the River, and kept it between him and *Asdrubal's* Army, and retreated the same Way as the *Celtiberians* who had deserted him.

§. XVI. So that, tho' the Measures of the two *Scipio's* had indeed been already broken: the Affairs of *Rome* were not yet quite changed. But now, an unexpected Army, which seemed to come out of the Earth, fell suddenly on the *Pro-Consul* *Publius*, who expected to engage only with the ruined Armies of *Mago*, and the Son of *Gisco*. *Massinissa*, the Son of the King of the ²⁵ *Massylians*, after he had conquered *Syphax* in *Africa*, came all on a sudden into *Spain*, with his *Massylian* Troops, and joined the *Carthaginians*. The brave young Warrior first undertook himself alone to harraß *Publius Scipio's* Army with his *African* Cavalry, and to fatigue the *Romans*, till the whole Army of the *Carthaginians* was got together. They expected likewise the Assistance of a *Spanish* Prince, named *Indibilis*, who was to bring a Reinforcement of ²⁶ seven thousand five hundred Men, from the Country of the ²⁷ *Lacetani*, where he reigned. Indeed *Massinissa* discovered more Experience in War, than Men generally have at his Age. He beset the

Anas; and that it was from thence called *Anitorgis*. Perhaps it might be situated near *Villa Harta*, or *Villa Robligo*. Others confound it with the City of *Albarazin*.

²⁵ The *Massylians* are sufficiently known, by what we have already said of them in this Volume.

²⁶ In the twenty fifth Book of *Livy*, his Words are, *Seven thousand five hundred Suesetani*. But it is very uncertain, where these People lived. *Florian*

and *Mariana* think they were so called, from the City which *Ptolomy* mentions under the Name of *Suestasium*. This Nation, according to these two Authors, inhabited the Western Part of the Province of *Guipuscoa*. Some place the City of *Suestasium* near *Sanguisa* in *Navarre*.

²⁷ See what we have said above of the *Spaniards* called *Lacetani*.

Year of *Roman* Camp Day and Night, intercepted their Convoys, and prevented their
R O M E Parties from going to cut Wood, and fetch Forrage. He was continually
 DXLI. hovering round *Publius*, and insulting him in his Entrenchments. So that a
 Q. FULVIUS Scarcity of Provisions was soon felt by the *Romans*, who were invested, and, as
 FLACCUS, AP. it were, besieged by *Massinissa's* Troops. In this Extremity therefore, the *Pro-*
 CLAUDIUS *Consul* took a Resolution, which brought on his own Destruction, and gave a ter-
 PULCHER, rible Blow to his Republick.
 Consuls.

PUBLIUS was informed, that *Indibilis*, with his Reinforcement, was advancing with long Marches, and would join his *Spaniards* with *Massinissa's Africans*; and he therefore thought it necessary to obstruct the March of *Indibilis*, to endeavour to find him on the Road, and to fight him wherever he found him. A rash Design, at least if we judge of it by the Success! However, *Publius* marched out of his Camp in the middle of the Night, and left only a small Number of Troops in it, under the Command of ²⁸ *T. Fonteius*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals. He thought he had concealed his Departure from the *African* Horse which besieged him; but the vigilant *Massinissa* was not a Stranger to it; and followed him with his Squadrons. At length, *Publius* met *Indibilis*, and fought him; and at first the Battel had more the Air of a Skirmish, than of a regular general Action. Some Battalions assaulted one another; and in this tumultuary Onset the *Romans* had all the Advantage. But their Fortune changed, when *Massinissa* came, and suddenly attacked the *Roman* Army in Flank, with his Cavalry. The Fight was then renewed with Fury on both Sides; but repeated ill Accidents broke the Valour of the *Romans*, and dejected them. The *Carthaginian* Armies of *Mago*, and the Son of *Gisco*, appeared likewise, all on a sudden, and attacked the *Pro-Consul's* Troops in Rear. What then was to be done, what Measures could he take? He was surrounded by three Armies, and knew not which to attack first, or through which to make his Way. However, he doubled his Activity; flew from *Manipulus* to *Manipulus*; fought as a common Soldier, in one Place, and exhorted, and gave Orders as a General, in another; and the Valour of the *Romans* still withstood all these numerous Enemies, when *Publius* was wounded with a Lance. The Enemy's Squadron, who saw him fall dead from his Horse, gave a Shout for Joy; and then there was a Cry soon spread among all the Ranks of both Armies, *The Roman General is dead*; which was to the one a Presage of their Defeat, and an Assurance of Victory to the other. Indeed, the *Romans* easily made their Way through the first Lines of the Enemy's Infantry; but how could they escape the *Numidian* Cavalry, and Foot-Soldiers, which were as expert in running as the Horse? So that the Slaughter was greater in the Flight, than in the Battel. Not one of the *Roman* Soldiers would have escaped Death, if the Night, which very seasonably overtook them, had not hid them from the Sight and Pursuit of the *Carthaginians*.

§.XVII. In the mean time, *Cneius* knew nothing, either of the Death of his Brother, or the Defeat of his *Legions*. He kept advancing on the Side of the *Ebro*, towards those Provinces in *Spain*, which, generally speaking, were well affected to the *Romans*; and there was nothing shameful in his Retreat. He did not indeed expect to have three *Carthaginian* Armies, *Massinissa's* Cavalry, and the Troops of *Indibilis*, all upon him at once; and their sudden Approach surprized him. After the Battel in which *Publius* was killed, the *Carthaginian* Generals did not lose time in forcing the deceased *Consul's* Camp; but formed a much greater Design: which was, to put an end to the War at one Blow; to defeat *Cneius* as well as *Publius*; and by one Battel exterminate the few *Romans* that were left there, out of *Spain*. This was the Resolution of *Mago*, *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisco*, *Massinissa*, and *Indibilis*; and, as if all their Forces were not sufficient for so great an Enterprize, they were for bringing *Asdrubal* the Brother of *Hannibal*, who had just forced *Cneius* to leave the Banks of the *Anas*, into the same Design. They therefore hastened to join him; and marched their Troops, fatigued with the last Battel, directly to the Camp of the Generalissimo, without

²⁸ The Family of the *Fontei* was originally *Plebeian*. We have a Proof of it in *Suetonius*, and *Cicero, pro Domo sua*. *Publius Clodius* could not stand Candidate to be a *Tribune of the People*, be-

cause he was a *Patrician*. And therefore, to give him a Right to it, he got himself adopted in the Family of one *Publius Fonteius*, who was a *Plebeian*.

giving them one Moment's Rest. There all the *Carthaginian* Generals together mutually congratulated each other, on the Success of their Arms; promising themselves the entire Abolition of the *Roman* Name in *Spain*; and after their first Compliments were paid, they lost no time. All the *Carthaginian* Forces marched after *Cneius Scipio*, who did not imagine they could reach him. The *Numidian* Horse were ordered to march before, attack the little Body of Troops the *Roman* General had left, in the Rear; and retard their March by slight Skirmishes, in order to give the *Carthaginian* Infantry time to come up with them.

Year of
R O M E
DXII.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

UPON the first Sight of the *Numidian* Squadrons, *Cneius* sunk into a deep Melancholly. He had not received any Advice of his Brother's Misfortune; but his Heart misgave him, and he strongly suspected it. The more he reflected on the Design of the *Carthaginians*, who determined to follow him so late, the greater were his Fears and Misgivings. *I fear*, said he to himself, *Mago and the Son of Gisco are marching after me. They must then have conquered Publius who was before them. My Brother is lost! I don't see any of his Legions pursuing after the Carthaginians, and flying to my Relief! These Things can only be the Effects of an entire Overthrow.* But tho' these Suspicions of what was past, his uneasy Apprehensions of what was to come, and the late Desertions of the *Celtiberians*, grieved *Cneius* to the Heart, they did not discourage him. Indeed, he had Need of all his *Roman* Valour, to support him under his present Fright; but nevertheless, he dissembled it. The Advanced-Guard of the Enemy had not come up with him, till towards the Evening: And he therefore took Advantage of the following Night to get before them. But the *Numidian* Horse, after taking some Rest, set out at Break of Day, reached the *Romans* again at Sun-set, and began their Hostilities. They hovered round the Enemy's Army, and sometimes fell upon the Rear-Guard, sometimes took it in Flank. *Cneius* was present in all the Attacks, and encouraged his Men to march and fight at the same time. His Design was to avoid the *Carthaginian* Infantry, which were yet at a Distance from their own Cavalry, and to find some Place of Safety and Retreat to it. But tho' the Design was good, *Fortune* did not favour it. The *Romans* fought retreating, with Bravery, but their March was retarded by the several Attacks of the *Numidian* Cavalry. Till at length, Night came on, and obliged them to leave off fighting. Then *Cneius* assembled his Troops together, and gained the Summit of an Hill, there to take some Rest, after so many Fatigues. Indeed this Post was neither safe, nor steep enough for them to defend it long, against three great Armies; but being harrassed with a long March, they were forced to be content with the first *Asylum* that fell in their Way.

THEY passed the Night in Tranquillity; but their Fright returned with the Sun, and their Fatigues were renewed. *Cneius* had drawn up his little Army in a Circle, on the Top of the Hill where he was posted. His Cavalry and Baggage were placed in the Center, and his Infantry covered all the Top of the Hill. It would have been safer for him to have thrown up a Rampart, which might have covered the General and his Troops; but the Ground would not admit of it. The Place where they encamped was a Rock, which could neither be dug for a Ditch, nor afford Turf enough to make Ramparts. Besides, there was not a Wood or a Bush in the whole Neighbourhood, which might afford them Pallisades, *Gabions*, or Falcines. Nevertheless, it was dangerous to continue without Entrenchments, in a Post which was accessible on all Sides, and which the *Carthaginians* would soon attack with their united Forces. However, the *Roman* General supplied the Defects of the Ground as well as he could, by his Industry. He made a Bulwark of the Baggage of the Army, and the Packsaddles of all the Beasts of Burden, which might stop the Enemy, and screen the Besieged, for a few Moments; and this Barrier was sufficient at first to stop the Impetuosity of the *Numidian* Cavalry. But this Camp, so hastily barricaded, was not sufficient to withstand the numerous Infantry of three *Carthaginian* Armies, when they came to surround it. Indeed the *African* Soldiers were a little terrified, and retired some Paces, at the first Sight of so unusual an Entrenchment. But their Officers assured them, that these were vain Obstacles, which, however frightful to the Eye, were scarce strong enough to stop Women or Boys.

*Polyb. Appian
in Hericis; Zo-
narus; Liv.
B. 25. c. 36.
and others.*

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

Cicero for
Bulbus.

AND indeed, upon the first Attack all Difficulties vanished. They had, 'tis true, some Trouble in untying the Bundles which were heaped upon one another, and fastened to the Harnesses of the Horses with Cords. But at length, the Enemy broke their Way into the *Roman* Camp, after a moderate Resistance; and the *Carthaginians* put all they found there to the Sword. However, the greatest Part of the *Legionaries* avoided their Fury by Flight, crossed the Mountains, gained the nearest Forests, and escaped thro' By-Ways, to the Camp of *Publius Scipio*, where the Lieutenant-General *T. Fonteius* still continued, with the Remains of the first Defeat. As for the brave *Cneius*, he perished in the Action, nine and twenty Days after the Death of his Brother. Some say he lost his Life fighting on the Hill where he was forced to encamp. Others, That he fled for Refuge, with some brave Men, to a neighbouring Tower, doubtless with a Design to defend it; That the Enemy set Fire to the Gates of the Tower; and, That *Cneius* was either stifled with Smoke, or burnt. But be that as it will, the *Romans* lost, in a few Days, the Support and Ornament of their Republick, in the Persons of the two Brothers. In their Life-time, they obtained the Surname of *The Thunderbolts of War*; which Posterity has continued to them. They were, perhaps, the most perfect Patterns that ever were seen, of brotherly Love. The elder kept the Office of *Pro-Consul* for eight Years together, without raising the least Jealousy in the Breast of the younger. They both wholly devoted themselves to the Interests of their Country. They had so little Regard to their own Advancement, that they did not once return to *Rome*, after they had begun the War in *Spain*. The two *Scipio's* seem to have forgotten that there were *Consulships*, Triumphs, and superior Dignities, to be enjoyed; and gave themselves wholly up to the painful Fatigues of War, in a Country far from their own. Whilst in the mean time, their Family at *Rome* suffered, for want of them. *Cneius* was so poor, that the State thought itself obliged to pay his Daughter's Portion out of the Treasury; and her Father had Thoughts of returning to *Italy* to marry her. However, *Publius* had an honourable Post at least, all the Time he was in *Spain*. But *Cneius* contented himself with serving as a Subaltern under him; in a Post, from which he reaped no Benefit, but Dangers and Death. The two Brothers were equal, in point of Virtue; and were the first who gave the *Spanish* Nation a Taste for *Roman* Probity. But *Cneius*, all Things considered, even surpassed his Brother, in Valour and Conduct. *Publius* was reproached with having lost the first Battel with *Hannibal*, on the Banks of the *Tesfin*, and with having been rashly adventurous, in the Battel in which he was killed. Whereas the younger Brother had no Blemish on his Character; and conquered wherever he came. Mere Necessity, and the Defeat of his Brother, caused his Destruction. And yet it may be said, that *Publius's* Happiness was greater in one Instance, than that of *Cneius*. He was the Father of a Son, who was the Resource of his Republick, after their Loss, and did most Honour to the *Cornelian* Family.

Livy, B. 25.
c. 37.

§. XVIII. THUS all the Hopes of the *Romans* in *Spain*, seemed extinguished with the two *Scipio's*. But a Disciple of the prudent *Cneius* revived them. This was a young *Roman Knight*, named *C. Marcius*, whose Genius for War was superior to his Age. He had been formed to it by a Great Hand; and tho' his Estate was not equal to his Birth, he was equal in Valour and Spirit, to the most able Generals of his Time. The Misfortunes of the *Romans* in *Spain*, made him known. *Marcius* was not discouraged, even by the Loss of the two Battels. He put himself in Motion, gathered together the *Roman* Fugitives, who were dispersed in several Places, and drew Men enough out of the *Roman* Garrisons, to make up an Army. These new Forces all met in the Camp, where the Lieutenant-General *Fonteius* commanded; and the brave *Marcius* thought them sufficient to sustain the Efforts of the *Carthaginian* Troops. However, this new *Roman* Army decamped, and got the *Ebro* between them and the Enemy.

AND whilst the *Romans* were busy in pitching their new Camp, and stocking it with Provisions, another Difficulty perplexed them. In all Probability they did not think *Fonteius* a General able to bear all the Weight of a difficult and dangerous War, and save the Wrecks of *Rome*; and we have already observed, that the *Romans* were a kind of Republick, even in their Camps. On Default therefore, of a *Pro-Consul*, nominated by *Comitia* in the City, the Soldiers thought they had a Right

Right to chuse themselves a Commander, with all the Forms of Elections in the *Campus Martius*. Without neglecting to mount the Guard, as usual, the *Manipuli* all voted in their Turns; and *Marcus*, having already gained much Credit among the Troops, was unanimously chosen General.

THEN the Soldiers readily undertook the most difficult Labours, under a Commander so universally beloved; and the Camp was soon finished, and plentifully stored with Provisions. Nevertheless, the Arrival of *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gisco*, changed, for some little time, the favourable Opinion the *Romans* had of their new Leader. As soon as the *Carthaginian* General had passed the *Ebro*, and drawn up his Army in the Plain, over against the *Roman* Camp, *Marcus's* Soldiers began to consider him as a young Man, who had never yet commanded in Chief. And, which was worse, when he hoisted the Signal for the Battel, the Lamentations of the *Roman* Soldiers were inexpressibly great. At the Remembrance of the Great Men who had conducted them, some pierced the Air with great Outcries; others struck their Heads against their Arms; some lifted up their Hands to Heaven; others fell flat on the Ground, and invoked the *Manes* of the *Scipio's*: And in short, the Consternation was universal.

NEVERTHELESS, the Officers of the *Roman* Army supported the dejected Spirits of their Soldiers; and *Marcus* endeavoured to inspire them with Confidence. He was born eloquent; and he spoke these Words in all the Files. *To what purpose is it to shed Tears, when the Business is to revenge the Death of the Generals, whose Loss you lament? Leave these useless Marks of Sorrow to Women. Remember that you are Men, and Citizens of Rome.* And this Discourse, mixed with mild Rebukes, made an Impression on these brave Men. Upon the first Sound of the Enemy's Trumpet, they felt their Courage and Chearfulness revive. Their Dejection turned into Rage; and the Love of Revenge made them run to Arms, and hasten the Beginning of the Battel.

THE Enemy were already at the Gates of the *Roman* Camp, marching in Disorder, and full of Contempt for the miserable Remains of the Vanquished, whom they were coming to cut in Pieces, without Resistance: And they were much surprised, to see these disheartened Men march out of their Entrenchments, in good Order, and with Fury painted in their Faces. Then the *Romans* instantly flew upon the *African* Battalions, and repulsed them, without giving them time to recover their Disorder. The Attack was so sharp, that the Troops of the Son of *Gisco*, amazed and terrified at the unexpected Boldness of the *Romans*, fled. In their Retreat, the *Carthaginians* said one to another, *By what Miracle is this Multitude of Enemies started up out of the Earth? We thought the Romans utterly extirpated; yet they survive their Defeat. Are the Scipio's come to Life again? What new General have the Romans made themselves? Who is it that commands them? Who managed this unexpected Sally?* These were the Thoughts and Discourses of the *Africans*, as they fled; whilst the *Romans* charged them in the Rear: And all the Authority of *Marcus* was scarce sufficient to restrain the Soldiers, and hinder them from pursuing after the Fugitives, whose Haste made the young General fearful of an Ambuscade.

§. XIX. *MARCUS* retired to his own Camp; and the Son of *Gisco* to his. But the latter considering that the Enemy had not pursued his Advantage as far as he might have done, this was enough to make him despise him; and the Confidence of *Asdrubal* made his Troops negligent. Their Entrenchments were then ill-guarded; the *Roman* General had Notice of it; and he formed a Design which would have appeared Rashness, if his present Circumstances had not authorized it. *Marcus* had now only the Army of the Son of *Gisco* to oppose him; but he would soon have all the *Carthaginian* Forces upon him. So that it seemed necessary for him rather to attack one single Body of Enemies, than to tarry to see himself overwhelmed with an innumerable Multitude of united *Africans* and *Spaniards*. And he therefore chose to march against an Enemy, whose too great Security made them the less circumspect. To gain a Superiority over the only Rival he had now to contend with, was both to gain the Confidence of his Soldiers, to render himself formidable to the *Carthaginian* Party, and to take off their Contempt of his Forces. A very sensible Scheme; but it was necessary to get it approved by an Army of Republicans, who were jealous of their Liberty, and beloved

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS,
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

Year of R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

haved themselves with double Zeal, in Enterprizes to which they themselves had given their Consents. And to this End, *Marcus* assembled his Troops round his Tent, and addressed himself to them, in these Words.

JUDGE you, Romans, of the melancholy Situation I am in, and the Uneasiness that distracts me. You all know the Affection I ever had for the *Scipio's*, and my extreme Grief at the Loss of them. Nothing could abate my Sorrow, but a stronger Passion, for preserving You; and in You, the Remains of the Republick in Spain. Share therefore my Affliction for the Dead, and my Fears about preserving Troops in the midst of numberless Dangers. The Commission with which you have honoured me, reduces me to a double Difficulty! On one hand, the Remembrance of the Great Men we have lost, grieves me, even in my Sleep; and their Shades present themselves to my Imagination, and seem to sollicite me to support the Glory of our Arms, which in their Hands were invincible for eight Years together. On the other, the Care of your Safety and Subsistence, gives some Diversion indeed to my Sorrow; but does not go so far as to extinguish it. There is but one Means to calm my restless Mind. Which is, for me to tread in the Steps of the Heroes who commanded us; and for you, to have the *Scipio's* always before your Eyes, and to act with as much Bravery, as if they were present. These Heroes are yet alive; their Glory has made them immortal. Let then the Sight of the Pupil put you in mind of his Masters! Fly to Battel with as much Ardour as their Orders used to give you. It was their Spirit, no doubt, that animated you to repulse the African Yesterday, and pursue him after his Defeat. I then indeed restrained your Impetuosity; but do you imagine that I intended to let you languish in Inaction? No; Fortune offers you a new Harvest of Glory, under your new Leader. Our Enemies are gone to sleep without any Distrust, and almost without Arms. Their Contempt for us makes them easy and secure. Rouze them then out of their Sleep, with the Glitter of your Swords, and the Noise of your Arms. You may now conquer the Carthaginian in his Camp, as you Yesterday drove him from your own. Fear then made you attentive and vigilant. Security now makes our Enemies sleepy and negligent. You are really the more formidable, the less they think you so. From being besieged then, Besiege. They don't expect you. Even the Difficulty of the Enterprize will make it the more easy; because they will not readily be brought to believe, that you will venture to attempt what they think impracticable. You will conquer, because they will not believe it to be in your Power. The Darkness of the Night favours our Designs. I will lead you on silently to the Gates of the Enemy's Camp, at Midnight. I am informed, that they neglect to place Guards there. As soon as you appear, and have made one Shout, you will, after a slight Battel, easily penetrate into ill-guarded Entrenchments. And there you will satiate that Thirst of Revenge and Slaughter, which I was Yesterday forced in Prudence to restrain. Seize the Opportunity, whilst it offers. It presents itself for one Moment, and then is lost for ever. In extreme Misfortunes, desperate Councils are often good; and desperate Attempts sometimes recover desperate Affairs. We have now but one Army before us; we shall soon have three. Destroy therefore the several Armies of the Enemy separately, before they are joined. Alas! that was the Fate of the *Scipio's*! Together they were invincible! when separated, Multitudes over-powered them. Let us then return upon the imprudent Carthaginians, the Calamities which the Misfortunes of the *Scipio's* brought upon us!

THE Proposal was approved by the whole Roman Army. The more difficult the Execution of it seemed to be, the more agreeable it was to these brave Men, who thought of nothing but to revenge the Injury done the Republick, and repair her Losses. They began their March in the dead of the Night, so silently that they were not suspected; and the Conduct of this new General was such, as might have done Honour to the *Scipio's* themselves. The Son of *Gisco* had divided his Carthaginians into two Camps. The largest was nearest to the Romans. The other, in which there were not so many Troops, was at a considerable Distance from the first. There was a Hill and a Valley between them. But both were equally secure; and *Marcus* knew how to take Advantage of Circumstances, and of the Dispositions of the Enemy, and the Situation of the Ground. The Road which led from one of the Enemy's Camps to the other, was flanked with a thick Forest; and there the Roman General placed his Cavalry in Ambush, with some Manipuli

Manipuli of Foot. The rest of his Army he employed in surprizing the first Camp, which he entered without any Resistance. The *Carthaginian* General had neglected to place a Guard at the Gates, and there was no Centinel on the Ramparts. So that the *Romans* marched as easily into it, as into their own. As soon as they had taken their Ground, and were formed, the Trumpets sounded, and the Shouts of the *Romans* gave an universal Alarm, and filled all with Consternation. The *Roman* Soldiers entered the Tents, and killed those whom they surprized in Bed, and unarmed. *Marcus's* first Care had been to seize the Gates of the Camp, and shut up all the Passages out of it against the *Carthaginians*; and now he set fire to the Tents which were covered with Stubble, and the Flame roused those whom the Shouts had not awakened. In this general Confusion, some delivered themselves up to Death, others ran to the Gates to escape. But the only Way left to avoid the *Romans*, was to leap down from the Top of the Ramparts; so that very few of these unfortunate Men escaped. Some of them fell into the Hands of the *Roman* Cavalry, which lay in Ambush in the Forest, between the two Camps.

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

AFTER this general Massacre, *Marcus* marched away his Troops with inexpressible Expedition, to take the second Camp. As the *Carthaginians* there were farther off from the Enemy than those in the other; Discipline was even more negligently observed by them. Considerable Parties had been sent out to cut Wood, and to forrage. Even among the Guard, the Lances and Darts were thrown in Heaps; whilst the dispersed Soldiers were taking the Air without the Camp, and either walking without their Arms, or sitting down, and resting themselves on the Grass. And what seems inconceivable, is, that neither the Shouts made in the first Camp, nor the Flames of it, nor the Reports of any Fugitives, had roused these Soldiers from their Indolence. The *Roman* Army appeared before the Gates of the Camp, but did not enter without some Resistance. It was then broad Day light; all the Enemies therefore within the Entrenchments ran to Arms, and came to oppose the Aggressors. So that they were forced to fight a pretty smart Battel at the Gate, in order to make themselves Masters of it; and the Engagement would have been as long as it was vigorous, if the *Carthaginians* had not observed, that the Clothes and Bucklers of the *Romans* were covered with fresh Blood. They from thence concluded, that a first Victory had already paved the Way for a second. Besides, it was easy to perceive, by the Eagerness of the *Romans*, that they were flushed with some past Advantage. These Reflections therefore damped the *Carthaginians*. They thought of nothing but Flight, hurried in Crowds to all the Passages out of their Camp, and abandoned it to their Conquerors. A memorable Action, both for the Prudence of the General who conducted it, and the Advantages he drew from it! By this fine Enterprize, *Marcus* may well be said to have deserved the Appellation of, *The Restorer of the Affairs and Glory of Rome in Spain*.

THE Number of the Dead, on the Side of the *Carthaginians*, amounted, if we may believe some Authors, to thirty seven thousand; and the Prisoners, to eighteen hundred and thirty. The Booty found in the two Camps, was immensely great. The most valuable Part of it was a Buckler of Silver of an hundred and thirty eight *Roman* Pounds Weight; on which was stamped the Figure of the *Carthaginian* Generalissimo, that is, of *Asdrubal* the Brother of *Hannibal*. This Monument was carried to *Rome*, and hung up in the *Capitol*, where it continued, till a fire reduced it to Ashes.

NAY, the victorious Army of *Marcus* were themselves so much surprized at the Advantage they had gained under the young General, that they thought him miraculously favoured by Heaven. They fancied, that as he was haranguing his Troops, a sudden Flame miraculously issued out of his Head, in the Shape of horns, without his feeling any Heat from it. The Tradition of it was conveyed down to Posterity in the *Marcian* Family; and the Medals, which often record fabulous Stories, have preserved the Memory of it to this Day. But be that as will, the happy Consequences of this glorious Expedition, were not imaginary.

Val. Max.
B. 1. c. 6.
Plin. B. 2.
c. 107.
Livy, B. 25.
c. 39.

The

²⁹ This Fact, fabulous as it is, is recorded on *Marcus Philippus*, to perpetuate the Glory of his following Medal. It was struck by one *Lucius* Family. The Reverse is the Representation of an Equestrian

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.

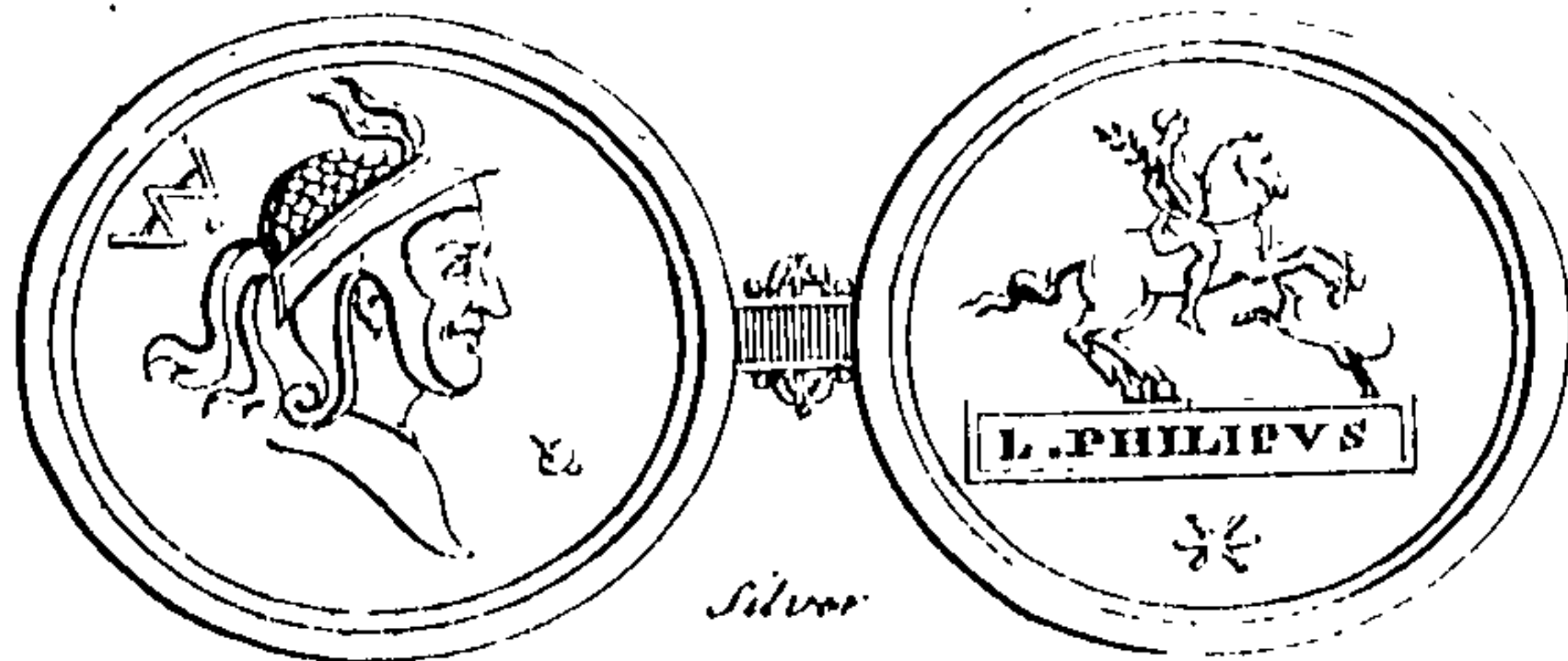
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, AP.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls

The great Projects of the *Carthaginian* Generals were by this means brought to nought. They became less audacious, and were afraid of coping with a young Man, who was even more enterprizing, and more successful, than the *Scipio's*. So that *Rome* maintained herself in the Possession of a little Part of *Spain*, at least; and we shall soon see the Republick conquer that vast Country, under the *Auspices* of another *Publius Scipio*, the Son of the eldest of the two Brothers, who were lately killed there.

§. XX. AND now, the *Consular* Year was ready to expire; the Advantages of which had been divided between the *Romans* and their Enemies. The City of *Tarentum* had just been surprized by *Hannibal*; and *Rome* had lost three great Generals, *Sempronius Gracchus* in *Italy*, and the two *Scipio's*, in *Spain*. But on the other hand, she had been very successful in *Sicily*. After the taking of *Syracuse* by *Marcellus*, the *Carthaginian* Dominions there, were confined to a little Nook of the Island, on the South-side towards *Lilybaeum*. Besides, the Siege of *Capua* was forming, and the two *Consuls*, *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Appius Pulcher*, were busy in drawing Lines of Circumvallation, after they had laid the Country waste, that *Hannibal's* Troops might not be able to subsist there. Nay, the Affairs of *Rome* in *Spain*, were not absolutely desperate, since the Victory of *Marcus* over the Son of *Gisco*. But nevertheless, it is not difficult to perceive by all this, that the *Romans* were not in an easy Situation. For these eight Years, that *Hannibal* had passed the *Alpes*, this turbulent Enemy had not contented himself with depriving their Republick of a good Part of her Conquests in *Italy*; but had, by his Intrigues, kindled Wars in distant Regions from *Rome*; and *Greece*, as well as *Macedon*, began to move in favour of one Enemy or the other. So much Credit did one single Man gain by the Reputation of his Arms; tho' after all, he was but a private Man in his Republick!

THE time was now come, for electing new *Consuls* at *Rome*; and for some Years past, a Custom had begun to be introduced, that they should enter upon their Office in the Month of 30 *March*. Till lately, the time for beginning to exercise their Functions, had not been fixed; their Offices began sometimes sooner, and sometimes later, as best suited the present Wants, or Convenience, of the Republick. But it is probable, that the *Centuries* were now assembled in *The Field of Mars*, in the Beginning of *February*, at latest. It was necessary that one of the *Consuls* should preside in the Assembly; but they were both absent, and making Preparations for the Siege of *Capua*. The Senate therefore ordered the *Prætor* of *Rome* to write to the *Consuls*, to return thither, whilst *Hannibal* was yet at a great distance. Indeed the *Carthaginian* General was still obstinately bent on blocking up the Citadel of *Tarentum*, and was enjoying that Repose on the Banks of the *Galesus*, for which his Residence in *Capua* had first given him a Relish. But the *Consuls* did not think it proper to leave the Camp together. They agreed between themselves, that *Appius Claudius* should go and preside in the *Comitia*, whilst *Fulvius* continued before *Capua*. The Elections at *Rome* were made peaceably enough; but a Person was by Favour promoted to one of the *Consulships*, contrary to Custom, tho' he had not yet discharged the *Curule* Magistracies. This was *P. Sulpicius*, 31 surnamed *Galba*; who from being *Quæstor* was raised at once to the

Liv. B. 26.
c. 1.



Equestrian Statue, which was erected in Honour to *Quintus Marcus Tremulus*, after he had triumphed over the *Samnites*, in the Year of *Rome* 447; as we have observed, B. 19. p. 296, of Vol. 2.

30 The *Consuls*, from the Year of *Rome* 531, the *Consulship* of *Cneius Cornelius Scipio*, and *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, began their *Consular* Year on

The Ides of March, that is, the fifteenth Day of the Month. And this Custom was uninterruptedly continued for a great Number of Years.

31 The *Fæsti Capitolini* give *Sulpicius* the name of *Maximus*, besides that of *Galba*. Speaking of *The Apollinarian Games*, gives each of these *Consuls* the *Prenomen* of *Caius*, by Mistake

Consul

Consular Dignity. The Collegue given him was *Cn. Fulvius*, surnamed *Centumalus*, now made *Consul* for the first time. Probably, the Republick would not raise any of the famous Generals, with which she at present abounded, to the highest Dignities, that she might with the more Decency continue the old *Consuls* in the Management of the Siege of *Capua*, which they had begun.

INDEED, the *Comitia* gave *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, the Command of the same Armies of which they had been Generals the preceding Year. From *Consuls* they became *Pro-Consuls*, with Orders not to leave the Business of *Capua*, till they had finished it. *Rome* also continued *Marcellus* in the *Pro-Consulate* of *Sicily*, to give him time to complete the Conquest of the whole Island. *Claudius Nero* ³², as *Pro-Prætor*, still kept the Command of one *Legion*, which he commanded the last Year, before *Capua*; and four other *Pro-Prætors* were continued in their old Posts: *Sempronius Tuditanus* in *Cisalpine Gaul*, with two *Legions*; *D. Junius Silanus* with the same Number, in *Hetruria*; *T. Otacilius* in the Command of a Fleet of an hundred Sail, on Board of which he had two *Legions*, and was to cruize round *Sicily*: And lastly, *M. Valerius Lævinus*, in the Command of another Fleet of fifty Ships, with which he was again ordered to guard the Coasts of *Italy*, on the Side of *Brundisium*, and watch the Motions of the *Greeks*.

AFTER these military Employments were filled, the *Prætors* were chosen; and it fell to the Lot of *C. Calpurnius* ³³ *Piso*, to determine the Causes between *Citizen* and *Citizen*; and to *Sulpicius Gallus*, to hear those between *Citizens* and *Aliens*. *Cornelius* ³⁴ *Cethegus* went with two *Legions*, to govern the old *Roman Province* in *Sicily*; whilst *Marcellus*, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*, had the Command of the new *Province*; that is, of the Kingdom of *Hiero*. And lastly, *Sardinia* fell to *Cornelius Lentulus*, who led two *Legions* thither; and *Apulia* fell to the Share of the two *Consuls*: but the two *Consular* Armies seem to have had little to do there. We are assured, that all the Forces *Rome* now had on Foot, amounted to three and twenty *Legions*, exclusive of the Troops of the Allies ³⁵.

§. XXI. As for the new Campaign, the old *Consuls* had all the Toil, and all the Glory of it. After *Appius* had finished the Elections, he returned to his old Collegue *Q. Fulvius* in the Camp before *Capua*. The Siege had all the Air of a Blockade; it was rather by Famine, than Force, that the *Pro-Consuls* proposed to reduce the Place. It was then defended by two Generals, one a *Capuan*, the other a *Carthaginian*. The first was one *Seppius Læsius*, a Man of mean Extraction, and raised to the chief Honours of the City, by mere Accident. The other was a Man of some Figure among the *Carthaginian* Troops, whose Name was *Hanno*. The latter shut himself up in *Capua*, and commanded the *African* Troops there. But if *Hanno* had the Character of a brave General, *Læsius*, on the other hand, had proportionably as little Merit and Interest, as the former had Credit. It was reported of *Læsius*, That in his Infancy, his Mother had sent for an *Aruspex* to her House, to expiate some domestick Misfortune now unknown; That the Diviner, after he had looked on the Child, foretold that he would one day become the Head of his Republick; and That the Mother, who saw nothing in her Son worthy such an Exaltation, cried out, *Capua must surely be reduced to the utmost Distress*,

Year of
R O M E
DXLI.

Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS, A.
CLAUDIUS
PULCHER,
Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.

CN. FULVIUS
CENTUM-
LUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.

Liv. B. 26.
c. 6.

³² The Term *Nero*, taken from the *Sabine Tongue* answers to the *Latin* Word *Srenuus*, which signifies a vigilant and active Man. *Suetonius*, in his *Life of Tiberius*, says, that *Tiberius Claudius*, the son of *Appius the Blind*, was the first who bore his Surname.

³³ This is the same *Caius Calpurnius*, to whom *Livy* gives the wrong *Praenomen* of *Marcus*, when he mentions *The Apollinarian Games*.

³⁴ If we judge by the Text of *Livy*, towards the end of his twenty fifth Book, we must conclude, that *Sicily* was the Province of *Caius Sulpicius*, and that *Apulia* fell to the Lot of *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*. But it is evident, that this Historian has been altered by the Copyists. He plainly gives *Sicily* to *Marcus Cethegus*, B. 26. and says, the *Consuls* this Year 542, were ordered to take care of *Italia*. And it is as false, that *Sulpicius* had the Government of *Cisalpine Gaul*, as we read in some places of *Livy*. This Author expressly says, That

Publius Sempronius Tuditanus continued to command in this Province, at the Head of two *Legions*. It remains therefore, that *Sulpicius* must have exercised the Office of *Prætor Peregrinus*, which was to determine the Disputes that arose between the *Citizens* of *Rome*, and *Foreigners*.

³⁵ *Livy* says enough to convince us, that the *Pontifex Maximus*, *Publius Licinius Crassus*, surnamed *Dives*, or *The Rich*, exercised the Office of *Curule Aedile* this Year. 1. In B. 25. he says, that *Licinius* was preparing to stand for the *Aedileship*, when he appeared a Candidate for the Supreme *Pontificate*. 2. He says, B. 27. that *Licinius*, in the Year 543, from being *Curule Aedile* was made *Censor*. He was therefore *Curule Aedile* in this Year 542. *Pliny* says, B. 21. c. 3. That this Magistrate was the first who gave Crowns, the Follages of which were wrought in Gold and Silver, during the *Games* which he celebrated at his own Expence.

when

Year of
ROM E
DXLII.
Cn. Fulvius
Centumalus,
P. Sulpicius Galba,
Consuls.

when she casts her Eyes on Lefius, to raise him to the first Honours ! And it happened, that both the Prediction of the *Aruspex*, and the Interpretation of the Mother, were exactly accomplished in the Siege of *Capua*. When the Inhabitants saw their City pressed by the *Romans*, and in danger of falling into their Hands, none of those whose Birth qualified them for the Government, durst take it upon them. So that a general Despair was what raised *Lefius* to the highest Dignity ; and he was placed at the Head of his Republick, to be her last Governor.

§. XXII. WHILST *Fulvius* and *Appius* were busy in shutting up all the Avenues to *Capua*, *Centumalus* and *Galba*, the present *Consuls*, continued at *Rome*, to settle the publick Affairs. The first that presented itself, was that of *Spain*. Two Horsemen were just arrived, with Letters to the Senate from the brave *Marcus*. They brought an Account of the Advantages he had gained over the Son of *Gisco* ; and he therein demanded new Succours and Provisions, to enable him to maintain a War, the State of which had been much altered by the Death of the two *Scipio's*, and the Defeat of their Armies. But *Marcus* had in his Letter unfortunately stiled himself *Pro-Prætor*, a Title which he had acquired only by a military Election in the Camp ; and it is not to be expressed, how much the proud Republicans were shocked at this slight Offence against the publick Authority.

THE Exploits of *Marcus* were universally allowed to deserve Praise, and a glorious Reward ; but nevertheless, it was thought a dangerous Precedent for the *Legions* to assume the Liberty of chusing their own Commanders. *It is an unpardonable Rashness*, said the Fathers, *to leave the Election of Generals to the Caprices of the Soldiers, out of Rome, and far from the Comitia consecrated by Religion* ; and they had like to have treated *Marcus* as a Criminal. But they at last chose to act a more moderate Part ; and only suppressed the Title of *Pro-Prætor*, in the Answer they sent this pretended Head of the *Romans* in *Spain*, by the two Cavaliers : As to the Business they came upon, the Senate sent word, That they would take care to send Clothes, and Provisions, to the *Roman* Soldiers in *Spain*. Which was giving *Marcus* to understand, That they did not approve of his Election ; and That they were afraid of confirming a Title, which was looked on as unlawful in *Rome*. Nor was this all ; as soon as the Horsemen were dismissed, all agreed that it was necessary to move the People by their *Tribunes*, that they would, as soon as they conveniently could, chuse a General to succeed the *Scipio's* in *Spain*, and take away the Command of the Army from *Marcus*. Thus a Defect in Point of Form, made the Republick forget the important Service the young Conqueror had done his Country, and in these Times of *Roman* Virtue, every thing gave way to her Zeal for good Order, and Subordination.

§. XXIII. BUT a more urgent Affair suspended the Design of assembling the People to elect a new General for the Army in *Spain*. The Republick was first to punish the *Prætor* Cn. *Fulvius* for the Reproach he had brought on the *Roman* Name. This General had very lately suffered himself to be beaten in *Apulia*, by *Hannibal's* Forces ; and his Defeat seemed to be the Effect of his Cowardice and ill Conduct. The Offender was Brother to that *Fulvius Flaccus*, who was *Consul* the last Year, and was now commanding the Forces before *Capua*, and carrying on that Siege. But the Merit and Services of his Brother did not stifle the Zeal of a brave *Tribune of the People*, named *Sempronius Blesus* ; who was continually demanding Justice on the *Prætor* *Fulvius*, for his bad Conduct ; and inveighing, in all the *Comitia*, against this pernicious Commander. *We have indeed seen some of our Generals*, said he, *ruin their Armies by an Excess of Valour, or by Ignorance ; but Fulvius is the only one whom we have seen first corrupt his Troops with all kinds of Vice, and then deliver them up to the Enemy. Fulvius had already vanquished his Legions, before Hannibal overcame them. The illustrious Sempronius formerly made an Army of Slaves invincible Troops : But Fulvius has done just the Reverse. He, by his own Example, corrupted the Manners of his Legionaries, altered their Way of Living, and taught them all the Vices of Slaves. And then, by his own Cowardice, caused their Flight too. Fulvius first turned his Back. Some of our Generals have continued on the Field of Battel, and perished there, after their Armies were routed : But here is a General, who first takes care of himself, and leaves his Troops, in the midst of Danger, to be cut in pieces by the Enemy. He was almost the only Man that escaped*

Livy, B. 26.
c. 22.

Livy, ibid.

Livy, ibid.

escaped, to bring us the News of his own Defeat. How severely then does he deserve to be punished? Our Soldiers who ran away at the Battel of Cannæ, were banished to Sicily, there to continue till the End of the War, and deprived of all military Honours. And a severer Punishment has just now been decreed against the Soldiers, who were induced to fly, by the Example of the cowardly Fulvius. They have been forbidden to enter into any Winter-Quarters in Towns, or to encamp within ten Miles of any City. Shall then their General, who is most in fault, be the only Person that shall escape unpunished? Shall it be said that Rome lessens her Punishments, in Proportion to the Rank, Credit, and Interest, of the Offender?

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.
Cn. Fulvius
Centumalus,
P. Sulpicius
Galba, Consuls.

THESE Harangues made strong Impressions on the People; but Fulvius defended himself as well as he could against so just an Accusation. I had not given Battel, said he, had it not been for the Sollicitations and Threatenings of my Troops. I fought on equal Ground, so that the Enemy cannot be said to have had any Advantage of me on that account. But my Soldiers could not withstand the Power and Reputation of the Carthaginians. It is true indeed, I fled, before they did; but is my Crime in this greater than that of Terentius Varro, at the Battel of Cannæ? Was it necessary for the publick Good, that I should continue alone on the Field of Battel, and expiate the Cowardice of my Soldiers, with my own Death? No Man can reproach me with having fallen into any Ambuscade, or destroyed my Legions by my Imprudence. Could I conquer the Fearfulness of my Troops, or check the Ardour of the Enemy? The Cowardice or Bravery of Soldiers does not depend on the General who leads them. Nevertheless, these Reasonings did not at all remove the Prejudices of the Publick, or abate the Zeal of Sempronius. The Pleadings lasted two Sittings, in both which the Tribune concluded, That Fulvius ought to be fined; and at the third, the Witnesses were examined. And then the Charge appeared to be so heavy against the Criminal, that the People all cried out, that instead of a civil, it ought to be changed into a criminal Process. In short, the Soldiers deposed, That their General fled first; and That his Army had not been routed, had it not been for the false Apprehensions he had given them, that they were in extreme Danger. And the Tribune from thence concluded, that it was a capital Affair; and began to treat Fulvius as a Traitor to his Country.

UPON this therefore, the Accused thought he had a Right to appeal from the Conclusions of one single Tribune of the People, to the whole College. This Tribune, said Fulvius, varies in his Charge. After he has twice insisted on my being fined; he now is of a different Opinion, and accuses me of High Treason. The Appeal was therefore brought before the Body; and their Determination was, That the College would not oppose the Proceedings of Sempronius, but leave him at the Liberty which the Laws and Equity gave him, to make the Process against Fulvius, a civil or criminal Affair, as he pleased. Sempronius therefore, being now authorized by his Collegues, again concluded to make it a capital Affair; which not being cognizable by the Comitia by Tribes, he required the Prætor of the City to appoint a Day, on which he would assemble the Comitia by Centuries, to hear the Cause. Twenty seven Days were generally given to the Accused, to prepare for their Defence; and in this time Fulvius was not idle. He entreated his Brother, then absent, and busy at the Siege of Capua, to exert his Interest, to divert the Blow that threatened him. Rome doubtless could not but have Regard to the Applications of a famous General, whom she was now actually employing in her Armies; and the Pro-Consul was not wanting to his Brother, in his Distress, to support the Honour of their Family. He wrote to the Senate, to desire Leave to quit the Camp, and come and solicit his Brother's Affair. But tho' the General's Letter was affecting, it made no Impression on severe Senators, who thought even Gratitude itself was to give way to the Exercise of Justice, and the Interests of the Publick. So that the unfortunate Fulvius was deserted, and had nothing to do but to execute Justice on himself. Without waiting therefore for the definitive Sentence of the assembled People, he voluntarily condemned himself to Banishment, and set out for Tarquinia. He thought this would at least save his Honour; but the Assembly of the People did not favour him the more, after his Departure. They condemned him for Contumacy; and adjudged him guilty of the Banishment he had inflicted on himself.

Year of R O M E he had received, in the Person of his Brother. The Love of their Country had then the Ascendant in Roman Breasts, over personal Discontents, and Family-Interests. So that the brave General applied himself incessantly to pressing the Siege with Vigour, and shutting up the City more closely. He, and his Collegue *Appianus Claudius*, were sparing of the Blood of their Soldiers; and without exposing them to Danger in frequent Attacks, employed their Labours and Vigilance in cutting off all Provisions from the Besieged, and hindering any Person from going out of *Capua*. A Famine was already felt there, especially among the Slaves and Populace. All the Avenues to the City were so well guarded, that no Body ventured to go out of it, to carry an Account of the general Calamity to *Hannibal*, on the Banks of the *Galesus*. Till at length a *Numidian* Soldier was bold enough to undertake that Affair. He was charged with Letters to the *Carthaginian*; and had the Address to cross the *Roman* Camp in the Night, without being discovered. And this Success emboldened the Besieged to try the Success of some Sallies; in which they sometimes had the Advantage, and sometimes were worsted. The *African* Cavalry were generally successful; but the *Capuan* Infantry were always beaten by the *Romans*: And it is probable, that even the Victories of the Besieged were fatal to them. In their present Situation, the least Losses were to them considerable. Nevertheless, the *Carthaginian* Cavalry continually harassed the Besiegers; so that it was become necessary to guard against the sudden Irruptions of these troublesome Aggressors: And it is said, that a private *Centurion* in the *Roman* Army, named *Q. Navius*, found out an Expedient for driving back the *Carthaginian* Squadrons within the Walls, with Loss. He ordered every *Roman* Trooper to carry a Foot-Soldier behind him; and directed both to fight in a particular Manner. Of all the three Sorts of Javelins called *Hastæ*, which the *Romans* used, *Navius* would have the Foot-Soldiers who rode behind the Troopers make use of the least; and commanded every Man to carry seven of them. The wooden Part of these Darts was about four Foot long; and their Iron Heads the same as those of the biggest and longest Javelins. The Bucklers of these Foot-Soldiers were light, and less than those of the Horsemen. Thus armed, these Foot-Soldiers, when they came to engage, were to leap off from the Horses all at once, immediately unite, and form a Battalion; and throw their Darts at the Enemy's Horse, who did not expect to engage both Cavalry and Infantry together. And this Stratagem succeeded. *Navius* long exercised his Foot in this Way of fighting, and taught them to dismount at the first Sound of the Trumpet, rally, and throw their Darts at the Enemy's Horses and their Riders. And one Day, when the *Carthaginian* Cavalry came out to skirmish, as usual, in the Plain, between the Camp of the Besiegers, and the besieged City; the *Roman* Cavalry went to meet the *Africans*, with the Foot-Soldiers riding behind them. Upon which, a Battel ensued; but the Success was not equal. The *Roman* Infantry wounded or killed many of the *Capuan* Horse, put them in Disorder, and after they were routed, the *Roman* Cavalry which pursued them, made a terrible Slaughter of them. And this Way of Fighting, which was invented before *Capua*, and there first used, was ever after practised in the *Roman* Armies.

Liv. B. 26.
c. 4.

§. XXV. In the mean time, *Hannibal* found himself under a Necessity of leaving the sweet Tranquillity which he enjoyed on the *Galesus*. The News he received by the *Numidian* Soldier, of the Extremity to which *Capua* was reduced, forced him to leave the Blockade of the Citadel of *Tarentum*, which he hoped to have taken, while he continued in Inaction. He thought nothing of so much Importance to him, as to march to *Capua*, and relieve it. The Reputation of his Arms, and the Constancy of his Allies, depended upon it. *Capua* had, by surrendering to him, brought over all those Cities to his Interest, which supported him in *Italy*: And if he deserted her in her greatest Danger, he had Reason to expect that great Numbers of his Friends would desert him, and he should bring very great Advantages to the *Romans*. All the Provinces of *South-Italy* would have returned to the Dominion of their old Masters, and he would have had nothing to do, but to repass the Seas. But notwithstanding all, even this most important Affair was then little enough to rouse *Hannibal* out of the Indolence into which his Residence at *Capua* had plunged him. However, the Danger of the City he loved revived

revived his martial Ardour; and it must be granted, that he recovered his first Vigour, and again appeared as great, tho' not as successful a General, as formerly.

EXPEDITION was necessary, for him to come in time before a Place which was starving with Hunger, and its Wants pressing. *Hannibal* therefore left his heavy Baggage, and his Troops which had the heaviest Arms, in the Country of the *Bruttii*; and carried with him only that invincible Cavalry, which had so often gained him Advantages over the *Romans*, and his light-armed Infantry. When thus disencumbered of what he thought an useless Luggage, he made great Marches towards *Campania*. The three and thirty Elephants which he took with him were as swift as his Men and Horses. Their heavy Carcasses did not sink under the Fatigue of an hasty March. And at length, the *Carthaginian* came and encamped behind the *Tifata*, which overlooked *Capua*, and posted himself in a Valley, under Covert of that Mountain.

HANNIBAL foresaw, that it would not be possible for him to subsist long in a Country ruined by the *Consular* Armies, and therefore made Haste to take *Calatia*, and drive out the Garrison, (which he did successfully) in order to come from thence and fall on the *Roman* Camp before *Capua*. Nor was this all. The expert *Carthaginian* found Means to elude the Vigilance of the *Romans*, and to give the Besieged Notice when he would begin his Attack on the Enemy, ordering the *Capuans* to make a Sally on the *Roman* Trenches at the same time. So that his Measures were justly taken; they only wanted Success. *Hannibal* suddenly appeared, at the time appointed, with an Army able to force the Lines of the Besiegers; and this sudden Irruption somewhat terrified the *Romans*. But they were more surprized, when they saw *Hanno* and *Bostar* marching out at the Head of the *Capuan* Troops, at the same Instant. However, the two *Pro-Consuls* took each his Province, divided the Troops between them, and *Appius* made Head against the *Capuan* Garrison, whilst *Fulvius* engaged *Hannibal's* Army. The *Pro-Prætor Claudius Nero* posted himself at the Head of the Cavalry of the sixth *Legion*, in the Road to *Suessula*; and the Lieutenant-General *C. Fulvius*, at the Head of all the Cavalry of the Auxiliaries, lined the Banks of the River *Vulturnus*, which runs near *Capua*.

§. XXVI. As soon as the Generals had taken their Posts, they were attacked by the *Capuans* on one hand, and *Hannibal* on the other; and perhaps never was Onset made with greater Uproar and Clamour. Besides the Shouts of the Combatants, the vilest of the Inhabitants of *Capua* made a great Noise on their Ramparts, with striking hard upon Pots and Basons, to terrify their Enemies. But these were vain Terrors, which had no more Effect than the Clattering some People make when the Moon³⁶ is eclipsed. The brave *Appius* found no Difficulty in conquering and repulsing the Garrison. They made but a slight Defence in the Plain, and at the Foot of their own Bulwarks; but when the *Romans* pursued them in their Flight to the Gate, at which they had made their Sally, the *Legionaries* found more Difficulty and more Danger there. Not so much indeed on account of the Valour of the *Capuans*, as the Machines of War, which they had planted

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.
Cn. Fulvius
Centuma-
lus, P. Sulpi-
cius Galba,
Consuls.

Livy, B. 26.
c. 5.

³⁶ This odd Superstition prevailed among the ancient *Romans*, according to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Paulus Æmilius*. Being affrighted at the Sight of an Eclipse of the Moon, the Causes of which they did not understand, they beat their Basons, and lighted Torches and Flambeaux, to recover this Planet its Light. They thought this Phænomenon a fatal Prognostick, which foreboded some terrible Disaster. And some People were so far prepossessed with this strange Opinion, that they suspended the Execution of what they had begun, and continued inactive for three Days that immediately followed an Eclipse of the Sun, or Moon. Then they had Recourse to Expiations, to appease the Anger of the Gods, and avert the Misfortunes with which they thought themselves threatened. The Pagans carried their Credulity of this kind so far, that they looked on an Eclipse, of the Moon especially, as a supernatural Event. They imagined that the Magicians, by the secret Force of their Enchantments, threw his Planet into a kind of Swoon, or forced it to

come down from Heaven, according to this Line of *Virgil's* eighth *Ecclogue*.

Carmina vel cælo possunt deducere Lunam.

Petronius makes *Chrysis* say, that the Women of *Croton* could charm the Moon, and bring her down from Heaven. But the Magicians of *Thessaly* made themselves most formidable for these Sorts of Charms: And they who entertained this ridiculous Opinion, thought nothing more effectual against their Enchantments, than to fill the Air with the sharp Sound of several brazen Vessels; agreeably to these two Verses in *Tibullus*, B. 1. *Eleg.* 8.

*Cantus & e curru Lunam deducere tentat:
Et faceret, si non ira repulsa forent.*

This Noise, mixed with the Cries of the Spectators, was said to prevent the Effects of the Charm, and hinder the magical Words from coming up to the Moon.

Year of under the Gate. All on a sudden, a great Number of *Ballistæ* and *Scorpions* were discharged with such Fury on the *Romans*, that they were obliged to retire. However, it is not indeed said, either that their Loss was considerable, or their Courage abated; but this unlucky Accident made them quit their Design of entering the City with the Garrison, and taking *Capua* by Assault. The *Pro-Consul Appianus* was advancing in the first Line, and, by his Example and Exhortations, encouraging his Soldiers to make their Way thro' the Enemy, and finish the Siege with one happy Blow. But whilst he was speaking, a Dart thrown from a *Ballista* wounded the General in the left Shoulder, and disabled him from fighting. It was not mortal indeed; but it obliged the *Romans* to retreat; which they did in good Order, after they had made a great Slaughter of the Enemy, quite up to the Gate of their City.

ROM
DXLII.
CN. FULVIUS
CENTUM-
LUS, P. SULPI-
CIUS GALBA,
Consuls.

ON the other hand, the *Pro-Consul Fulvius* found it more difficult to withstand all the Forces of *Hannibal*. The *Roman* had drawn up his Army, at the Foot of his Trenches to defend them. His Business was to preserve his Camp; and the first Onset *Hannibal* made was terrible. A Body of *Spaniards*, preceded by three Elephants, fell on the sixth *Legion*, broke it, and penetrated quite to the Ramparts of the *Roman* Camp. But then these *Hannibalists* perceived that they had advanced too far, and were divided between Hope and Fear; apprehending on the one hand that they should be cut in pieces by the Enemy's Troops, and being very desirous on the other to force the Camp, and make themselves Masters of it. As for the *Pro-Consul*, he both saw the Designs of the *Spanish Corps*, and the Cause of their Fears; and deliberated whether he should surround these rash Men, whose too great Vivacity had separated them from the rest of their Army. *Either*, said he, *we must give them a free Passage to return to their main Body; or else cut them in pieces under the Ramparts, which they are near enough to assault*; and the latter seemed most practicable. Indeed this Body of Men was not numerous; it was, in a manner, out of the Reach of any Relief, and the *Romans* who had at first been apprehensive of their Strength, would despise them, as soon as they had invested them. With these Views therefore, the General ordered the brave *Navius*, who had already signalized himself in the Siege, to take with him the choicest of the *Centurions*, and attack this formidable Body of *Spaniards*. *Navius* instantly obeyed, took a Standard out of the Hands of a *Roman* Officer of the second *Manipulus*, in the first Line, and then cried out with a loud Voice, *Fellow-Soldiers, if you follow me so slowly, I will throw your Standard into the midst of the Enemy*. It is well known how much the *Romans* dreaded losing their Standards, and what Efforts they made to recover them, when taken by the Enemy. *Navius* was tall, and he lifted the Standard he carried very high, so that all the *Manipulus* saw it, and they were proud of following a Leader of Reputation. Then this brave Officer advanced first against the *Spanish Corps*, attacked it thro' a Shower of Darts, which were thrown at him alone; and the Attempt of the bold *Centurion* had its desired Effect.

ONE of the Lieutenant-Generals of the Army, named *M. Attilius*, excited by his Example, marched the first *Manipulus* of the second Line against the *Spaniards*, and the two Marshals of the *Roman* Camp, *Porcius Licinius*, and *T. Popilius*, attacked them on their Side. Some say, That the three Elephants were already killed as they were endeavouring to pass the Ditch, to enter the Camp by a Breach; and That these Animals filled up the Ditch with their Bodies, and made a Bridge, over which the *Spaniards* endeavoured to penetrate into the *Roman* Camp. Upon which a furious Action, and terrible Slaughter, ensued. But other Historians say That the Elephants entered the Breach, and with them a good Number of *Spaniards*, and some *Numidians*; and That these fierce Animals overturned the Tent with their Trunks, and made a terrible Havock. To which they add, That *Hannibal* found Means to get some Soldiers of his own Party, who spoke *Latin*, into the *Roman* Camp; and That these told the *Romans* who were left to defend it, that the *Pro-Consul's* Orders were to fly to the Mountains, since the Lines were already in *Hannibal's* Power; but That the *Roman* Soldiers soon discovered the Cheat, turned all their Rage against the Impostors, covered the Ground with *Spaniards* and *Numidians*, and with burning Fire-brands drove the Elephants without their Ramparts. So that, according to both these different Accounts, this at least is cer-

tain, that these *Spaniards* were cut in pieces, and payed dearly for 37 their Rashness.

THIS double Disadvantage therefore, both of having the *Capuan* Garrison driven back into the City, and of having the most valuable Part of the *Carthaginian* Army killed upon the Spot, so disconcerted the Measures of the *Carthaginian* General, that he sounded a Retreat, which was made in good Order. The Infantry retired first, and the *African* Cavalry followed them, to cover their Rear. Upon which, the *Legionaries* shewed an incredible Ardor to pursue the Enemy, and make the Victory complete; but *Fulvius* restrained it. It was enough for him to have shewn the *Capuans*, how little Dependence they were to have on the Assistance of *Hannibal*, and to have convinced *Hannibal* himself, that he was too weak to be able to preserve his dear *Capua*. Some say, That eight thousand of *Hannibal's* Army, and three thousand of the *Capuan* Garrison, were killed in the Action; and That fifteen Colours were taken from the former, and eighteen from the latter. But be that as it will, for all are not agreed as to the Number of the Dead, or Prisoners; it is at least certain, that this was the last Battel that was fought, in order to relieve *Capua*, before it surrendered. If it was true, that the Mother of *Seppius Lælius* had foretold, that her Country should be reduced to the greatest Distress, when her Son should govern it, the Prophecy was now literally fulfilled.

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.
CN. FULVIUS
CENTUMA-
LUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.

§.XXVII. IN the mean time, this ill Success made *Hannibal* deliberate what Part to act. He considered, That his Cavalry, the main Strength of his Army, would continue inactive in a Country, intersected with Lines, and against an Enemy covered with Entrenchments. Besides, *Campania* was laid waste; and it was not possible for him to get Corn and Forrage there, for the Subsistence of a numerous Army. And lastly, the *Romans* were assembling together all their Forces; and if the *Legions* of the new *Consuls* should come to the Assistance of the *Pro-Consuls*, and should be ever so little advantageously posted, they would surround him so closely, as to starve him in his Camp. And on the other hand, it would be equally shameful for him, either absolutely to desist, for a slight Repulse; or to continue before *Capua*, and be a Spectator of its Surrendry. Besides, if he lost his Reputation, his Allies would all desert him. But whither could he retire, or what Pretence could he have, to cover his Reproach? These Thoughts disturbed him, and suspended his Determination. But at length, he formed a Design which was worthy of him; which all the ancient *Greeks* admired; and which alone was sufficient to support his Glory, and preserve him the Title of the greatest General of his Age. He resolved to march directly to *Rome*. What Advantages would he gain, by surprizing the Capital, which did not expect to see *Hannibal* at her Gates! Nothing was ever greater than this Design; no Means were ever better concerted, than those he used to succeed in it! *Hannibal* was not ignorant, that he had already been reproached, with having neglected to take *Rome* immediately after the Battel of *Cannæ*; and the present Circumstances favouring such a Design, he resolved to wipe off that Reproach. It is natural enough, said he, for me unexpected Step to make me Master of at least a Part of the City. If either of the *Pro-Consuls* runs to its Defence, I shall have divided their Forces. And I can easily fight him that marches after me, near *Rome*; whilst the *Capuans* may take Advantage of his Absence, and bring Convoys of Provisions into their City. At worst, the Diversion I shall make, must be advantageous either to myself, or to *Capua*. But one single Consideration suspended the Execution of the Design *Hannibal* had formed. He feared the *Capuans* would capitulate as soon as he was gone; and hastily surrender, out of Despair. So that it was necessary, that he should satisfy them, that his Removal would turn to their Advantage. He therefore wrote them, entrusted a *Numidian* Soldier with the Packet; and the latter, pretending to desert, easily passed from the *Roman* Camp into the besieged City. In his Letter,

17 Polybius differs from Livy, in his Account of Attempts *Hannibal* made to raise the Siege of *na*. According to the Greek Historian, all the Attempts of the *Carthaginian* General ended in several repeated Skirmishes with the *Romans* in their Camp, to draw them into the Plain. But at length, he had been repulsed with Loss, he was sensible

ble that a single Army of Horse was not sufficient to force the *Pro-Consuls* Trenches. Then he formed the Design to turn all his Forces against *Rome*. He doubted not, but this Resolution would alarm the two Generals, and make them bring back a Part of their Troops to defend the Capital.

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.
CN. FULVIUS
CENTUMA-
LUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.

Hannibal declared his Design, exhorted his Friends to bear with their Scarcity for some Days longer; and assured them, that in a few Days, the Siege of *Rome*, which he was going to attempt, would deliver them from the troublesome Enemy, who kept them blocked up. And this Glimmering of Hope gave them a little Tranquillity, tho' they were afflicted with a Famine, and their Troops diminished. After this, *Hannibal* made it his whole Business to decamp with Expedition, and conceal his March from the *Romans*; but it was to no purpose: *Fulvius* had received Information by Deserters, that all Preparations were making in *Hannibal's* Camp for his Removal; and by the Steps the *Carthaginian* took, the *Pro-Consul* imagined he was going to take the Road to *Rome*; and he therefore immediately dispatched away a Courier, to inform the Senate of *Hannibal's* Design.

INDEED the first Step the *Carthaginian* took, was to seize all the Boats he found on the *Vulturnus*; and he found enough to transport his whole Army. So that the next Morning before Day-Break, *Hannibal* and his Troops were on the opposite Side of the River. In the mean time, *Rome* being informed of the March of the Enemy, and the time when he would arrive there, was full of great Apprehensions. Every one of the *Conscript Fathers* gave his Vote in the Senate, according to his Fears, or his greater or less Insight into the Consequences of Things. These great Men ought not to be considered barely as Counsellors, who knew little of military Affairs; most of them had been Generals of Armies; and none of them had been exempted from military Labours, in his Turn. Yet there was one fearful Man among them, named *Cornelius Asina*, who was for calling all the Armies in *Italy*, into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and neglecting all the rest, to save the Capital. Which would have been falling into the Snare *Hannibal* laid for the *Romans*; and would have given Life to the *Capuans*, who were almost at their last Gasps. The great *Fabius* was therefore of a different Opinion. What! said he, shall *Hannibal* be suffered to do what he pleases with us, and fill us with Dread, as oft as he thinks fit? Is it possible, that a Man who durst not appear before *Rome*, after he had vanquished us at *Cannæ*, should besiege us with Success, after we have routed him before *Capua*? His Design is not to take *Rome*, but to deliver *Capua*. The Army we have here, the Protection of our Gods, and the Height of our Ramparts, are sufficient Defences against an Attempt boldly hazarded, merely out of Artifice or Despair. Thus spake the brave *Fabius*. Whereas *Valerius Flaccus* chose the middle Way, and was more for indulging the Apprehensions of the Publick, than the intrepid *Fabius*. He was for sending an Express to the *Pro-Consuls*, to inform them of the Condition *Rome* was in, and to desire them to send what Number of Troops they thought proper, for its Defence: and his Advice was followed. Messengers were sent to the Camp, to know what Force *Hannibal* had, and how many *Legionaries* were sufficient to carry on the Siege of *Capua*. It was taken for granted, that the Judgment of the *Pro-Consuls* could be much more safely be depended on, than the Conjectures of the Senate; and it was left to the two Collegues, either to continue both before the besieged City, or to detach one of them, with such Forces as they judged proper to relieve the native City. The two Generals deliberated upon it, and both agreed that *Fulvius* should set out for *Rome* with a Detachment from the Army, whilst *Appius* continued in the Camp. The latter was not cured of the Wound he had received in the last Battel. *Fulvius* therefore chose fifteen thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, out of the whole Army, passed the *Vulturnus*, and took a different Road from *Hannibal*, in his Way to *Rome*. The latter went by *The Latin Way*; the former by *The Appian Way*, and kept along by the Sea-Side. But before *Fulvius* departed, he took one Precaution which he thought necessary. As he was to pass by *Setia*³⁸, *Cora*³⁹, and *Lanuvium*⁴⁰, he sent Orders to the *Municipal Cities* to get ready as many Provisions as would be necessary for his Troops; to gather up all the Corn in the neighbouring Countries; and to cause all the Soldiers of the *Roman* Garrisons which were dispersed about the Country, to return to the

³⁸ *Setia* was a City of the *Pomptin* Territory, in the Country of the *Volsci*. The Geographers take it to be the present *Sezza*. Its Hills produced such excellent Wine, that *Augustus* preferred it to all other. See *Vol. 1.*

³⁹ See our Account of the City of *Cora*, p. 94 of *Vol. 1.* Note 126.

⁴⁰ The City of *Lanuvium*, now called *Civita Lavinia*, and *Civita Indovina*, is in the *Campagna di Roma*. See *B. 13. p. 33.* of *Vol. 2.* Note 89.

respective Stations. So that the *Pro-Consul* found no Difficulty in the Road, but in passing the *Vulturnus*. *Hannibal* had first seized the Boats, and had burnt them, after he had used them. So that some time was spent in cutting Timber, and making Rafts to pass the River. But afterwards, the *Roman* Army met with no Obstruction in their March. The Subjects of *Rome* signally shewed their Liberty to them: All the People brought them Provisions as they passed; and this made the Soldiers chearful, and eager to get as soon as possible to their Capital, which they were going to defend.

§. XXVIII. As for ⁴¹ *Hannibal*, he took a Compass, before he came in sight of *Rome*; doubtless with Design, either to conceal his Intentions, or to mark his Way, by the Ruin of Cities and Towns. From ⁴² *Cale* he went to ⁴³ *Sidicinum*; then all on a sudden, fell down on *Suessa* ⁴⁴, went up to *Allife* ⁴⁵, returned to *The Latin Way*, came to *Casinum* ⁴⁶, from thence to *Aquinum* ⁴⁷, *Interamna* ⁴⁸, and at length to the Fields of *Fregellæ* ⁴⁹, on the Banks of the *Liris* ⁵⁰; where the *Fregellani* signalized their Zeal, by two memorable Actions. They first broke down their Bridge; and then sent to the Senate of *Rome* one of their Citizens, named *Hufius*, who travelled Day and Night, and brought to *Rome* the News of *Hannibal's* ⁵¹ Approach. The Alarm that this News gave in all the Quarters of the City is not to be expressed. Fear multiplied the Number of the Enemy, and the People terrified one another. *Fulvius* was not arrived with his Reinforcement, which gave great Uneasiness. Is it possible, said the Inhabitants of *Rome*, that *Hannibal* should have ever resolved to come to us, if he had not defeated the Consular Armies before *Capua*. He durst not venture so near our Capital, in the Times of his greatest Prosperity. So much Confidence could not enter into the Heart of any Man but a Conqueror. And these Rumours struck the *Roman* Ladies with Dread. Their Shrieks were heard in all the Streets, and the Temples resounded with their Groans and Prayers. They threw themselves prostrate, with their Hair dishevelled, at the Feet of their Altars, and swept the Sanctuaries with it; which was a Ceremony never practised, but in extreme Danger. As for the Men, they prepared to make such a Defence as was worthy of them. The two *Consuls* of the Year, *Centumalus* and *Galba*, appear to have been still in *Rome*; where they had raised one *Legion*, and were busy in raising another. The *Roman* Citizens who were dispersed about the Country, and of whom this *Legion* was to be composed, had Orders to repair to the City on a Day appointed, to be reviewed. So that *Rome* neither wanted Soldiers nor Officers. In case of Need, the Senate would have furnished her with Commanders, and the Burghers, who were inured to military Exercises from their Youth, would have supplied the Place of regular Troops. Besides, Multitudes of Men fled to *Rome* from all Parts, for Safety.

In the mean time, *Hannibal* daily advanced. From *Fregellæ*, whose Territory he laid waste, to punish the Inhabitants for breaking down their Bridge, he came to *Labicum* ⁵², and leaving ⁵³ *Algidum* behind him, passed on to *Tusculum* ⁵⁴.

⁴¹ Polybius only says, That *Hannibal* directed his March through the Country of the *Samnites*; That he took the Precaution to send a Detachment of his troops before him, with Orders to examine all the passes, and seize them; and That the Inhabitants of *Rome* thought him near *Capua*, when he passed the *Tiber*, or the *Teverone*, to come and encamp five Miles from *Rome*.

⁴² *Cale* is now called *Calvi*. See Vol. 2.

⁴³ We have already spoken of the Territory of *Sidicini*, and their Capital City called *Teanum*.

⁴⁴ See our Accounts of the City of *Suessa*, in the preceding Volumes.

⁴⁵ *Allife*, now called *Alisi*, stands in the *Terra Lavoro*.

⁴⁶ The City of *Casinum* gave Mount *Casins* its name. See the preceding Volumes.

⁴⁷ *Aquinum*, a City on the Banks of the *Melfa*, has its ancient Name to this Day. *Frontinus*, by the *Naturalist*, and *Tacitus*, give it the Title *Roman Colony*.

⁴⁸ The Ruins of the ancient City of *Interamna* are yet to be seen near *Ponte Corvo*, on the Banks of the *Garigliano*, in that Part of *New Latium*, which is called *Terra di Lavoro*.

⁴⁹ Most Geographers place *Fregellæ* near *Ceperano*, in the *Campagna di Roma*.

⁵⁰ See our Accounts of the Course of the *Liris*, or *Garigliano*, in the former Volumes.

⁵¹ *Hannibal*, according to *Livy*, had passed thro' the Territories of *Frusinon*, *Ferentinum*, and *Anagnia*. The first of these Cities stood near the Place now called *Fraselone*. *Ferentinum* and *Anagnia* retain their old Names. All three belong to the *Campagna di Roma*.

⁵² *Labicum* was formerly a City of *Old Latium*, in the Neighbourhood of *Zagaruolo*, ten Miles from *Rome*.

⁵³ Old *Algidum* is no longer in being. There is now in its Territory an Inn, which the *Italians* call *L'Osteria del l'Aglio*.

⁵⁴ We find some Traces of the ancient City of *Tusculum* near *Frascati*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.
CN. FULVIUS
CENTUMA-
LUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.

But this City did not open her Gates to him; and the *Carthaginian* not thinking it worth the Pains of a Siege, passed by it, and came down to *Gabii* ⁵⁵. From thence, he came on by *The Prænestine* ⁵⁶ Way, till he arrived within eight hundred Paces of *Rome*, and entered the Lands of the *Pupinian* ⁵⁷ Tribe, where he pitched his Camp. The *Numidian* Cavalry in the Advanced-Guard of the *Carthaginian* Army filled all Places with Slaughter, made many Prisoners, and drove an innumerable Multitude of *Latins* before them. It is not to be conceived, what Booty the Enemy took, in a cultivated Country, which had not for a long time been infested by any foreign Troops, and did not expect this sudden Irruption of the *Carthaginian*. But in the midst of the Confusion in the City, and its Neighbourhood, the *Pro-Consul Fulvius* appeared with his Troops, which were inured to War, and had been victorious before *Capua*; and the Senate had taken one Precaution before his Arrival, which was necessary with respect to the Laws of *Rome*. Generally speaking, no Person had any Authority within the City, but the *Consuls* for the time being. All other Magistrates, and the Generals appointed for the *Provinces*, were only private Persons in *Rome*. The *Conscript Fathers* therefore passed a Decree, giving *Fulvius* an equal Authority with the *Consuls*. By this means, *Rome* appointed herself a supernumerary General to repulse the Enemy. With this new Authority, *Fulvius* entered *Rome* by the Gate *Capena* ⁵⁸, crossed the Quarter of *The* ⁵⁹ *Carinae* at the Head of his Troops, came to the Hill *Esquilinus* ⁶⁰, marched out of the City, and encamped between the Gates ⁶¹ *Esquilina* and *Collina*. The *Ædiles* were charged with supplying the new Camp with Provisions, and all sorts of Ammunition; and the two *Consuls*, with the Senate, went thither, to hold a Council of War, in which all due Dispositions were made for the Defence of *Rome*. In the first Place, the Situation was approved, where *Fulvius* had chosen to encamp; and then all the Officers were assigned their Posts. *C. Calpurnius*, the *Prætor of Rome*, had the Command of the *Capitol*. Detachments were sent to *The Hill of Alba*, and to *Æsula* ⁶², to watch the Enemy. All the Ramparts were lined with Soldiers; Troops were stationed at proper Distances within the Walls; and the Senate thought it necessary to keep their House continually sitting, in the *Forum Romanum*, to be ready against all Emergencies. They were the Oracle to which recourse was to be had on all Occasions.

Polybius, B. 9.
c. 6.

Livy, B. 26.
c. 10.

§. XXIX. THESE Dispositions of the *Romans* made an Impression on their Enemies; and *Hannibal* himself was struck with them. Hitherto, he had not despaired of taking *Rome*; but now he began to doubt of it. The Accounts Deserters brought him, of the good Order settled in the City, and the Forces ready to defend it, began to intimidate him. Insomuch that he retired; encamped beyond the *Anio*, about three Miles farther from the City than before; and there contented himself with pillaging, and laying waste the Country, without making the least Attack on the City. Nevertheless, he had the Curiosity to go and reconnoitre the *Romans*, and satisfy himself of their Condition: he advanced towards the Gate *Collina*, and appeared over-against the Temple of *Hercules* ⁶³, attended with two thousand Horse.

THEN

⁵⁵ We have fixed the Situation of *Gabii* near the Place called *Osteria del Finocchio*. *Sanfon* places this City near *Colonna*. See B. 1. p. 17. of Vol. 1. Note 68.

⁵⁶ *The Prænestine Way* began in the City of *Rome* itself, near the *Forum Romanum*. From thence it passed through a great Street called *The Patrician Street*; and went on to the Gate *Esquilina*; from whence it reached, (leaving *The Esquiline Field* on the Left) as far as to *Præneste* and *Anagnia*, where it joined *The Latin Way*. After this it was carried on beyond *Benevento*, as we learn from *The Old Itinerary*, and *Pentinger's Tables*.

⁵⁷ *The Pupinian Tribe* lay near *Tusculum*. See what we have already said of it.

⁵⁸ *The Gate Capena* is now called *The Gate of St. Sebastian*. See B. 15. p. 116. of Vol. 2. Note 75.

⁵⁹ The Quarter of *The Carinae* lay between the Hills *Cælius* and *Palatinus*. See Vol. 1. B. 4.

⁶⁰ We have already spoken of the Hill *Esquilinus* in several Parts of this History; especially B. 4. p. 140. of Vol. 1. Note 10.

⁶¹ See our Accounts of the Gates *Collina* and *Esquilina*, B. 5. p. 212. of Vol. 1. Notes 59, 60; and B. 11. p. 501. of Vol. 1. Note 7.

⁶² The City of *Æsula* stood on an Eminence between *Tybur* and *Præneste*. *Horace* speaks of it Ode 28. B. 3.

*Eripe te moræ
Ne semper udum Tybur, & Æsula
Declive contemplaris aruum, &
Telegoni juga parricide.*

By these Lines it appears, that this City was near *Tusculum*, which was supposed to have been founded by *Telemon*.

⁶³ The *Romans* had erected several Temples to *Hercules* in different Parts of *Rome*. Besides the which stood without the Gate *Collina*, the Ancient mention eight others. The first was on the Hill *Aventinus*.

Then, the brave *Fulvius Flaccus* was full of Indignation, at the Boldness of the *Carthaginian*; and instantly sent out a Detachment of Horse to attack him. Nor was this all. He had in his Army, a Body of twelve thousand *Numidians*, all Deferters from *Hannibal*, and his irreconcilable Enemies; and these *Fulvius* had posted on the Hill ⁶⁴ *Aventinus*, till further Orders. But now, the *Pro-Consul* commanded them to march to the Assistance of the *Roman* Cavalry, which was by this time engaged with *Hannibal's* Squadrons. In order therefore to come at the Gate *Esquilina*, these *Numidians* were to cross the City, and they marched in good Order thro' the Streets. But this Sight affrighted the Inhabitants. As they knew not that the *Pro-Consul* *Fulvius* had brought any *Numidians* with him, and as they had seen them come from the Hill *Aventinus*, they imagined that this Hill had been surprized by the Enemy; and their Fright and Commotion was so great upon it, that if *Hannibal* had not been at the Gates of *Rome*, most of its Inhabitants would have gone out of it. However, every one thought it necessary to retire to his House at least, and there prepare for his Defence, or expect certain Death. In this Pannic, every one took Arms, and some of the *Numidians*, who were the Defenders of their City, lost their Lives. The Crowd of the People, and the Cattel that were brought out of the Fields into the Streets for Safety, was such, that the *Africans* could not, without much Difficulty, make their Way thro' Men intimidated by their Presence. But at length, they got without the Walls, marched thro' hollow Ways, in the midst of Tombs erected in the Road, joined the *Roman* Squadrons, and assisted them in the Fight. The Onset was vigorous, but turned to the Advantage of the Besieged. The *Carthaginians* were repulsed, and *Hannibal* returned to his Camp.

NEVERTHELESS, the Terror in *Rome* was in the mean time so far from being abated, that it raised a Tumult there. And as the untractable People grew more and more refractory, whilst their Heads were employed on the Walls, or without the City, the Senate made use of this Expedient to suppress them. They ordered, that all those who had formerly been *Dictators*, *Consuls*, or *Censors*, should have Authority to command in their respective Quarters of the City, as long as *Hannibal* continued before it. But it is said, that this General had no mind to quit his Enterprize, without a Battel; and therefore repassed the *Anio*, formed his Troops within reach of the Enemy, and bid them Defiance. *Fulvius* and the two *Consuls* did not think it proper to decline fighting; which they might venture, almost without any Hazard, in Sight, and at the Foot, of their Ramparts: And never were Combatants more nearly concerned in Interest to exert themselves, than both Parties now were. To take or to preserve *Rome*, was the Great End that both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* proposed to gain by this Victory. All things were ready for the Onset; when a sudden Storm much abated the Ardour of both Parties. Nay, the Tempest which separated the two Armies was, according to some declamatory Historians, miraculous. According to them, it is not enough to say that a violent Storm came from the Heavens, but we must add, that it came also from the sacred Walls of *Rome*, and especially from the *Capitol*. This adorable City, say they, threw all Nature into Confusion, cast Thunderbolts at her Enemies, and put them to Flight. And, which is more surprizing, when the Armies were again drawn up the next Day, the Tempest returned with such Violence, that it forced both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to retire from their Tents, the Soldiers not being able to carry their Arms. And lastly, to

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.
CN. FULVIUS
CENTUMA-
LUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.

Florus, B. 2.
Claudian de
Bello Gætico.

Livy, B. 26.
c. 11.

minius, to the West, over-against the *Tyber*, and Gate *Trigemina*, as we learn from *Victor* and *Macbius*. It was dedicated to *Hercules*, under the Title *The Conqueror*. The second, according to those authors, was erected near the *Ox-Market*, in Honour *Hercules The Victorious*. The third stood without *The Latin Gate*; the fourth, without *The Gate* *pen.* The fifth, on the Hill *Quirinalis*. Two others were erected to him, in *The Flaminian Circus*, under the Title of *The Guardian*; and another under that of *The Hercules of the Muses*, according to *Ennemes the Rhetorician*, *Orat. de Schol.* This Temple was common to *The Muses*, to *Hercules*; because, upon the Credit of an Tradition, it was believed, that this *Grecian* had taught *Evander* Letters, when he came

into *Italy*; according to *Plutarch* in his *Roman Quest.* 58. Where the eighth Temple stood, in which *Hercules* was honoured with the Title of *The Defender*, is uncertain. All we know, is, that the Soldiers who had served all the Years required of them, and the Gladiators who were dismissed from further Service, hung up their Arms and Bucklers in the Temple of *Hercules PROPUGNATOR*. This appears from the following Line of *Horace's* first Epistle of his first Book; where speaking of the Gladiator *Pejanus*, who was retired into the Country, he says,

—Armis
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro.

64 See our Account of the Hill *Aventinus*, B. 1.

4 I

complete

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.
Cn. Fulvius
Centuma-
lus, P. Sulpi-
cius Galba,
Consuls.

* Polyb. B. 9.

Festus at the
Word Redicu-
lus.
Polyb. B. 9.

complete the Prodigy, it was fair again, as soon as the Armies had left the Plain. But it happens, fortunately for the Discovery of Truth, that a Greek Historian*, almost a Contemporary, and of great Fidelity, who has given us an exact Relation of the Blockade of *Rome*, does not say one Word either of the Preparations made for the two Battels, or of the Prodigy which kept the two Armies from fighting. *Hannibal* therefore continued quiet in his Camp; but was ready to make the best Use of any Opportunity that offered: Whilst *Rome* was no longer alarmed. Her Senate provided for all Affairs abroad, with as much Quietness and Tranquillity as if the Enemy had not been at her Gates.

§. XXX. As the Armies of the Republick in *Spain* wanted Reinforcements, after their Losses the last Year, the *Conscript Fathers* sent some thither, without regard to the present Wants of *Italy*. *Hannibal* could not but be uneasy at the News of this Departure of Part of the *Roman* Troops; he looked on it as an Insult on the Weakness of his Forces. And he was more concerned at an Incident which really was but a Trifle. A Defenter told him, that a Piece of Land near *Rome*, in the Place where he was, had lately been sold at *Rome*, for as much Money, as it would have sold for, if he had not been Master of it. This even exasperated him; and by way of Bravado to the *Romans*, he put up to Sale the Banker's Shops round the *Forum Romanum*, as if the City had already been his Property. Then he drew nearer to it, and came and encamped not far from the Gate *Capena*. But he was, by I know not what Illusions, shamefully forced to retire farther from it: And the *Romans* having marked the Place, which had exposed *Hannibal* to Contempt, afterwards built a little ⁶⁵ Temple upon it.

INDEED *Hannibal* thought in good Earnest of returning. He had brought one Part of his Scheme to bear. The *Pro-Consul Fulvius* had been forced to leave the Siege of *Capua*, to come to the Assistance of the Capital; had left only his Colleague *Appius* before the besieged City; and the Surrendry of it had been postponed for some time. But he was probably little satisfied with this small Success; and he decamped from before *Rome*, and came and posted himself on a little River named ⁶⁶ *Tutia*, or *Turia*; and from thence came into the Territory of the ⁶⁷ *Capenates*. There, in the midst of a sacred Wood, he found a Temple dedicated to

⁶⁵ The *Romans* consecrated this little Temple, in the Way to the Gate *Capena*, to a new Divinity of their own making, to whom they gave the Name of REDICULUS. This Name was taken from the Event itself, according to *Festus*. *Hannibal*, says he, when near the City of *Rome*, saw hideous Spectres in the Air, which filled him with a sudden Terror, and forced him to turn back immediately; and hence comes the Term REDICULUS, a redeundo. But others derive it from the Word *Ridiculus*; which signifies any thing that deserves to be laughed at. The ill Success of *Hannibal's* Enterprize, made the *Romans*, say they, very jocose upon it; and to perpetuate his Shame, they erected a Temple to the God *Risus*, or *Laughter*. But if this was the Occasion which gave Birth to the God REDICULUS, the *Romans* were not the first who paid him a particular Worship. *Lycurgus*, before them, as we learn from *Plutarch*, had erected Statues to the God *Laughter*, as the most amiable of all the Gods. The *Thessalians* offered Sacrifices to him every Year; which Sacrifices were accompanied with all those Rejoicings which were suitable to the Character of the God they worshiped. His Images were always placed near those of *Venus*, with the *Pleasures* and *Loves*. *Pausanias* mentions this God under the Name of *Θιός γέλωτος*. Nevertheless, *Festus's* Etymology of the Word REDICULUS, is founded on the best Authority. REDICULI Fanum, extra portam Capenam Cornificius ait fuisse; qui REDICULUS propterea appellatus est, quia accedens ad urbem Annibal ex eo loco redierit, quibusdam visis perterritus. *Varro*, in his Satyr called *Hercules tuam fidem*, gives this God the Name of TUTANUS, as if he had protected *Rome* against *Hannibal*. He makes this God speak thus:

Noctū Annibalis cum fugavi exercitum,
Tutanus hoc, Tutanus Romæ Numcupor.
Hoc propter omnes qui laborant, invocant.

Pliny says, B. 54. c. 6. that of all the Enemies the Republick had to contend with from its Foundation, *Hannibal* was the only one who threw a javelin into the City. Which was all the Glory he gained by this Expedition.

⁶⁶ It is uncertain whether the River or little Brook called *Tutia*, or *Turia*, which ran into the *Tyber*, rose in *Tuscany*, or the Country of the *Sabinians*. *Livy's* Account seems to imply that it watered *Hetruria*. *Hannibal*, says he, came and posted himself six Miles from *Rome*, near the Banks of the *Turia*; and from thence he continued his March towards *Capena*, an ancient City belonging to the *Hetrurians*. And *Silius* the Poet seems to confirm this Opinion, in these Lines, B. 12.

Turia deducit tenuem sine nomine rivum,
Et tacite Tuscis inglorius adfluit undis.

It was, according to the latter, only a small Rivulet, which ran into the *Tyber*. *Cluver* thinks it the same which is now called *La Fossa*, and which runs into that River, near the Place which the *Italians* call *La prima Porta*. But if *Turia* watered the Territory of the *Sabines*, it was the same which is yet to be seen near *Castel Fubileo*, and the Ruins of the ancient City of *Fidene*, five Miles from *Rome*, between the *Allia* and the *Anio*.

⁶⁷ *Cluver* places *Capena*, a City of old *Hetruria*, near *Civitella*, in the Neighbourhood of *Piano* Mount *Soracte*. But *Hollstenius* thinks it stood at *Morlupo*. See B. 12. p. 596. of Vol. 1. Note 27.

the Goddesses ⁶⁸ *Feronia*, which the neighbouring People had enriched with their Offerings; and whose Riches had drawn the covetous *Carthaginian* thither. He and his Troops got a considerable Booty of Gold and Silver there, tho' he did not carry away all the Treasure. After *Hannibal* was gone, and the Temple pulled down, the Soldiers who dug in the Ruins, found some valuable Things among them. But tho' it is certain that this supposed holy Place was destroyed; the Historians do not agree, whether *Hannibal* plundered it as he went, or as he returned from *Rome*. In this, which is indeed of little Importance, they vary, according to the different Routs they make him to have taken, to, and from, that Capital.

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.
CN. FULVIUS
CENTUMA-
LIUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.
Liv. B. 26.
c. 11.

§. XXXI. AFTER this, *Hannibal* pursued his March towards the East, at the Head of an Army loaded with Booty; but the *Romans* did not suffer him to retreat without Molestation. They followed him, and one of their Generals, I believe *P. Sulpicius*, the present *Consul*, harrassed him in his March. Till at length he came up with him at *Fregellæ*. And there, in order to hinder his passing the *Liris*, the Bridge over which had been broken down by the *Fregellani*, the *Romans* posted himself on the Eminencies, in order to attack him. But the Address of *Hannibal*, and the Valour of his *Numidians*, rescued him out of this Difficulty. His invincible *African* Cavalry faced the *Romans* on all Sides; and by that means the *Carthaginian* Infantry had time to pass the River. All the Advantage *Fulvius* gained from this Action, was only the Recovery of some of the Spoil, which the Enemy had carried off, and of which they now eased themselves, at their passing the River; and three hundred Prisoners, which the *Roman* carried back to the Camp, to which he returned. After this, *Hannibal* marched so precipitately for three Days together, that he seems not to have abandoned the Design of completing his Work, and delivering *Capua*. He did not yet know, that *Appius*, one of the *Pro-Consuls*, was still before the Place, and continued the Blockade of it. Upon this News, he marched more slowly, and tarried for the rest of his Army to join him; and as soon as they were got together, near *Capua*, he suddenly fell on *Appius's* Camp, in the Night. A great Number of *Romans* were killed upon the Spot; and the *Pro-Consul* was forced to leave his Camp, and fly to the Mountains, to wait for a Reinforcement. And then *Hannibal* despaired of saving *Capua*. He was afraid of having all the *Roman* Forces immediately upon him; and therefore abandoned his Design. He marched first thro' *Lucania*, then thro' the Country of the *Bruttii*, and fell down with such Expedition into the Territory of *Rhegium*, that he had like to have surprized the City; at least he took a good Number of Burghers, who were dispersed about the Country, and made them Slaves. A memorable Expedition, in which this Great Commander displayed all his Talents for War! He was disappointed indeed; but the Value of great Enterprizes is not always to be estimated by their Success ⁷⁰.

§. XXXII. AND now, *Hannibal's* Departure, and the Return of *Appius* before *Capua*, put the Siege upon the same Foot as before. The *Capuans* looked on the

⁶⁸ See what we have said, in the first Volume, of the Temple dedicated to the Goddess *Feronia*, at a little Distance from Mount *Soracte*. If it was true, according to *Livy*, that *Hannibal* led his Army into *Hetruria* thro' the Territory of the *Capenates*, he must have passed the *Tyber*, and we cannot conceive with what Design he could do this, unless the Riches of the Temple of *Feronia* drew him into this Country. And it is certain, both from *Polybius* and *Livy*, that whatever were his Motives to it, he soon repassed the same River, in order to march towards *Campania*.

⁶⁹ *Coelius*, an ancient Author, quoted by *Livy*, has given us a particular Account of all the Places thro' which he pretends *Hannibal* passed, in his Road to *Rome*. From *Campania*, says he, he came to *Samnium*, crossed the Cantons of the *Peligni* and *Marcucini*, took the Road to *Sulmona*, and fell down towards the City of *Alba*, in the Country of the *Marfi*. From thence he marched to the Side of *Amitemum*, then passed by the Towns of *Fornoli*, *Cutula*, and *Reate*, fell down upon *Fretum*, and lastly, came from thence into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*.

⁷⁰ *Polybius* has omitted most of the Circumstances that *Livy* mentions, of *Hannibal's* Expedition against *Rome*. According to the *Greek* Historian, the *Carthaginian* General set out on a sudden for *Rome*, five Days after he arrived before *Capua*. But he took the Precaution to leave his Fires burning in his Camp, to conceal his March from the two *Consuls*, *Fulvius* and *Appius*. He crossed *Samnium* with surprizing Expedition, and passed the *Apulia* with his Army, before the People of *Rome* were apprized of his Design. But the Activity and Vigilance of the two *Consuls Elect*, *Cacius Fulvius*, and *Publius Sulpicius*, frustrated the Expectations of *Hannibal*. The two *Roman* Generals marched to meet the *Carthaginian* Army, at the Head of a Legion, and some new Levies, which were then made with all possible Haste, as also a great Number of Volunteers, and forced it to return back immediately. So that all the Fruits of *Hannibal's* Expedition were only the ravaging the neighbouring Countries. And he was even obliged to leave great Part of his Booty behind him, that he might with the more Ease escape the Pursuit of the *Romans*.

Year of Deliverance of their City, as a desperate Affair; and were confirmed in it, by a *R O M E* Message sent them from the *Roman* Generals, that they would give all those their Lives, who should leave *Capua*, and repair to the *Roman* Camp. But not one *Capuan* did so; which proceeded more from their Fear of being ill treated by the *Romans*, than any Fidelity to the *Carthaginians*. Their own Consciences reproached them with a perfidious Revolt, accompanied with too odious Circumstances to be pardoned: And the Despair of the Besieged was increased, by the Disorder which reigned in the City. No wholesome Advice was followed there; nor indeed was any one in their Councils capable of giving it. The Nobility had withdrawn themselves from the Senate; and no private Person had Authority to assemble the Body, for publick Deliberations. The whole Power of the Government was in the Hands of a mean contemptible Man, one *Lesius*, who had obtained it, as it were by Force, and did by no means become the high Post he possessed. All the Men of Condition were retired to their own Houses, where they quietly waited for Death, which they thought not far off. So that the whole Administration of Affairs devolved upon the two *Carthaginian* Generals, who were more concerned about their own Safety, and that of their Troops, than the Welfare of the Inhabitants of *Capua*. They both wrote Letters to *Hannibal*, in which they were very plain with him. Their extreme Danger made that Liberty excusable. *You have*, said they to him, *not only betrayed the Interests of Capua; but your Carthaginian Troops likewise continue here, exposed defenceless to the Mercy of the Romans. For fear of seeing the City taken before your Face, you are suddenly turned about to the Country of the Bruttii. Whilst the Romans are so steady, that you could not, even by besieging Rome, make a sufficient Diversion to deliver Capua. How different is your Behaviour from theirs? They are indefatigable Enemies; You a cowardly and inconstant Friend. Return, Hannibal, Return hither, with all your Troops. There is yet time enough. You may force the Roman Entrenchments on one Side; whilst we, with all the Courage of Men in Despair, make a Sally on the other. Did you pass the Alpes, only to take Rhegium, or beset one half of Tarentum? Hannibal ought to be there only, where the Roman Legions and Carthaginian Armies are. It was by these Maxims that you conquered near the Lake Thrasimenus, and before Cannæ. Will you forget yourself?*

*Livy, B. 26.
c. 12.*

Liv. ibid.

THESE Letters were committed to the Care of some *Numidians*, who had more than once undertaken such Affairs with Success; and they came over to the *Romans*, and passed for Deserters. They were the more easily believed, because the Famine had long been great in the City. But as they were endeavouring to find a proper Time to escape, to carry their Letters to *Hannibal*, an Accident discovered them not to be real Deserters, but Cheats, who endeavoured to impose upon those, to whom they pretended to fly for Refuge. A *Capuan* Woman, who was a Mistress to one of them, followed the *Numidian* Soldier who kept her, to the *Roman* Camp; and, by an Act of Treachery worthy of such a Creature, told the *Pro-Consuls* the Design of the Besieged, and particularly of the Soldier, who had loved her so well, as to entrust her with the Secret. She promised to maintain her Accusation, in the Presence of the accused Deserter; and they were brought Face to Face. The *Numidian*, at first, strenuously declared that he did not know her; but at the Sight of the Rack, he told all, and confessed more than he had even declared to his Mistress. He owned, that he was not the only Deserter from the City who was entrusted with these Letters. For the greater Security, several Copies had been taken of them, and given to different *Numidians*. These, under the Appearance of Deserters, were rambling about the *Roman* Camp, and waiting for an Opportunity to get to *Rhegium*. Search was made for them, and above seventy of them seized, condemned to be whipped, had their Thumbs cut off, and were driven back into *Capua*, where they were a Burden to the Besieged, and could not hurt the Besiegers.

§. XXXIII. AT the Sight of these maimed Refugees, the City was in the utmost Consternation. All the People ran to the Place where the *Comitia* were held, and forced *Lesius* to assemble the Senators there. These had long hid themselves: But the People threatened to come into their Houses, and carry them to the Senate-

71 We have spoken of *Rhegium* already. It is Parts of Italy, near The Streights of Sicily. It is now called Reggio.

house by Force. So that Fear brought them together, and their House was never fuller. The Majority were for sending a Deputation to the *Pro-Consuls*, to capitulate with them, and obtain at least tollerable Conditions of them. But there was one among them, who had long been exasperated against the *Romans*, and his Fear of the Punishment he deserved, made him untractable. This was *Vibius Virius*, the first Author of the Revolt, and that declared Friend to *Hannibal*; and when he came to speak, every thing he said favoured of Rage and Despair. You propose, said he, to send a Deputation to the *Romans*. Have you forgotten upon what Terms we are with them? We are not now in such a Situation as when we went to intreat them to assist us against the *Samnites*; and surrendered up ourselves and Estates to their Republick. We have since gone off from her, when she was sunk low in Credit, and in the most odious manner? Did we even spare the *Roman Garrison*? Did not we stifle them in our Stoves, instead of sending them away safe and untouched? Have we not introduced *Hannibal* here, and sent him from hence to try to take *Rome*? Are these Injuries which the *Romans* can forget? On the contrary, only observe how obstinately they are bent on revenging them. *Hannibal* presses *Tarentum*, and its Citadel is threatened; yet *Rome* leaves both to be taken, rather than not turn all her Forces against *Capua*. Two Consular Armies besiege it; and for the sake of the Pleasure of punishing us, all the Schemes of the foreign General are neglected. We have been shut up for above a Year together; and the *Romans* still obstinately continue a Blockade, which has cost them much Blood, and numberless Labours. The Republick suffers her Provinces to be laid waste, and exposes her Capital to the utmost Danger, rather than break up from before *Capua* for one Moment. Even wild Beasts have Tenderness enough for their young, to fly to their Help when assaulted: But our furious Enemy would not leave us, even to fly to the Assistance of their Children. They thought the Reduction of *Capua* a more important Concern, than appeasing the Lamentations of their Wives, and preserving the Tombs of their Fathers. What then have you to expect from a People who thirst for your Blood, and have not any Passion stronger than the Desire of ruining you? Death, yes, Death, to me, is a much better Refuge, than the Clemency of the *Romans*. Death will at least prevent my bearing the Insults of an insolent Conqueror. An *Appius* or a *Fulvius* shall never drag me thro' the Streets of *Rome* at the Tail of his Chariot, to grace his Triumph. *Rome* shall never see me tied to a Post, and submitting my Head to the Ax of her Lictors, after having been first beaten with Rods. I will not live to see our Houses in Flames, our Walls levelled, and our Wives dishonoured. Alas! what can we hope for, from an Enemy which glories in executing Vengeance with the utmost Rigour. The *Romans* ruined *Alba*, tho' the Place from whence they originally came. Can *Capua* then expect a better Fate? The *Romans* hate it more than *Carthage*. Let Death then be our Resource; 'tis our only Remedy. I have prepared a great Entertainment at my House. After we have eaten and drank plentifully, a Cup of Poison will end our Days, and our Misfortunes, together. Let all those who either are weary of Life, or despise it, or despair of preserving it, follow me. Funeral Piles are ready to burn all our Bodies. A glorious Death will at least procure us Respect from our Enemies: and the perfidious *Hannibal* will lament the Loss of Allies, who did not deserve to be thus deserted and betrayed.

Thus spake *Virius*. But the most numerous, and most sensible Part of the Senators, did not give into his Fury. The Majority decreed, That a Deputation should be sent to the Generals of the Besiegers. The *Capuans* had Multitudes of Instances before their Eyes, of the Indulgence of *Rome* to the Nations that submitted to her. Those who were of a contrary Opinion, to the Number of twenty seven, followed *Virius*, and took Part of the fatal Entertainment to which they were invited. There they first endeavoured, as much as they could, to drown their present Uneasiness, and their Apprehensions of the future, in Wine and Feasting; and then the Scene soon shifted; and all was Melancholy and Horror. Poison was presented to the Guests, which they all took; and after they had embraced one another, to take their last Adieu, and had with Tears lamented the Fate of their Country, some continued near the Funeral-Piles which were prepared for them, others returned to their own Houses. The Poison operated slowly, and its Effects were for some time suspended by the Quantity of Meat they had eaten, and

Livy, B. 26.
c. 14.

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.
CN. FULVIUS
CENTUMA-
LUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.
Livy, B. 26.
c. 13.

Year of the Wine they had drank. But all died, sooner or later, and before the Gates of the City were opened to the Enemy.

DXLIII.

CN. FULVIUS
CENTUM-
LUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.

§.XXXIV. As to the rest of the *Capuans*, the Historians have not told us the Terms of the Treaty they made with the *Romans*. We are left to judge of them only by the Event. But it is at least certain, that the Day after the Deputation, the *Pro-Consuls* ordered one ⁷² of the Gates of the City to be opened, that they might take Possession of the Place; and the Lieutenant-General *C. Fulvius*, entered it with one *Legion*, and some Squadrons of Horse. His first Orders, after he had seized all the Gates, and placed strong *Roman* Guards there, that none of the Besieged might escape, were, that all the Arms should be brought to him. Then the Soldiers of the *Carthaginian* Garrison were seized, and the Remains of the Senators were sent to the *Roman* Camp, to be tried by the *Pro-Consuls*. At first, they were loaded with Chains, and forced to produce all the Gold and Silver they had, which amounted to seventy Pounds ⁷³ Weight of Gold, and three thousand two hundred Pounds Weight of Silver; and then those of the Senators, who had most openly declared against *Rome*, were sent to two *Roman* Cities. Five and twenty were sent to *Cale*, and eight and twenty to *Teanum*; and it was resolved to determine the Fate of these chief Men in *Capua*, before any thing was decreed concerning the rest of the Inhabitants.

APPIUS inclined most to Clemency; and *Fulvius* thought that it was necessary to make Examples of them; and the Dispute grew warm between the two *Consuls*. To put an end to it therefore, *Appius* referred the Affair to the Determination of the Senate at *Rome*: And he likewise thought it belonged to the *Conscript Fathers*, to judge some *Municipal* Towns of the Allies of *Rome*, which were accused of holding a Correspondence with the *Capuans*, and assisting them, during the War. But his Colleague was more sanguine and bold in asserting the Rights of Generals of Armies, after the Surrendry of the Enemy's Cities. He suffered *Appius* to write what he pleased to the Senate; but he himself set about executing the Vengeance of *Rome*. He immediately went out of the Tent where the Council of War was held, and ordered the *Legionary Tribunes*, and Commanders of the Allies, to get ready two thousand Horse, to march at the third Sound of the Trumpet. No body knew how *Fulvius* would employ these Troops; but he marched out of the Camp at the Head of them in the middle of the Night, and by Break of Day arrived at the Gates of *Teanum*. Then he ordered the Magistrates to bring before him the twenty eight *Capuan* Senators who were detained Captives there; and did not delay their Punishment a Moment. After they had been beaten with Rods, they fell by the *Axes* of the *Lictors*. From thence the *Pro-Consul* hastened to *Cale*, and shewed the other five and twenty Senators there, no more Mercy than he had done those of *Teanum*. Indeed *Fulvius* might have spared their Lives, if he pleased. When the Offenders were produced, and just tied to Stakes before his Tribunal, a Courier arrived from *Rome*, which brought him Letters from the *Prætor Calpurnius*, and a Decree of the Senate. But the *Consul* suspecting, that the Design of them was to suspend the Execution he was about, and that the *Conscript Fathers* commanded him to refer to them the Judgment of an Affair, which they judged to be cognizable only at their Tribunal; he therefore put the Packet into his Bosom, without opening it. Then, with an Air of Severity, he ordered the *Lictors* to execute the Laws; and notwithstanding the Rumour that was spread in the Assembly, that the Punishment of the *Capuans* was ordered to be determined at *Rome*, *Fulvius* was obeyed. He saw the Blood of these miserable Men spilt, and did not read the Letters or Decree, till it was too late to save them. And yet the Republick never once blamed the *Pro Consul* for this Instance of Severity! She was doubtless pleased to see herself revenged without incurring the odious Charge of Inhumanity among her Allies! As it was ordered, all the Odium of this cruel Execution fell on *Fulvius*.

Livy, B. 26.
c. 15.

§.XXXV. AND the following Adventure increased the Hatred of the People to the *Pro-Consul* yet more. Whilst he was giving Directions about the cruel Exe-

⁷² This Gate, according to *Livy*, was over-against the *Roman* Camp, and was called *The Gate of Jupiter*.

⁷³ This seems to be a very moderate Sum for

so opulent a City as *Capua*. In some Manuscripts we read two thousand and seventy Pounds Weight of Gold, and thirty one thousand two hundred Pounds Weight of Silver.

cution of the Senators, there came from *Capua*, and appeared before his Tribunal, one *Jubellius Taurea*, who tho' something of a Bully, yet was reputed brave among his own Party. During the War, he had challenged the most valiant Horseman among the *Romans*; and he was now come in a Fury to seek Death at *Cale*, where he had been an Eye-witness of the Punishment of the most illustrious of his Countrymen. At the Sight of this Massacre, he was pierced with Sorrow and Compassion, and addressed himself to the *Consul* in this insulting manner, just as he was going to dismiss the Assembly. *Stay one Moment, Fulvius! In order to complete thy Cruelty, I am yet left to be executed. And then thou mayest boast of having killed a braver Man than thy self.* *Fulvius* was surprized at this unexpected Bravado, and indeed tired with shedding Blood; and besides, had just published the Decree of the Senate, whereby they claimed the Determination of the Affair of the *Capuans*. He therefore replied, *You come too late to be punished, and are mad with Rage.* At which, *Jubellius* leaped about in a frantick manner, and uttered these Words, which were the last he ever spoke. *Wretch that I am! I have lived to see my Country reduced to Slavery. I have stabbed my Wife and Children, to preserve them from the Insults of an infamous Conqueror; and I am come hither to have my Blood mixed with that of my Friends and Countrymen. Should then my Enemies deny me Death? However, my own Arm at least shall give what they refuse me.* Which said, he stabbed himself to the Heart, with a Dagger he brought under his Robe, and fell down dead at the Foot of the Tribunal. Some Historians ⁷⁴ indeed relate this Affair differently, and disagree as to the Circumstances of the tragical Affair of *Cale*; but we have followed the Tradition which is built on the best Authorities.

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.
CN. FULVIUS
CENTUM-
LUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.

§.XXXVI. THUS the Senate of *Capua* payed dearly for their criminal Revolt; and Sentence was next pronounced against the City, and its Inhabitants in general. The *Pro-Consul*, *Appius Claudius*, had died almost immediately after *Capua* surrendered; so that *Fulvius* was left alone, and ordered to execute the Vengeance of *Rome*. Accordingly, he appeared before the little Places in the Neighbourhood of *Capua*, which had joined in her Revolt; and upon sight of the *Romans*, ⁷⁵ *Atella* and *Calatia* surrendered at Discretion. And the General was content with destroying only the Leaders of the Revolt. *Rome* only cut off the Heads of fourscore of the principal Lords in *Campania*; and the rest of the Nobility were dispersed in several Prisons, where most of them perished with Hunger. As for the common People, they were sold by Auction, and made Slaves. But it admitted of a greater Debate, what should be done with the proud City, which had so long pretended to rival *Rome*. Some of the *Conscript Fathers* were even for razing it; it being a strong Place, and too near the Capital. But the greatest Number were for preserving it, and making it a Retreat for the Husbandmen, who were employed in cultivating the finest and most fruitful Territory in *Italy*: and the Republick therefore kept to herself the Property of these vast Plains, and of the Houses in the City; and transplanted thither *Freedmen*, and Workmen of all sorts, to help to manure these fine Lands, and promote Commerce there. Nevertheless, the new Inhabitants had no more Privileges, than mere Villagers. *Capua* was no longer a City; she had neither Senate, *Comitia*, nor Magistrates. *Rome* only sent a *Præfect* thither, annually, to keep these new Inhabitants in Order, and to hear the Causes between the Husbandmen and Tradesmen: And the ancient Inhabitants of *Capua* were dispersed, without any Hopes of a Return.

⁷⁴ According to *Livy*, some Authors gave a different Account of the Circumstances of *Jubellius's* death. They say, he did not come of his own accord to *Cale*; but was led thither with the Senators, who had been guilty of Rebellion. And being condemned to die, he was tied to a Post as well as the other Rebels. Just as he was going to be executed, he spoke those Words which the *Roman* Historian puts in his Mouth; but the Noise of the spectators drowned his Voice. So that *Fulvius* was forced to command Silence, that he might hear the Criminal. As soon as he was heard, the Execu-

tioners doubled the Blows with their Rods, by Order of the *Pro-Consul*, and began with putting the Sentence of Death, pronounced against the twenty five Senators of *Capua*, first in Execution upon him. The same Authors also add, that *Fulvius* read the Letter from the Senate, which had been put into his Hands, before the Criminals were executed. But he was left at Liberty, either to execute the Rebels, or refer their Trial to the Senate, as he pleased.

⁷⁵ We have spoken of *Atella* and *Calatia*, in Vol. 2.

Year of **R O M E** SUCH was the Fate of a once flourishing City, which Plenty had softened, Luxury swelled with Pride, and which had corrupted *Hannibal*, and had been deserted by him! Yet none murmured at the Severity of the *Romans* against it. They even seemed to have treated it with Clemency, in not demolishing the very Walls of a rebellious City, which had proved unfaithful to them, in their greatest Distress. *Hannibal* alone bore all the Shame, of being either not willing, or not able, to relieve a City, which he had brought to utter Ruin, and which had exposed itself to the greatest Misfortunes for his sake. This much sunk his Credit in all the *Provinces* of *Italy*, and especially among the Allies of *Rome*.

DXLII.
CN. FULVIUS
CENTUM-
LUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.



T H E Roman History.

B O O K XXXII.

§.1. **T**HE taking of *Capua*, in a manner before *Hannibal's* Face, extended the Reputation of the *Romans* to Places where their Name was scarce known, till that time. *Ætolia*¹ was then a little State in *Greece*, consisting of several Cities united in one Republick, which by its Situation, was exposed to the Insults of powerful Enemies. It bordered, to the East, on *Achaia*; or rather, it was a Part of it. To the West, it bordered on *Epirus*. *Acarmania*², a Province of the *Epirots*, was so near it, that it was a great while subject to the *Ætolians*. And to the North, *Ætolia* was bounded by *Thessaly*³ and *Macedon*. *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and one of the Successors of *Alexander the Great*, had lately taken *Acarmania* from the *Ætolians*, or at least forced them to submit to his Terms; and having, as we have before observed, long since entered into Alliances with *Hannibal*, he was now preparing to go into *Italy*, without doubt at the pressing Sollicitations of the *Carthaginian*. It was evidently the Interest of the *Roman* Republick to keep at home this young Prince, who was proud of his Conquests in his own Neighbourhood. His Union with *Hannibal* might probably ruin *Rome*. And therefore *M. Valerius Lævinus*, by his prudent Conduct, prevented this Blow; stopped the *Macedonian*; and saved the Dominions of his Republick in *Italy*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.

CN. FULVIUS
CENTUM-
IUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.

LÆVINUS was then with the Title of *Pro-Prætor*, commanding a Fleet of fifty Ships of War, with one *Legion* of Soldiers on Board, for Land-Service. His Business was, to keep the Seas clear, watch the Steps of King *Philip*, and guard the Coasts of *Italy*, from *Brundisium* to the Bottom of *Greece*; and being informed of the Preparations the King of *Macedon* was making, he resolved to thwart his Designs, and keep him employed at home, in Wars that would give him much Trouble. To this end, he cast his Eyes on the *Ætolians*, who were much injured by *Philip's* Usurpations, and resolved to stir up them, and their Allies, against *Macedon*. But it is probable, that *Lævinus* did not enter upon this Enterprize, without the Advice, or at least the Consent, of the Senate. He was then cruising with his Squadron on the Coasts of *Greece*; and he began with getting some *Ætolians* on Board his Fleet, and entering into secret Conferences with them. These were soon disposed to favour the *Romans*; and the next thing therefore, was to engage the whole Body of the Nation in the Interests of *Rome*. To this end, *Lævinus* went and harangued their next Diet, which was assembled in

¹ Under the Name of *Ætolia* was formerly comprehended that Country which is now called *The Despotat* or *Little Greece*. It was in *Achaia*, on the borders of *Epirus*. The River *Evenus*, or *The Pi-er*, divided it to the East from the *Locri* or *Lo-rens* *Ozole*. To the West, it was divided from *Acarmania* by the River *Achelous*. And to the South, it was bounded by *The Ionian Sea*.

² *Acarmania* lay South of *Epirus*, between the River *Achelous* to the East, and *The Gulph of Am-acia* to the West. According to *Niger*, this Pro-

vince is now called both *La Carnia*, and *Despotat*.

³ *Thessaly* was bounded to the South, by *Achaia*; to the West, by *Epirus*; to the North, by *Mace-don*; and to the East, by *The Ægean Sea*. The Mounts *Olympus*, *Ossa*, *Oeta*, and *Pindus*, surround it on all Sides. It was formerly divided into five Provinces, *Thessaliotis*, *Phthiotis*, *Estiotis*, *Pelasgia*, and *Magnesia*. The Capital of his Country is to this day called *Larissa*. *Castaldus* gives the present *Thessaly* the Name of *Comenolitari*; but *Father Bries* calls it *Janna*.

Year of a few Days, probably at 4 *Naupactum*, a maritime City, which seems to have been the Capital of *Ætolia*. He first gave the Diet a modest Account of the Victories *Rome* had lately gained over *Hannibal*, and the Conquests of *Marcellus* in *Sicily*; among which, the Reduction of *Capua* and *Syracuse* were not forgotten; and then he went on in this manner. *Rome is no less faithful to her Friends, than terrible to her Enemies. She gives the former the Right of Citizenship, and entitles them to the same Privileges as her own Capital enjoys. She sacredly performs the Conditions of her Treaties; insomuch that some Nations prefer a bare Alliance with her, to sharing her Right of Citizenship. As for you, Ætolians, she will pay you double Honour, if you become the first Nation beyond the Seas, that join the Romans. I am very sensible how troublesome a Neighbour the ambitious King of Macedon has been to you. But when assisted with our Arms, you will soon see Philip driven out of Acarnania, which he has usurped from you, and keep himself upon the Defensive in his own Dominions. That flourishing Province, which was taken from you by this Conqueror, shall return to the Dominion of its old Masters: If you will enter into Engagements with Rome, I will be answerable for the Restitution of it.*

Liv. ibid.

THIS Discourse made an Impression on the two Heads of the *Ætolians*, *Scopas* and *Dorimachus*; and they, full of Hopes of recovering their Losses, harangued the Diet in their Turns. *Lævinus* had out of Modesty said little in Praise of his Republick. But the two Chiefs ran out into Panegyrics upon her, with all that Eloquence of which they were Masters, and knew how to apply, upon important Occasions. They desired, not only to enter into a League with the *Romans*, but likewise that as many of the neighbouring Nations, as could be prevailed on, should be brought into it; and to this end, they sent Deputations to all the Republicks and Kings in their Neighbourhood, which they thought they could bring into an Alliance with *Rome* against King *Philip*. They sent Ambassadors to *Elis* 5, *Lacedæmon* 6, and *Attalus* 7 King of *Pergamus* 8 in *Asia Minor*; to *Pleuratus* 9, who was either Master of a Part of *Thrace*, or perhaps a Portion of *Illyricum*; and lastly, to *Scerdilædus* 10 King of the best Part of the last mentioned Country. The

Account

4 *Naupactus*, or *Naupactum*, was formerly a considerable City in *Ætolia*. The present Natives call it *Epactus*, or *Nepactus*; the *Turks*, *Einebahti*. The *Italians* give both this City, and the neighbouring Gulph, the Name of *Lepanto*. This City, which stood on the Sea-Coast, was called *Naupactum*, because the *Heraclidae* had built here the first Ship which carried them to *Peloponnesus*. In the first Ages, it belonged to the *Locri Ozolæ*. The *Athenians* afterwards made themselves Masters of it, and gave it to the *Messenians*, whom the People of *Lacedæmon* had driven out of *Peloponnesus*, as we are informed by *Thucydides*. Then the *Lacedæmonians* having in their turn conquered the *Athenians*, at *Egos Potamos*, took *Naupactus* from the *Messenians*, and reunited it to *Locri*. After this, *Philip of Macedon*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*, seized it, and restored it to the *Ætolians*, who liked it, because of its Proximity; and from that time, it was always thought to belong to *Ætolia*.

5 *Elis*, formerly a Canton of *Peloponnesus*, was bounded, to the North, by *Achaia*; to the East, by *Arcadia*; to the South, by *Messenia*; and to the West, by *The Ionian Sea*. The greatest Part of this Province now bears the Name of *Belvedere*, as does old *Elis* its Capital, on Account of the Beauty of the Climate. The Rivers *Peneus* and *Alpheus* watered the Territory of the *Elians*. The City of *Pisa*, or *Olympia*, one of the most considerable Cities in the Country, was the general Rendezvous of all the *Greeks*, for the Celebration of *The Olympick Games*, in Honour to *Jupiter Olympius*. So that this Country was looked on as particularly dedicated to that God. Those who presumed to commit any Act of Hostility there, were deemed guilty of a great Profanation. Nevertheless, *Elis* was often laid waste by the People of *Arcadia* and *Lacedæmon*. It need not be observed, that the Temple and Statue erected

to *Jupiter Olympius*, in the City of *Olympia*, was reckoned one of the Wonders of the World.

6 *Lacedæmon*, known also by the Name of *Sparta*, was the capital City of *Laconia*, a Southern Province of *Peloponnesus*. It is now called *Misthra*. But some pretend, that it stood near the Place now called *Palachori*, five or six Miles from *Misthra*.

7 The *Attalus* here spoken of, is *Attalus the First*, who succeeded his Father *Eumenes the First*, who was Brother to *Philetærus*. The latter was Treasurer to *Lyfimachus* King of *Thrace*, at *Pergamus*, and afterwards acquired the Dominion of this City, and erected it into a little State. *Attalus* began to reign in the Year of *Rome* 512; and according to the Historians, reigned forty three Years. So that he died in the Year of *Rome* 556. This Prince was esteemed for his Valour, and his Magnificence. He had improved his Mind by the Study of the liberal Sciences, and polite Arts. *Eumenes the Second*, his eldest Son and Successor, had so great an Affection for his Brothers, *Attalus*, *Philetærus*, and *Athenæus*, that they are proposed as an exemplary Pattern of brotherly Love. Their Mother was *Apollonia* of *Cyfica*.

8 *Pergamus* was a City of *Great Mysia*, a Province of *Asia Minor*, near the River *Caicus*. It is now called *Pergamo*, or *Bergamo*. It was the Residence of the *Attali*; and the native City of the famous *Gallienus*. It stood on the Confines of *Lydia*, and was watered by the River *Selinus*.

9 *Livy* makes this *Pleuratus* one of the Kings of *Thrace*; but *Polybius* makes him King of a Country in *Illyricum*. He was not that *Pleuratus*, of whom we shall speak hereafter.

10 *Scerdilædus* was one of the chief Lords of *Illyricum*. He seems to have been a Sovereign over a Part of this great Country. He ravaged *Epirus* during the Regency of *Ventus*. Then the *Epirus* made

Account the Greek Historians have given us of the Negotiation of the *Ætolians* with *Lacedæmon*, is this.

§. II. *CHLÆNEAS* was the Orator who spoke in the Senate of *Lacedæmon* in favour of *Rome*; but he met with some Opposition. It is probable, the King of *Macedon* got Intelligence of the Plots the *Ætolians* were laying against him, and solicited the *Lacedæmonians* to join him. At least, he found an *Acaranian* in the *Lacedæmonian* Senate, who spoke in his Favour. However, *Chlæneas* was first permitted to make his Proposal of engaging the *Lacedæmonians* in a League against *Philip*; and he spake thus. *I am persuaded, Lacedæmonians, that no Man will dare to deny that Macedon has been the common Cause of all the Misfortunes of Greece. Your Fathers have told you, that Philip the Father of Alexander the Great, sacked ¹¹ Olynthus, a Colony of Athenians and ¹² Chalcidians; vanquished the Athenians themselves; and dispersing his Troops over the Territories of Lacedæmon, laid it waste. Alexander his Son surrounded Peloponnesus with that Multitude of Nations which he conquered; and what Cruelties, what Robberies, did he not commit at Thebes? And have the Kings of Macedon who succeeded him, spared Greece more than their Predecessors? After Antipater had defeated the Athenians near Lamia ¹³, how severely did he revenge himself on your Cities? He filled them with Banishments, Proscriptions, and Slaughter. In short, those who escaped his Fury, could no where find any Refuge, but among the Ætolians. And why should I call to mind the barbarous Hostilities of Cassander ¹⁴, Demetrius, and Antigonus Gonates, which are fresh in all your Memories? Some seized your Cities, others established themselves in Tyranny, and would not let the People enjoy one Day's Liberty in Peace. The perfidious Antigonus indeed made use of Address to deceive you. He came with an Army, in Appearance to deliver you from the cruel Cleomenes ¹⁵, who tyrannized over you; but in reality, to preserve himself from the Attempts of an ambitious Man, whose Spirit and Valour he dreaded. So that upon the whole, you have not so much Reason to love the Macedonians, for not destroying your City when they had it in their Power; as to hate them, for continually opposing your gaining the Sovereignty of Greece, which otherwise you might have acquired. But to come to the Point. Ought you to prefer an Alliance with Philip, the present King of Macedon, to one with the Ætolians? Good Gods! What a Creature is he? By how many Acts of Inhumanity and Impiety, has he rendered the Beginning of his Reign infamous? How many Temples has he laid in Ruins at Therma ¹⁶? What Treachery and Cruelty did he shew the Messenians?*

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.

CN. FULVIUS
CENTUMA-
LUS, P. SULPI-
CIUS GALBA,
Consuls.

Polybius, B. 9.
c. 22.

Polyb. B. 9.
c. 23.

made an Alliance with the *Acarnani* and *Illyrians*, who jointly carried on a War in *Achaia* and *Ætolia*; tho' before, the *Epirotæ* had before borrowed Succours of the *Ætolians*, to act against the *Illyrians*.

¹¹ *Xenophon* places the City of *Olynthus* in *Thrace*. It stood near the Peninsula which is between the Gulf of *Saloniki*, and that of *Aiomama*. This City was formerly possessed by *Greeks*, who came originally from *Chalcis*, a City of *Eubœa*, and by a Colony of *Athenians*. Afterwards it had great Quarrels sometimes with the *Lacedæmonians*, sometimes with the *Athenians*, and lastly with *Philip* of *Macedon*, as we learn from the *Olynthiaki* of *Demosthenes*.

¹² Besides the City of *Chalcis*, the Capital of *Eubœa*, of which we have already spoken, there was, according to *Strabo*, another City of that Name in *Ætolia*, near the Springs of the River *Evenus*.

¹³ The City of *Lamia* was situated on an Eminence in *Thessaly*, towards the Sea-Coast. It is now called *Lamina*, and lies about seven Miles West of *Larissa*. It stands on the River *Agirena*, towards the Gulf of *Zeiton*.

¹⁴ *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, and *Antigonus*, had reigned successively in *Macedon*.

¹⁵ *Cleomenes* the Third was the Son of *Leonidas* King of *Lacedæmon*. He began to reign in the hundred and thirty seventh *Olympiad*. He made the Beginning of his Reign remarkable by the Troubles he found means to raise in the City of *Sparta*, and by the Death of the four *Ephori*, whose Estates he confiscated, for the Benefit of the People. After he had

settled his Dominion in *Lacedæmon*, he made War with the *Achaïans*, and defeated them in a pitched Battel. Then the conquered People implored the Assistance of *Antigonus Doso*, Tutor to young *Philip* King of *Macedon*; and they delivered up the Citadel of *Corinth* to this Prince, as a Pledge to secure their Performance of the Treaty. The *Epirotæ*, the *Phocæi* or *Phocenses*, the *Arcadians*, and the *Thessalians*, all entered into one general Alliance. Nevertheless, *Cleomenes* took *Megalopolis*, the Capital of *Arcadia*, by Force. But at length, *Aratus* cut his Army in pieces, near *Sellasia*, a City of *Laconia*, seized *Sparta*, and forced him to fly into *Egypt*, to *Ptolomy Evergetes*, for Refuge. And after he had formed a Plot against *Ptolomy Philopator*, the Son and Successor of *Evergetes*, he killed himself, about the second Year of the fortieth *Olympiad*. But the King of *Egypt* did not spare him, even after his Death. He revenged himself on the dead Body of *Cleomenes*, which he fastened to a Cross. Nor had his Mother, or Wife, or Children, a happier Fate. *Philopator* condemned them to be put to a painful Death. See *Polyb. B. 2. Justin. B. 28. and Plutarch, in his Life of Agis, and Cleomenes*.

¹⁶ The Geographers mention two Cities of *Therma*; one in *Galatia*, on the Confines of *Bithynia* and *Phrygia*, which is now called *Erma*, or *Germaske*, according to *Leunclavius*; the other in *Pisidia*, which the Ancients call *Termessus*. The latter is now but a Village. The Name of *Therma* was taken from the hot Baths in the Neighbourhood. They were said

Year of nians 17? *Whereas the Ætolians have always been Enemies to the Enemies of*
 R O M E Greece. Antipater ¹⁸ and Brennus saw them fly to your Assistance against the In-
 DXLII. undations of their Macedonians and Gauls, which overspread your Countries. But
 CN. FULVIUS what Occasion is there for my putting you in mind of what is past? Your present
 CENTUMA- Interest ought to determine you, in the Case before you. If you make War with
 LUS, P. SUL- Philip, you will have nothing to fear from your Neighbours. They have been al-
 PICIUS GAL- ready subdued, and our Arms shall protect you against their Attacks. Besides, what
 BA, Consul. Success have you not Reason to expect from our Forces, when united with those of
 Rome? The Macedonians were scarce able to resist the Ætolians alone. How
 weak then will Philip find himself to be, when he shall see his Dominions at-
 tacked by the Fleets of Rome, and King Attalus, by Sea; and the Troops of Æto-
 lia, Elis, and Lacedæmon, shall break in upon them, by Land? Let not then a
 vain Scruple, by which some endeavour to impose upon you, prevent your joining
 with us. It is urged, that you formerly entered into an Alliance with Antigonus
 of Macedon. But have not the Wars, which you have since entered into with us
 against Macedon, abolished all former Treaties with that Kingdom? Those you have
 made with the Ætolians are of later Date, and ought still to subsist; unless you
 have Reason to complain of the Ætolians for Breach of Faith.

THIS Discourse of Chlæneas, which had more solid Reasoning, than Grecian
 Subtlety, in it, raised a Murmur of Approbation among the grave Senators of La-
 cedæmon; and they all thought it would be difficult to answer it. Lyciscus him-
 self, Philip's Orator, was struck with it. He held his Peace for some time, and
 when the Noise in the Assembly was over, he replied thus. *Tho' an Acarnanian,*
I think it necessary to undertake the Defence of King Philip of Macedon, my
Master, and of his Interests. The present Debate is now reduced to this single
Question, whether the ancient Treaties of the Lacedæmonians with Antigonus,
ought to supersede those that they have since made with the Ætolians. But before
 Polybius, B. 9. *it was brought to this, the most venerable Ashes of our Monarchs have been dis-*
 & 26, 27. *turbed, and they have been represented as the Authors of all the Misfortunes of*
Greece. Chlæneas has gone back as far as to Philip, the illustrious Son of Amyntas,
and derived all your Calamities from him. But how grossly would he impose upon
you? Olynthus indeed sunk under his Arms; but how much was that to the
Advantage of all Greece? By his Victory, he delivered you from ¹⁹ *Onomarchus*
and Philomelus, those prophane Tyrants, who after they had pillaged the Temple at
Delphi, were preparing to invade your Territories. And you then were grateful for
so great a Benefit, and declared Philip the Defender of your Dominions, and your
Captain-General. If he spread some Terror in the Territories of Lacedæmon, it
was only to compel your Ancestors to reunite themselves to the other Greek Cities,
and enjoy a happy Peace with them. I allow, that Alexander treated the Thebans,
who had provoked him, with Rigour. But ought not the Benefits you received
from his Conquest of Persia, to be mentioned at the same time? As to his Suc-
cessors, I admit that some of them were Enemies to Greece. But does it become
the Ætolians to complain of it? The Greeks never suffered so much from Ma-
cedon as from Ætolia. Did not the Ætolians stir up Antigonus to come and dis-
solve a general Diet in Achaia? Did not they enter into a League with Alexander
of Epirus, to divide Acarnania with him, and sell its Inhabitants by Auction, for
Slaves? What Cities and Temples in their Neighbourhood have not their Generals
filled with Slaughter, and Profanations? What Robberies did ²⁰ *Timæus commit*

said to be sovereign Remedies for Palsies. An Island
 also in the Archipelago was called by this Name,
 which was thirty six Miles in Circumference. There
 were some Mineral Springs in it. Polybius like-
 wise, B. 5. speaks of another Place called *Therma*,
 near the River *Acheron*, between *Ætolia* and *Mace-*
don; and this seems to be the Place spoken of in
 Chlæneas's Speech.

¹⁷ *Messenia* was formerly the South Canton of
Peloponnesus, situated between *Laconia* to the East,
Elis to the West, and *Arcadia* to the North. It is
 now a Part of *Belvedere*. *Messene*, formerly the
 Capital of this Country, is now called *Moseniga*.

¹⁸ Polybius here speaks of *Antipater the First*,

King of *Macedon*, and Son of *Cassander*. *Justin*
 tells us, he was killed by his Father-in-law *Lysima-*
chus King of *Thrace*, after a Reign of three Years
 and a half, in the third Year of the hundred and
 twenty first *Olympiad*. As for *Brennus*, he had come
 into *Macedon* at the Head of a terrible Army of
Gauls, as we have observed, Vol. 2.

¹⁹ We have spoken of the Exploits of *Onoma-*
chus and *Philomelus*, and the tragical End of these
 two Generals, B. 15.

²⁰ We don't know who this *Timæus* was, of
 whom Polybius speaks, B. 10. But it is probable
 he was General of the *Ætolians*.

in the Sanctuary of Neptune at Tænarium²¹, and in that of Diana at Lusi²²? Year of
 Not to mention many other Ætolians, who have proved more fatal to Greece, than R O M E
 either Scythians, or Galatians²³. Compare now the Services the Successors of Alex- DXLII.
 ander have done Greece, with the Calamities Ætolia has brought upon her. But to CN. PULVIUS
 confine ourselves to the present Age. Ought the Ætolians to reproach Philip with CENTUMA-
 running Temples, who have themselves profaned those of²⁴ Dio and Dodona? And with LUS, P. SUL-
 regard to Antigonus, Lacedæmonians, the Favours you received from him are such, PICIUS GAL-
 as you ought never to forget. You provoked him; he made War with you. BA, Consuls.
 You came to a Battel; he was victorious in it. Your Cities and Liberties were in his
 Hands, and he restored them all to you. He drove out the Tyrant who enslaved
 you: and you juridically declared him your Guardian, and promised an inviolable
 Attachment to him. To which I am very sorry to add, that you have since broken
 through all your Engagements with him. You have promoted the Interests of Ætolia
 against those of Macedon. And now it is even pretended, that your Forgetfulness
 of the Services of Antigonus disannuls your Treaties with him, and frees you from
 all Obligations to Gratitude. Strange Reasoning! Is one Act of Ingratitude suffi-
 cient to cancel all Obligations to Duty, and give a Sanction to all future Acts of
 the same kind? Your Treaties with us have been inscribed on Pillars, sacredly
 confirmed by Acts of Religion, and ought never to be broken by you. Renew them
 then, at least now that Philip solicits you to do it. You say indeed, That the pre-
 sent State of Affairs makes it necessary that you should shift Hands; and That the
 Happiness and Tranquillity of Greece cannot be secured without it. But these
 are vain Pretences. Achaia will long continue in her present Condition, if you con-
 tinue faithful to your Promises to us. It is only her Union with the Barbarians that
 can disturb her Tranquillity. If you continue united to the Nations that speak the
 same Language with you, you will continue safe. But if you follow the Policy of
 the Ætolians, who to revenge themselves on Philip, are calling in the Western
 People to their Assistance, it will be far otherwise. Surprizing Imprudence! Sooner
 or later, the Tempest must return upon themselves. Their Defenders will soon be-
 come their Conquerors; and then their Destruction will draw after it the Ruin of
 all Greece. It therefore highly behoves you, Lacedæmonians, to divert the Storm.
 Imitate the Foresight of your Ancestors, who so resolutely withstood the Sollicita- Polyb. B. 9.
 tions of Xerxes. Don't be prevailed on by the Example of the Ætolians only, to C. 32.
 embark in a War with Macedon, Epirus, Thessaly, Boeotia, Achaia, and Acarnania.
 It is common for the Ætolians, upon the least Prospect of Interest, to prefer Broils
 to all Regards to Honour and Probity. But Lacedæmon acts upon different Mo-
 tives; Decency and strict Equity have their due Weight in her Deliberations.
 Oppose then the Enterprizes of the Romans and Ætolians with Force. Comply
 with the Desires of all Greece; and if any of your Magistrates is prejudiced with
 a contrary Opinion, let his Reason get the better of his Prepossessions.

INDEED, this Discourse ought to have made Greece tremble with the Appre-
 hensions of future Evils; but the wisest Republicks don't foresee Misfortunes at

²¹ Tænarium was a City of Peloponnesus in La-
 conia. Procopius calls it Cerapopolis, and Cenopolis.
 The ancient Geographers place it near a Promon-
 tory of the same Name, now Cape Matapan, or
 Capo Maina. It is now but a small Town, called
 by some Moderns Gaibares. Niger gives it the Name
 of Porto delle Quaglie; because great Numbers of
 Quails were found there. This City lay about forty
 five Miles South of Lacedæmon. There is yet to
 be seen an horribly deep Gulph on the Declivity of
 an Hill near Cape Tænarium; which the Poets took
 for the Mouth of Hell. And to this Day, an Opi-
 nion prevails among the People in the Neighbour-
 hood, that the Devil comes out of this Cave every
 Day, to go a hunting in the Shape of a Hound. Sui-
 ar says, that there was a Temple erected to Nep-
 tune on the Promontory; and that it was an invlo-
 cable Asylum for all that fled thither for Refuge.
 There were several Marble-Quarries in this Neigh-
 bourhood, which are much boasted of by the An-
 cients. Travellers likewise say, that Crystal, Me-
 ls, and precious Stones, were formerly dug out of
 the Mountain.

²² We don't know the Situation of this City of
 Lusi, unless Polybius here speaks of Lys in Arca-
 dia. Pausanias, B. 8. and Stephen of Byzantium
 mention it; and the former says, there were no
 Footsteps left of this City.

²³ Galatia is a Province of Asia Minor, which
 Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolomy, call Gallo-Græcia. It
 took that Name from the Gauls, who made them-
 selves Masters of it. It was bounded to the West,
 by Great Phrygia, Bythinia, and Asia Propria;
 to the South, by Pisidia and Lycaonia; to the
 East, by Cappadocia; and to the North, by Paph-
 lagonia, which some also make a Part of Gala-
 tia. It is now called Chiangare, according to Ca-
 staldu.

²⁴ Dio, or Dium, was formerly a City of Ma-
 cedon, situated on the Coast of The Thermaic Gulph,
 between the Mouths of the Aliacmon and Pharybus,
 at the Foot of Mount Olympus, according to Strabo;
 and seven Stadia from The Gulph of Thessalonica.
 It is now called Stadia.

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.
CN. FULVIUS
CENTUMA-
LUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.
Livy, B. 26.
c. 24.

so great a Distance. *Lævinus's* Fleet was then formidable to all the Coasts of the *Mediterranean*; and the Confederacy of the *Romans* with King *Attalus* and the *Ætolians*, was a powerful Motive to *Lacedæmon* to join with the strongest Party. So that she declared for *Rome*, and *Elis* with her. The Kings *Pleuratus* and *Scerdilædus* were ready to join in the League with the *Ætolians* and *Romans*; and nothing remained but to draw up the Treaty, which was done in these Words. *If the Inhabitants of Elis, the Lacedæmonians, Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdilædus, think fit to enter into an Alliance with the Romans, let them immediately arm, to make War with King Philip. The Romans shall furnish the Confederates with twenty five Ships, at the least. All the Conquests which shall be made between the Confines of Ætolia and Corcyra, shall belong to the Confederates; but the Booty which shall be taken, shall belong to the Romans. The latter shall do their utmost to get Acarnania restored to the Ætolians, its ancient Masters. The Ætolians shall not make a Peace with King Philip, till he has promised to leave Rome and her Allies in Peace; and on the other hand, Rome shall never be reconciled to him, till he leaves off making War with the Ætolians, and their Confederates.*

§. III. But these Articles were not signed till two Years after; when they had first been confirmed by the *Ætolians* at *Olympia*, and the Senate at *Rome*. This Delay in ratifying them, was occasioned by the Dilatoriness of the *Romans*, in sending Envoys to *Ætolia*: and when ratified, the *Romans* placed them in the *Capitol*, as a valuable and lasting Monument of their first Alliance with the Greek Nation. However, Hostilities began with *Philip*, even before the Treaty was signed. *Lævinus* seized the Island and City of ²⁵ *Zacynthus*; and took the Cities of ²⁶ *Eniadae* and *Nassus* from the *Acarnani*; and restored them to the *Ætolians*. Then thinking these first Conquests sufficient to suspend the Projects of *Philip*, he retired with his Fleet to *Corcyra*, and there wintered.

In the mean time, the King of *Macedon*, who was quiet in his City of *Pella* ²⁷, only making Preparations for the War in *Italy*, received an Account that the League between the *Romans*, and the Kings and Republicks in *Greece*, was concluded; and thereupon immediately altered his Measures. He resolved to turn his Arms against the *Greeks*, his new Enemies, the next Summer; took the Field early in the Spring; and made IncurSIONS into the Lands of *Illyricum*; in the Neighbourhood of *Oricum*, and *Apollonia*. His Design was thereby to prevent the *Epirotæ* from entering *Macedon*, during his Absence, and to keep them in Awe, by the Terror he spread in *Illyricum*. He indeed ravaged the Territory of *Apollonia*, forced the *Apollonians* to retire into their Cities and all on a sudden fell on ²⁸ *Pelagonia* and *Sintia*, and took the City of the *Dardani*, to prevent their making an Irruption into *Macedon*. From thence he came down into *Thessaly*, in hopes of prevailing on the *Thessalians* to join with him: and he left his eldest Son *Perseus* among them, with four thousand Men, to guard their Frontiers.

AFTER this Expedition, which was soon finished, *Philip* returned for some Days into his Kingdom of *Macedon*, from whence he soon marched an Army towards *Thrace* ²⁹, and against the *Mædi*. These People used to fall on *Macedon*, as

²⁵ See what we say of the City and Island of *Zacynthus*, B. I. p. 4. of Vol. I. Note II.

²⁶ There were two Cities, which had the Name of *Eniadae*. One was in *Acarnania*, on the Shore of *The Ionian Sea*, and at the Mouth of the River *Achelous*. It is the present *Dragamesto*, according to *Sophian*: and *Stephen of Byzantium* calls it *Ereusische*. The other was, according to this Geographer, in *Thessaly*, near Mount *Oeta*. As for *Nassus*, or *Nassus*, it was probably a City of *Acarnania*, not far from *Oeniadae* towards the Mouth of the River *Achelous*.

²⁷ *Pella*, a City of *Macedon*, stood between the Mouths of the Rivers *Erigon* and *Lydius*, which run into *The Thermaic Gulph*. *Stephen of Byzantium* says it was formerly called *Bunomos*. *Sophian* places it where at present stands *Janizza*; a Term which in the *Turkish* Language signifies *The New City*. *Niger* calls it *Zuchria*. *Luke Holstenius* pretends, it stood in the Place which the *Greeks* call τὸ πάλαι-

νόν, because the Ruins of several Palaces are discovered there. In this City *Alexander the Great* was born.

²⁸ The Name of *Pelagonia* was common to a City and Canton in *Macedon*. The City, according to *Contacuzenus*, stood between the River *Axius* and *Castoria*. The Canton was also called *Triopolitis*, because it had three Cities in it. As for the City of *Sintia*, it was situated in the North Part of *Macedon*, on the Side of *Thrace*.

²⁹ *Thrace*, now *Romania*, or *Rumalia*, is that great Province in *Europe*, which is bounded, to the South, by *The Ægean Sea*; to the East, by the *Hellespont*, *Propontis*, *The Thracian Bosphorus*, and *The Euxine Sea*; to the North, by *Bulgaria*; and to the West, by *Macedon*. The *Mædi* possessed a Part of *Thrace*, beyond Mount *Rhodope*; and therefore *Pliny* calls this Country *Medica*; but others give it the Name of *Macedonian Greece*, because it bordered on *Macedon*, on the Side of *The Ægean Sea*.

soon as her Kings were engaged elsewhere. *Philip* therefore laid waste the Country about ³⁰ *Phragandæ* and *Topyris*, and besieged the latter.

§. IV. IN the mean time, the *Ætolian* Army marched out of their Territories, and entered *Acarmania*. *Scopas*, the General of the *Ætoliæ*, had conceived Hopes of conquering it. This Conquest had already been begun the last Campaign by *Lævinus*, who had taken *Eniada* and *Nasus* from the *Acarnani*. Besides, the *Pro-Prætor* was near enough to assist the *Ætoliæ* with his Fleet and Legion. And this reduced the *Acarnani* to Despair. A War was unavoidable; and they took such desperate Resolutions concerning it, as would better have become wild Beasts, than a civilized People. In a general Assembly of the Nation, they resolved among themselves not to lay down their Arms, till they had utterly destroyed the *Ætoliæ*; and they absolutely forbid all their People to give Meat or Shelter to any of their own Soldiers, who should be beaten. Nor was this all. Every *Acarnian*, who was between fifteen and sixty Years of Age, was obliged to serve in the Troops. The oldest Men, Women, and Children, were committed to the Care of the *Epirotæ*, who were desired to place all the Ashes of those who were killed in Battel in one Tomb, and put an Inscription upon it, which should do honour to their Memories. And after these Precautions, they took another more necessary than the rest, which was, to write to *Philip* to quit all his other Enterprizes, and fly to the Assistance of *Acarmania*. Accordingly, the King of *Macedon*, after he had taken some Cities in *Thrace* by Capitulation, advanced slowly towards the Camp of the *Acarnani*, which was on the Frontiers of their Province. And then this furious Conspiracy of the *Acarnani*, and the Approach of *Philip*, discouraged the *Ætoliæ* to such a degree, that they retired to the Center of their Dominions, without making the least Attempt. However, their Motion and Confederacy with *Rome*, made *Philip* think his Presence necessary at home; and he therefore retired to the Center of his own Dominions, and continued quiet at *Pella*.

As for *Lævinus*, he had, upon the Return of the Spring, weighed Anchor, and sailed from *Corcyra* to *Naupactus*; and his Arrival had put the *Ætoliæ* in Motion. The Rendezvous of the Confederates was at *Anticyra* ³¹, a City of the *Locri* ³², who were Neighbours to the *Ætoliæ*; and the *Romans* were soon there by Sea, and the *Ætoliæ* by Land, and laid Siege to it. They invested it by Sea and Land; battered it on both Sides, but with most Vigour where the *Romans* were; and at length it surrendered at Discretion, and became subject to the *Ætoliæ*. *Lævinus* reserved nothing for his Troops, but the Booty they took in plundering the City. And there, the *Pro-Prætor*, who was seized with a long and dangerous Disease, was obliged to tarry a great while, even till after the Election of the chief Magistrates in the *Campus Martius*: and it will soon appear, how far he was concerned in that Election.

§. V. THUS the Affairs of the Republick prospered on the Side of *Greece*; but in *Spain*, she had received a terrible Check the last Year, by the Death of the two *Scipio's*. Indeed the brave *Marcus*, being chosen their Commander by his Troops themselves, still supported the declining Interests of *Rome* there. But after all, it was difficult for him long to make Head against the numerous Armies of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, without fresh Succours. During the time that *Hannibal* kept *Rome* blocked up, some slight Reinforcements had been sent to *Spain*, but rather out of a Bravado, than any Imagination that they were sufficient to

³⁰ This City of *Phragandæ* is utterly unknown. The City we here call *Topyris* stood in *Thrace*, on the Confines of *Macedon*. It is called *Toprus* by *Procopius*; and *Topyrium* by *Antoninus*. But according to *Sophian*, it has now changed its Name into that of *Pusio*.

³¹ *Anticyra* stood near the River *Sperchius*, over against Mount *Oeta*. It bordered upon *Thessaly*. Near it is an Island of the same Name, which abounds with *Hellebore*, according to *Pliny*, B. 25. *Strabo* and *Strabo* tell us there was another City of *Anticyra* in *Phocis*. It is now called *Suola*.

³² *Locris*, or *Locri*, was a Country of *Achaia*. The People of this Province had different Names, accor-

ding to the different Cantons they inhabited. Some were called *Locri*, or *Locrenses Ozolæ*; who inhabited the Western Part of *Locri*, which bordered on *Phocis*, to the East; *The Gulph of Corinth*, to the South; *Doris*, to the North; and *Ætolia*, to the West. Others, which were called *Locri Epicnemidii*, bordered upon *Thessaly*, *Doris*, and *Phocis*. The *Locri Opuntii*, so called from the City of *Opus* their Capital, lay on the Side of *Epirus*, between *Boeotia* and *Phocis*, and bordered upon the *Locri Epicnemidii*. The *Locri Epizephyrii* settled in *Italy*, near *The Zephyrian Promontory*, in *Calabria*. This Cape is now called *Capo Bursano*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.
CN. FULVIUS
CENTUMA-
LUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.

Year of answer the Wants of the Republick there. And after the taking of *Capua*, the
 R O M E applied herself in good earnest to strengthen her Armies in *Spain*, and equal them
 DXLII. to those of *Carthage*. To this end, she pitched upon *C. Claudius Nero* to
 CN. FULVIUS lead a large Body of Troops to the Banks of the *Ebro*, and command them till
 CENTUMA- such time as a Successor was appointed. This *Claudius Nero* had had the Com-
 LUS, P. SUL- mand of a *Legion* before *Capua*, with the Title of *Pro-Prætor*, and had shewn
 PICIUS GAL- himself to be a good Officer. He was ordered to chuse out of all the victorious
 BA, Consuls. Troops six thousand *Legionaries*, and three hundred Horse, together with six thou-
 Fast. Capit. sand auxiliary Foot, and eight hundred auxiliary Horse; and this Reinforcement
 embarked at *Puteoli*, had a safe Passage, and landed at *Tarragona*. There the
Roman Galleys were unrigged, and laid up; their Crews incorporated among the
 Foot; and these new Troops joined the Forces which *Marcins* and *Titus Fonteus*
 had saved for the Republick on the Banks of the *Ebro*. From thence they ad-
 vanced towards the Enemy then encamped between ³³ *Illiturgis* and *Mentissa*, at
 the Foot of the Mountains called to this Day ³⁴ *The black Rocks*; and there the
Romans suddenly invested *Asdrubal*. By seizing a Neck of Land covered with
 Wood, *Claudius Nero* had it in his Power to intercept all his Provisions.

Livy, B. 26.
c. 17.

THE artful Brother of *Hannibal* was sensible of his Danger; and depending more on Cunning than Valour, for his Deliverance, he had recourse to Negotiation. He sent an Herald to *Claudius*, with very advantageous Proposals, and thereby overreached the *Roman*. *Asdrubal* promised to leave *Spain*, and transport all his Soldiers from thence, if the *Romans* would give him and them their Lives; and this was too favourable a Proposal to be rejected. Besides it was much better to get all the Enemies of *Rome* out of *Spain*, than to hazard a Battel with Men desperate. The Generals had a Conference about regulating the manner of delivering up the Provinces and Cities; and the expert *Carthaginian* continually raised unexpected Difficulties, and thereby prolonged his Departure. He regulated his Steps by the Quantity of Provisions he had left in his Camp. Sometimes he disputed about the Day of evacuating the Places which he had in his Power; sometimes about the Garrisons that the *Romans* should place in them; and all these were affected Delays, in order to compass his Design. Every Night *Asdrubal* sent away his Men from his Army in Companies, which climbed up the Mountains, and silently passed over them without the Knowledge of the Enemy. And every Day was spent in fruitless Interviews and Conferences.

TILL at length, all the *Carthaginian* Infantry had gained the Plains, and *Asdrubal* had only his Elephants and Cavalry left in his Camp; and the cunning General found means by a proper use of accidental Circumstances, to save these likewise. He observed that a thick Fog covered both Armies, and he sent to desire *Claudius* to excuse him from appearing at the Place appointed, that Day. He said it was a *Carthaginian* Festival, at which he was indispensably obliged to assist; and the Excuse was accepted. But by the Help of this Pretence, and the Fog, *Asdrubal* marched with his Elephants and Cavalry, under Covert of the Wood, the Skirts of which the *Romans* had seized, and very happily got out of their Prison. When the Sun had dispersed the Fog, the *Romans* perceived that they had been cheated. They found the *Carthaginian* Camp deserted; and *Claudius* pursued after the Enemy for some time, to fight him. But *Asdrubal* retired in good Order, and escaped with only a few Skirmishes between his Rear-Guard and the Van-Guard of the *Romans*.

S. VI. WHEN News was brought to *Rome* of the Opportunity *Claudius* had let slip, the Senators were extremely concerned at it. Ever since the taking of *Capua*, and the Humiliation of *Hannibal*, the *Romans* had taken as much Care of the Affairs of *Spain*, as of those in *Italy*. But one single Campaign in a foreign Country, had robbed *Rome* of two great Generals, whose Union, Probity, and

³³ We have already declared, in this Volume, that *Illiturgis* lay near *Andujar Ell Vicio*. *Sanfon* places it near *Linares*. Its Territory was watered by the River *Batis*, and was Part of *East Andalusia*. As to the City of *Mentissa*, which *Pliny* also calls *Menteffa*, it stood, according to *Martin Ximenes*, *Sanfon*, and *Brietius*, near *Montiel*, in that Part of

New Castile, which is vulgarly called *La Mancha*. But *Mariana* believes it to be the present City of *Montizon*, or *Montejon*.

³⁴ *Anthony Morales* tells us, That these *Black Rocks*, called in the Language of the Country *Penas Negras*, are yet to be seen near *Bexa*, a City of *Andalusia*, situated on the *Guadalquivir*.

Valour, struck Terror into the *Spaniards* and *Carthaginians*: She therefore cast her Eyes on the many valiant Commanders with which she then abounded, but found none whom she thought capable of supplying the Places of the two *Scipio's* with Dignity. And this Uncertainty about this important Choice, continued till the Time of the Election; when Heaven, ever watchful to aggrandize *Rome*, had, without her Knowledge, prepared a young Warrior for this Post, who afterwards avenged her Quarrels, supported her on all Occasions, vanquished *Hannibal*, and subdued *Carthage*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.
CN. FULVIUS
CENTUMA-
LUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.

THE *Comitia* by Centuries were assembled for electing a *Pro-Consul* to recover the Glory of the *Roman* Name in *Spain*; and it was then customary for all Candidates for Offices of Distinction, to wear a white Robe of a very bright Colour, and wait for the Favour of the People on an Eminence, where they could be easily distinguished. But the People had the Mortification to find that none of the *Roman* Generals changed his usual Habit, or sought their Suffrages, on this Occasion. On the contrary, evident Marks of a Dislike to this Employment, appeared in the Faces of these Great Men; and this general Reluctance in them, made the *Comitia* look on the Affairs of *Spain* as desperate, and renewed their Grief at the Loss of the *Scipio's*, whom no one would venture to succeed. However, in this general Dejection, young *P. Scipio* mounted the Eminence, on which the Candidates used to appear, and offered to take upon him the *Pro-Consulate*, which his Father had discharged so long, and with so much Glory. *Scipio* had all the Advantages of Birth, Name, Valour and Conduct, to plead for him; but he seemed to be too young for an Office of such Importance. He was but just turned of four and twenty. Nevertheless, as he had already obtained the *Ædileship* before the legal time, *Rome* now again considered his Virtues, more than his Age. Not only all the ³⁵ *Centuries*, but every Voter in every *Century* declared him *Pro-Consul* of *Spain*. Yet it is probable that he held the *Proconsulate* only by Commission.

§. VII. BUT *Rome* seemed to repent of this Choice, so contrary to her established maxims, as soon as she had made it. She was afraid that the Heart had had a greater Share than the Head, in preferring the rising Merit of this young Man, to the many brave Commanders in the City, of known and approved Experience; and this Fear was also tinged with Superstition. The Defeat and Death of *Scipio* the Father, were deemed inauspicious Presages with regard to the Success of the Son. The *Pro-Consul* therefore perceiving the Uneasiness of the People, assembled them, and harangued them in such a manner as renewed their Confidence. No Man ever spoke better, or with a finer Grace. His noble Mein, and that Air of Sweetness, mixed with Majesty, which appeared in his Countenance, made as great Impressions on his Hearers, as his Words. Besides, he had found Means to support, from his Youth, a very favourable and very extraordinary Prejudice, which the *Romans* had entertained of him, That he had private Conferences with the Gods, and was governed by secret Inspirations. Many Persons believed, that the Success which every where attended him, and the Favour of the People who adored him, were rather the Gifts of Heaven, than the Effects of human Prudence. Thus Men, either out of Jealousy, or an extravagant Admiration of what they cannot attain to, often ascribe the Product of a wise and artful Conduct to supernatural Causes. *SCIPIO*, who well understood the Genius and credulous Temper of the *Romans*, practised the Deccits of ³⁶ *Numa*, *Alexander the Great*, and *Lycurgus*, and

Polyb. B. 10. c. 2.

³⁵ It is evident, by what we have elsewhere observed, that the Right of choosing *Pro-Consuls* belonged to the *Comitia* by *Tribes*. Nevertheless, we here find *Scipio* raised to the *Pro-Consular* Dignity by the *Centuries*. But this was an extraordinary Step. Besides, the Importance of the Office to which *Scipio* was promoted, was such, as made it necessary that the Person who filled it should be agreeable to all Orders of Men in the Republick. We shall therefore leave the Text of *Livy* as we find it, notwithstanding the Correction of *Gronovius*, who reads *Tribes*, instead of *Centuries*.

³⁶ We have observed, in the first Volume, that *Numa* took Advantage of the Credulity of the People, with regard to the pretended Conferences with

the Nymph *Egeria*, in order to give the greatest Credit to his Laws. *Lycurgus*, and *Alexander the Great*, made use of the same Artifice. When they wanted a Sanction for what they did, they made use of the Authority of the Oracles; which they made to speak what Language they pleased. In *Livy*, B. 26. and *Aulus Gellius*, B. 27. c. 1. we have an Account of a Dream *Scipio's* Mother had, before she was big with him; and upon the Credit of which, the People, already prepossessed in *Scipio's* Favour, believed him to be the Son of *Jupiter*. The young *Roman* made an artful Use of this popular Opinion, and did not contribute a little to spread it: And these Prejudices in his favour, paved the Way for his Promotion to Honours, before the legal Age.

Year of applied them to promote the Good of his Country, and his own Glory. He
 R O M E went to the *Capitol* every Morning before Day-break, ordered the Temple of *Ju-*
 DXLII. *piter* to be opened for him, and there continued a great while in a kind of Con-
 CN. FULVIUS templation. It was even remarked, that the Dogs which kept Guard on the sacred
 CENTUMA- Hill, did not bark at the sight of him. And this Event, which was little surpriz-
 LUS, P. SULPI- ing in itself, since *Scipio* had paid Visits enough to the God for the Dogs to know
 CIUS GALBA, him, passed for a Prodigy. When any body spoke to him of the Conversation he
 Consuls. had with the Gods, his modest Silence was such as might well persuade People, or
 at least give them Reason to suspect, that he acknowledged himself to be a Fa-
 vourite of *Jupiter*: And by these Means *Scipio* disposed the People to enter into
 his Views, and found his Soldiers ready to execute the most difficult Enterprizes,
 from a Persuasion that Heaven had revealed to him the Success of them. Nay,
 he had the Address to fill his own Family with the same Prepossessions. After he
 had formed a Plot to get himself and his Brother *Lucius* chosen *Ædiles*, not-
 withstanding their Age; when he thought the Success of it inevitable, he one Day
 told his Mother that it had been twice revealed to him in a Dream, that he and
 his Brother should be *Ædiles*. *How will it surprize you*, added he, *to see your*
two Sons invested with a Dignity from which their Youth excludes them! And
 indeed, the Mother was astonished at the Respect the People paid her Children,
 who were then deprived of their best Support, by the Absence of their Father.
 She thought there was something very unaccountable and supernatural, both in
 the Event, and the Prediction of her eldest Son.

Aul. Gellius,
B. 6. c. 21.
Polyb. B. 10.

NOR that *Scipio* was always strictly regular in his Conduct. From the time he
 became susceptible of Passion, he had his Gallantries. His Father was one Day
 forced to drag him out of a Mistress's Lodging, half dressed; and he ever after
 loved Women. His boasted Chastity was not complexional, but rather the Effect
 of his Policy, or his Virtue. In short, perhaps no Hero ever had a more happy
 Mixture of civil and military Accomplishments. The Relation of his Exploits
 will shew, that he was in the Field a greater Commander than *Hannibal*, and
 worthy to overcome him: And no Man shewed greater Affability and Steadiness,
 both in City and Camp, than *Scipio*. His Disinterestedness was such, that he neg-
 lected every thing but his Glory; and his Liberality was so great, that it was some-
 times thought Profuseness. He was easy of Access at all times, and gracious to
 all that approached him; which so far gained him the Affections of both People
 and Soldiers, that he was their Idol. His Figure and Air were such, that Nature
 seemed to have formed him to win the Hearts of all that saw him. There was
 something in his Features that was both tender and martial at the same time.
 The Sweetness of his Looks, and the Fire that sparkled in his Eyes, bespoke the
 good-natured General, and the intrepid Soldier. And tho' he did not affect to
 heighten by Art, those external Beauties which Nature had given him; yet nei-
 ther did he chuse to bury them in the nasty Slovenliness, which the Great Gene-
 rals of his time made Matter of Merit and Ostentation. He shaved his Beard, for
 this Custom was then introduced into *Rome*: And in times of the deepest Mourn-
 ing, he did not utterly neglect his Person, or the Decency of his Dress. And that
 this did not betray any Weakness of Understanding, may justly be inferred from
 his constant Affection for *Ennius* 37, the famous Poet of his time, and the In-
 ventor of the *Latin Hexameter Verses*.

Aul. Gell. B. 3.
c. 4.

SUCH was the very promising General, whom *Rome* appointed to repair her
 Losses in *Spain*; and the Republick, as usual, neglected no Precaution that was ne-
 cessary to secure her *Pro-Consul* all the Success he desired. She nominated an old
Pro-Prætor, named *M. Junius Silanus*, to accompany *Scipio*; rather, according
 to one Historian, as a Coadjutor, to assist him with his Councils, and temper the
 Fire of his martial Disposition, than as a Colleague.

Liv. B. 26.
c. 19.

THE new Body of Troops which the *Pro-Consul* carried into *Spain*, was a con-
 siderable Augmentation to the Army which *Claudius Nero* then commanded there.
Scipio embarked, at the Port of *Ostia*, ten thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse,
 on board a Fleet of thirty *Quinqueremes*. From thence he sailed thro' the *Tyrrhe-*

37 See what we have said of *Ennius* above, p. 2. in *Sardinia*; from whence he was brought to *Rome*
 of this Volume. This Poet spent Part of his Life by *Cato the Censor*, who had learnt *Greek* of him.

nian Sea, coasted along *Gaul*, doubled *The Cape* ³⁸ of the *Pyrenees*, after three Galeys of *Marseilles* had joined him, and happily arrived at the Port of ³⁹ *Empuria*, a City formerly founded by the *Phocæi*. Where we shall now leave him for a little time; but soon return to attend him in his Enterprizes.

§. VIII. THE Winter approached; the *Roman* Troops in all Places were ready to retire into their Winter-Quarters; and then *Marcellus*, who had not left ⁴⁰ *Sicily* since his taking of *Syracuse*, returned to *Rome*. But as he was the General of an Army

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.

CN. FULVIUS
CENTUM-
LUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.

³⁸ *The Cape of the Pyrenees*, is the same which was anciently called *The Promontory of Venus*, from a neighbouring Temple which was consecrated to that Goddess. This Promontory is now known by the Name of *Cap de Vendres*.

³⁹ See our Account of the City of *Empuria*, or *Emporium*, now *Empurias*, the Capital of *Lampurdan*, above, p. 86. of this Volume.

⁴⁰ After the taking of *Syracuse*, most of the Cities of *Sicily*, which had embraced the *Carthaginian* Party, voluntarily surrendered to *Marcellus* at Discretion. And those which had continued faithful to the *Roman* Republick, or which had renewed their Alliance with *Rome*, without waiting for the Reduction of *Syracuse*, were maintained in the Possession of their Privileges. Nevertheless, *Sicily* was not entirely settled in Peace. *Marcellus* had yet some Enemies to subdue. *Epicides* and *Hanno* were fled to *Agrigentum* for Refuge. *Mutines*, who had been sent by *Hannibal* to supply the Place of *Hypocrates*, kept the Field at the Head of a Detachment of *Numidians*. This General was a *Phœnician* by Descent, and a Native of *Hippo*, a City of *Africa*, which the *Greeks* called *Diarrhytos*, to distinguish it from another *Hippo*, in *Numidia*. This Officer, who was formed by *Hannibal* himself, had acquired Reputation in the Army, by his Valour and Activity. *Epicides* and *Hanno*, who knew his Merit, had given him the Command of a Body of *Numidian* Horse; and this brave Man did not frustrate their Expectations. He soon made himself dreaded in all *Sicily*, by the Advantages he gained over the Cities in Alliance with the *Romans*. After he had, with surprizing Expedition, ravaged the Lands of his Enemies, he ran to all the Places which yet adhered to *Carthage*, and by his Presence kept these wavering People in Awe, after the Reduction of *Syracuse*. He secured the Fidelity of some, by sending them the Provisions and Succours they wanted; and he encouraged others to hold out resolutely against *Marcellus*, and raised their dejected Spirits. He seemed to be in all Places, where the Interests of *Hannibal* and his Republick required his Presence. *Epicides* and *Hanno* had till now shut themselves up in the City of *Agrigentum*. But emboldened by the happy Expeditions of *Mutines*, they ventured to lead their Army into the Plain. They advanced as far as to the River *Himera*, and there formed a Camp. *Marcellus*, as soon as informed of these new Motions, immediately took the Field; went and encamped with the greatest Part of his Army four Miles from the *Carthaginian* Troops, resolving to watch the Motions of the Enemy; and *Mutines* did not give him time to deliberate long what Part to act. This General, who only wanted an Opportunity to signalize himself, was immediately beforehand with *Marcellus*. He passed the River, fell suddenly on the Guards, and spread an Alarm in the *Roman* Camp. The next Day *Marcellus* marched out of his Entrenchments, and drew up his Men in Order of Battel. But the *Romans*, in the first Heat of the Action, were repulsed quite to their Camp; and *Mutines* was preparing to renew the Attack with double Vigour, when he received the News, that in the Heat of a Sedition, the *Numidian* Cavalry had divided themselves into two Parts, and three hundred of them retired to *Heraclea*. Upon this therefore, the General was obliged to drop, or rather delay his

Enterprize. He instantly went to stifle a Revolt, the Consequences of which might prove fatal to his Designs; and he at the same time desired *Epicides* and *Hanno* not to fight till he returned. But this Request was not agreeable to the two Generals. *Hanno*, who had long been jealous of the Glory and Reputation of *Mutines*, could ill brook his seeming to impose Laws upon him, and treat him as a Subaltern. *What!* said he, *am I sent into Sicily, with a Commission by the Senate and People of Carthage, only to be subject to the Caprice of a vile African, of no Birth or Family?* And *Hanno* found it no difficult Matter to instil the same Uneasiness into the Mind of *Epicides*. So that they both resolved to pass the River, and give Battel, without tarrying for *Mutines*. Their Rage and Envy made them look on this Brave *African*, only as a troublesome Rival, who would assume to himself all the Honour of a Victory, which they might gain without him. *Marcellus*, upon sight of the *Carthaginian* Army, formed his. This Great Man had, four Years before, humbled the Pride of the Conqueror at *Canna*, before *Nola*; and it seemed shameful to retire before two Men, who were much inferior to *Hannibal*, and who had so often experienced his Valour. So that the *Roman* accepted the Challenge; and whilst he was preparing for the Battel, ten *Numidians* came from the *Carthaginian* Army to him, and informed him that their Countrymen were absolutely resolved to continue unactive during the Action. In short, the *Numidian* Cavalry were all inclined to revolt. Three hundred of this formidable Body had deserted, and were gone to *Heraclea*. Besides, the *Mutineers* were persuaded that *Epicides* and *Hanno* had sent away *Mutines* their Commander, and employed him elsewhere, on purpose to rob him of the Glory of having conquered the *Romans*. And these naturally perfidious and faithless *Africans* kept their Word with *Marcellus*. The Report of the Revolt of the *Numidians* was therefore soon spread among the *Legionaries*; and they all looked on this as an happy Presage of the Victory. The most cowardly took Courage, when they were no longer to fear the Attacks of those Squadrons, which had hitherto been so formidable to the *Romans*. As to the Enemy, a sudden Terror seized them all, upon the first Rumour of that Revolt. Besides that the two Commanders, *Epicides* and *Hanno*, could no longer depend on this Cavalry, which was the main Strength of the *African* Armies, it was much feared, that when joined with the *Romans*, they would even turn their Arms against the *Carthaginians*. So that these affrighted Troops were defeated in a Moment. The Shouts and first Shock of the *Roman* Army determined the Victory; and the whole *Carthaginian* Army was routed. They all fled, and took the Road to *Agrigentum*. The Fugitives were followed by the *Numidians*, who after having been idle Spectators of the Battel, retired to several Cities. But they would not go with the others to *Agrigentum*, for fear the *Romans* should besiege them there. Nevertheless, many thousands of the Enemy were overtaken by the Pursuers; the greatest Part of them killed; and the rest made Prisoners by the *Romans*, who also took eight Elephants. So that this great Advantage raised *Marcellus* to the highest Pitch of Glory; and he returned victorious to *Syracuse*. From thence he came to *Rome*, after he had delivered up his Army and

Livy, B. 25.
l. 40.

Year of **R O M E** Army in a foreign Country, he was not admitted to his first Audience within the Walls of the City. At the Request of *Calpurnius* the *Prætor*, the Senate assembled in the Temple of *Bellona*, to receive him; and there he added to his Narration of his Battels, and his Conquest of *Syracuse*, a Petition for a Triumph. It is certain, few Generals had better deserved that Honour; but the Senate had their Rules, from which they would not depart. And on this account, the most fortunate of men got the better of the most brave. Those who did not favour *Marcellus*, objected, That his victorious Army was not returned to *Italy* with him; whereas they ought to have been present, to bear Testimony to the Valour and Conduct of their Leader. But his Friends could not bear to see *Rome* refuse him a Triumph when present, after she had returned Thanks to the Gods for his Victories, during his Absence. *What* said they, *ought he to be treated as a General, who has not honourably executed his Commission, barely because he was ordered to leave his Army in the Hands of his Successor?* In short, all things spoke in his Favour; nevertheless, Custom and Law seemed to be against his receiving the Distinctions he desired. And therefore, as he was really esteemed, and his Services were exceeding agreeable to the Republick, the Senators did all they could to honour him, without breaking in upon old Regulations, by granting him an *Ovation*. So that he did not enter *Rome* riding in a Chariot, crowned with Laurel, Trumpets sounding, and preceded or followed by his Army. Too little Blood had been spilt in his Victories, for them to suit the Taste of the *Romans*. *Marcellus* was an amiable Conqueror, who chose rather to gain the Hearts of his Enemies by Address and Insinuation, than to subdue them by Force of Arms. And it was owing to the unreasonable Prejudices which his Enemies spread among the People on this account, that he was only suffered to walk to the Capital on foot, crowned with Myrtle, and attended with an agreeable Concert of Flutes and Stringed Instruments.

Plut. Life of Marcellus.

Livy, B. 26. c. 21.

§. IX. THE Senate indeed took Care to make him some Amends for the Injury that had been done him, by ordering that this Great Man should not absolutely be reduced to a private Condition, but should still be suffered to have the Title of *Pro-Consul*, and wear the Badges of his Generalship, whenever he came into the City. And this was all *Rome* did, for a Conqueror who had taken all *Sicily* from the *Carthaginians*, except one little Corner of the Island. But *Marcellus* found Means to do himself Justice, and to triumph, notwithstanding the Refusal of the Senate. He decreed himself a Triumph, on *The Hill of Alba*, and appeared there in all the Pomp of a triumphant Victor, riding in a Chariot, crowned with Laurel, and Trumpets sounding. This was a bold Step, which would have been deemed an Offence against the Publick, if it had not been authorized by former Precedents; but no body murmured, unless at the vain Scruples of the Senate, and the Ingratitude of the Magistrates. And tho' *Marcellus* was not attended in his Procession by the Army which had so often been victorious under him; yet the Shew of his *Ovation* and Triumph were not less pompous than usual. A Plan of *Syracuse*, taken from Nature, the Machines that *Archimedes* had invented to defend it, the valuable Moveables which had been taken in it, the Statues and Paintings of an exquisite Taste with which it had more abounded, than

and Government in *Sicily*, into the Hands of *Marcus Cornelius*. But after his Departure, a *Carthaginian* Fleet landed eight thousand Foot, and three thousand *Numidians*, in *Sicily*; and by the Help of these new Forces, the *Carthaginian* Republick began to recover her Power in several Parts of the Island. *Murgantia*, *Hybla* and *Macella*, went over to her; and after their Example, some less considerable Places fell off from the *Romans*. As for *Muzines*, he, at the Head of his *Numidians*, destroyed the Country with Fire and Sword; daily returned to the Cities of his Allies loaded with Spoils; and these Hostilities were committed with Impunity, almost within sight of the *Roman* Army. The *Roman* Soldiers were enraged that they had not followed their General to *Rome*, to share the Honours of a Triumph with him; and their Resentments and Murmurs were increased, at their being forbidden to take up their Winter-Quarters in the Cities. This Anger

produced Inaction; and at last they refused to obey the Orders of their Commander. Nay, they wanted only an Head, to break out into an open Rebellion. All the Address of the *Prætor*, *Marcus Cornelius*, was wanting, to appease these enraged People. But he made a proper Use of Caresses and Threatenings; and the Soldiers, when intimidated by the Punishment of the most mutinous, became more tractable, and submitted to the Laws of military Discipline. *Cornelius* therefore seized this Opportunity of repairing the Losses the *Roman* Republick had suffered, since the Departure of *Marcellus*. He, at the Head of his Troops, forced all the rebellious Cities to return to their Duty; and particularly *Murgantia*; which, with its Territory, was given up to the *Spaniards*, to whom the Senate had assigned Lands, as a Reward for their Zeal in the Service of the Republick.

any City in *Greece*, the costly Vessels that were found in the Palace of the old Kings of *Syracuse*; and lastly, immense Quantities of Money in Gold, Silver, and Brass, were all carried before him on Biers. Eight Elephants, which had been taken from the Enemy, marched in good Order before his Chariot; and put the *Romans* in mind, that the Hero had conquered *Carthaginians*. The two Companions of his Glory, *Meric* and *Sosis*, walked before him, wearing Crowns of Gold. The former was the brave *Spaniard*, who had delivered up to the *Romans* the Island which was a Part of *Syracuse*. The latter was the *Syracusan*, who had shewn the *Romans* the Way into the City by Night; and the Republick liberally rewarded them for their Services. She granted both the Right of *Citizenship of Rome*, and gave the former five hundred Acres of the forfeited Lands of the Rebels in *Sicily*; and the latter as many in the Territory of *Syracuse*, together with a fine House in the 4th City.

§. X. It must be owned, that *Marcellus* then introduced among the *Romans* a refined Taste for Paintings and Carvings. *Rome*, wholly devoted to military Achievements, had yet seen only very coarse Performances of that kind. Not that it had been out of the Power of the preceding Generals to have brought the most perfect Originals, made by the best Hands in *Greece*, to *Rome*. But *Marcellus* had more Delicacy of Taste, and was more struck with the exquisite Beauties of the Pencil and Chizel, which he discovered in the Works of the greatest Painters and Sculptors. And this made him take so much Pains to strip *Syracuse*, in order to embellish *Rome*. He indeed brought very valuable Spoils from *Sicily*, and placed them in the Temples of 4th *Virtue* and *Honour*, which he had built in Discharge of a Vow he had made in the War with the *Gauls*. He invited Foreigners to go and see them, and complimented the *Greeks* on having furnished the World with such Productions, as were capable of doing Honour even to *Rome*. But, as strange as it may appear, these new Embellishments were not equally agreeable to all the *Romans*. The People were charmed to see with what Perfection Art had

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.

CN. FULVIUS
CENTUMA-
LUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls.

Livy, B. 26.
c. 21.

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.
Auth. of the
Lives of Illust.
Men.



Silver



Brass

41 *Livy* says, the *Prætor Marcus Cornelius*, was ordered by the Senate to give *Meric*, and his *Spaniards*, some City in *Sicily*, with Lands for their subsistence; and it was left to his Discretion to do in what part of the Island he thought proper. *Meric*, who had prevailed on *Meric* to declare for the *Romans*, was rewarded with four hundred Acres of Land.

42 The Temple consecrated to *Virtue* and *Honour*, was built without the Walls, near the Gate *Capena*. Afterwards, each of these Divinities had a separate Temple; and they were so placed, that one could enter the Temple of *Honour*, without going through that of *Virtue*. Hereby the *Romans* continually put in mind, that *Virtue* alone does truly lead to true Glory. The Worship the *Romans* paid these Divinities was suitable to the Maxims of the Pagans, who made it a Rule to deify all good Qualities. *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Romans*, contrary to their usual Custom, sacrificed to *Honour* uncovered; perhaps, says he, to shew, that *Honour* is, it shines with great Splendor, which openly displays it to the World. Or perhaps, adds he, this Ceremony was founded on a custom received in many Nations, to appear bare-

headed in the Presence of Persons of Distinction. *Virtue* and *Honour* are represented in different Attitudes, and under different Figures, on most of the ancient Medals. On the Reverse of a *Galba*, *Honour* is represented in a Woman's Habit, holding a *Cornucopia* in her Left Hand, and a Pike in her Right. *Virtue* appears there in a military Dress, wearing an Helmet on her Head, holding a Pike in her Left Hand, and a Battoon in her Right, and resting one of her Feet on an Helmet. But the same Divinities appear in a very different manner, on several *Consular* and *Imperial* Medals, which we shall have occasion to mention, in the Course of this History.

As to the Triumph of *Marcellus*, it is attested by a Medal, on the Reverse of which is a triumphal Chariot driven by a *Victory* with this Inscription, M. MARCELLUS. The two Ears of Corn on this Medal are Symbols of the Fruitfulness of the Territory of *Syracuse*, and of the other Cantons in *Sicily*, which were united to the Territories of the *Romans* by this great Man. It is well known, that this Island was vulgarly called, *The Granary of old Rome*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.
CN. FULVIUS
CENTUMA-
LUS, P. SULPI-
CIUS GALBA,
Consuls.

imitated Nature; and often made it their Business to study these perfect Models. But some of the old *Romans*, who were full of the Prejudices imbibed in their Youth, and suspected all Novelties, murmured at it. They foreboded great Misfortunes to the Republick, from the Introduction of Arts into *Rome*. They said it would destroy the Peoples Love for Husbandry and War; and would soften and enervate them. Nay, some of the declamatory Historians ⁴³ make *Marcellus* the Author of the Luxury and Debauchery of the *Romans*. As if Arts, which do Honour to an Empire, were the Ruin of it! But I dare venture to affirm, that *Rome* never gained more, or greater Conquests, than after the Triumph of *Marcellus*. This Epocha, which is remarkable for the Introduction of the polite Arts into *Rome*, and for the Invectives of so many Writers, who are severe against Luxury to an Excess, was followed by the greatest Exploits of the *Romans*, that is, by the Destruction of *Carthage*, and the Conquest of the whole World.

§. XI. AND now, the time for electing Magistrates for the next Year approached; and the present *Consuls* were both in *Apulia*, pretty much disengaged; for, ever since the taking of *Capua*, *Hannibal* had continued quiet in the Country of the *Bruttii*. *Sulpicius* was therefore sent into *Greece*, to take the Place of *Lævinus*, (who was sick at *Anticyra*, and could no longer watch the Steps of the *Macedonian*) and assist the *Ætolians*, and other Allies of *Rome* with his Fleet; and his Colleague *Fulvius Centumalus* was recalled to the City, to preside in the *Comitia by Centuries* held in the *Campus Martius*, where a memorable Event a little interrupted the Elections. The *Century* of the youngest Men in the *Veturian* ⁴⁴ *Tribe* got *The Prerogative* by Lot; that is, obtained the Right of going first in the Voting-place; and the Choice of the *Consuls*, and other Magistrates, generally depended on these first Suffrages, which were often a Rule for the other *Centuries* of the several *Tribes*. The first *Century* that voted, nominated *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *T. Otacilius* for *Consuls*, tho' the latter was absent; and a great Crowd immediately got round *Manlius*, to congratulate him upon the Promotion which the People would in-

Livy, B. 26.
c. 22.

⁴³ *Livy* especially, imputes to *Marcellus* the Rise of the Custom, which prevailed among the *Romans*, of stripping the conquered Cities of their richest Ornaments, and adorning their Capital with them. It is true, says he, B. 25. these Spoils did, by the Right of War, belong to the Conqueror; but it must be owned, that this Custom gave rise to many Evils. From that time the People began to be very inquisitive after these Master-pieces of Art, which have been the Admiration of all Ages. And hence came that boundless Licentiousness, which prevails among us to this day, of sparing nothing, either sacred or profane, to gratify our Ostentation and Curiosity. Religion itself could no longer set Bounds to the Avarice of a greedy Conqueror. He laid his sacrilegious Hands on things sacred. The most venerable Divinities were torn from the Places where they had fixed their Abode; and the Temple which was built by *Marcellus* himself has met with the same Fate. The stately Monuments with which he enriched it, are now become the Prey of an unjust Usurper; and there are now but few Remains to be seen of the fine Statues, and valuable Paintings, which the Conqueror of *Syracuse* reserved for embellishing it. Till the Age in which this General lived, *Rome*, wholly devoted to War, had entertained her Citizens with no Sights, but what suited her martial Genius, Triumphs, Trophies, and the military Ensigns and Arms of conquered Nations. This Apparatus was very suitable to the Taste of Men, who were Enemies to Luxury, and had been brought up in the Noise and Hurry of War. *Rome*, says *Plutarch*, was like the Plain of *Boeotia*, which *Epaminondas* called *The Orchestra of Mars*, because it was become the Seat of the Wars of *Greece*. Thus *Xenophon* says, B. 3. that the City of *Ephesus* was the Arsenal of the War. And *Plutarch* also applies to *Rome* the Appellation *Pindar* gave the City of *Syracuse*, which he called *Mars's Palace*. The old *Romans* therefore, who were fond of the ancient Customs, thought the Conduct of the great *Fabius*, at the taking of *Tarentum*, preferable

to that of *Marcellus* at the taking of *Syracuse*. The former was content with the Gold, and other things that could fill *Rome* with Plenty; and did not touch the old Statues, and rich Paintings, which adorned the Temples and publick Places. Whether it proceeded from Respect to the Gods, or from being absolutely unaffected with these Wonders of human Art; whatever his Motive was, he was certainly heard to say, *Let us leave the Tarentini their own Gods*. Whereas *Marcellus*, on the contrary, was not free from Censure. He was accused of having emboldened the triumphant Victors to lead both Men and Gods in Chains after their Chariots. From that time, says *Plutarch*, the Citizens were no longer employed, as in earlier Ages, in forming great Designs, and conspiring to promote the Glory of the Country. The publick places were filled only with the trifling Chat of an idle People, who spent Part of the Day in discoursing on Statues of exquisite Workmanship, valuable Pictures, and those who excelled in Painting and Sculpture. And *Plutarch* is as severe upon the *Romans* on this Account, as either *Livy*, or *Plutarch*. These Statues, says *Plutarch*, *Bas-reliefs*, and other rich Spoils of conquered Cities, were equally a Proof of the Conquests of *Rome*, and the Injustice of those who seized them. When these Monuments were shown to Strangers, they perpetuated their Hatred to the *Roman* Name; and put the conquered People in mind of their Misfortunes. This inspired the Spectators with Indignation against the Conquerors, and Compassion for the oppressed Nations.

⁴⁴ *The Veturian Tribe* was one of those who changed their old Names taken from the Places of their Settlement for new ones taken from the illustrious Families in them. The Family of *Veturii*, which was one of the most considerable among the *Patricians*, gave *The Tribe Veturia* its Name. See what we have said of the *Tribe Veturia*, *Prerogative Right*, in the preceding Volume.

fallibly give him. But they were much surprized to see him turn suddenly about, and walk towards the Tribunal, where the President of the *Comitia* was sitting. However, the Crowd of his Friends followed him; kept Silence to hear him; and he, to the great Astonishment of the Assembly, demanded that the *Prerogative* should be taken from the *Century* which had just voted in his Favour. When required to give his Reasons for this Demand, his Answer was, *That these young Men had pitched upon a Man who was not capable of being chosen Consul. Every body, says he, knows that I am short-sighted. And is it reasonable that such a Man should be a Magistrate, (who ought to see every thing with his own Eyes) as a vigilant and sagacious General? The Noise the Carthaginians made round our Walls is scarce ceased; and yet the People would put a blind Man at the Head of our Armies, and the Helm of Government. Let then The Prerogative be taken from the Century of the young Men of the Veturian Tribe, and let them not vote first.* This was reported to the *Century* which was yet in the Voting-place, where it had voted; but the young Men, who thought the Merit of *Manlius* the greater for renouncing the *Consulate*, declared they would not desist from their Right. And then *Manlius* thought it necessary to speak such a Language, as struck Terror into his most zealous Friends. *I find that you, who will have none to be Consul but me, said he, don't yet know me; and therefore I will declare myself. I protest to you, that I will never bear the Licentiousness of your Manners; but will make you feel the Weight of my Administration. If therefore you believe me, disannul your Election, begin a new one, and remember, that the Consuls you are going to chuse, ought to be Men fit to cope with the famous Hannibal.*

Year of
R O M E
DXLII.
CN. FULVIUS
CENTUMA-
LUS, P. SUL-
PICIUS GAL-
BA, Consuls:

THEN the young Men of the *Century* agreed among themselves to take the Advice of the oldest Men of their *Tribe*, who were dispersed in other *Centuries*; and these prevailed upon them to desist from their first Choice, and proposed to them to vote either for *Fabius Cunctator*, i. e. *The Temporizer*, or *Marcellus* the Conqueror of *Syracuse*, or *Lævinus*, who had lately signalized himself in *Greece* against the King of *Macedon*: and they followed this wise Advice. Why *Lævinus* was preferred to the great *Fabius*, I know not; but at length the former was named with *Marcellus*, and the rest of the *Centuries* in all the *Tribes*, followed the Steps of *Manlius*, who, conscious of his Insufficiency, neglected his own Glory; or the Wisdom of the young *Century*, who, notwithstanding their Right, would not absolutely determine what *Consuls* to chuse, till they had consulted the most judicious old Men of their 45 *Tribe*?

45 After the *Consuls* were elected, the *Comitia* by *Centuries* assembled, says *Livy*, to elect *Prætors* for the Year 543; and the Majority of Suffrages fell on *Publius Manlius Volso*, *Lucius Manlius Acidinus*, *Caius Lætorius*, and *Lucius Cincius Alimentus*. But the People were scarce separated, before News came from *Sicily*, of the Death of *Titus Otacilius Crassus*, whom the *Centuries* of the young Men of *The Veturian Tribe* had at first nominated for *Consul* for the next Year, with *Titus Manlius*. After the Election of the Magistrates was over, a new Regulation was made with respect to *The Apollinarian Games*. They had been celebrated for the first time, the last Year; and the Senate, at the Motion of *Calpurnius* the *Prætor*, ordered that they should be solemnized a second time, at the end of the Year 542. And at the same time, the *Conscript Fathers*, by a solemn Decree, obliged themselves to continue the Celebration of them for ever. After this, nothing was talked of, but the Prodigies which were seen in different Parts of *Italy*. A superstitious Credulity realized these pretended Miracles; and the Fright of the People multiplied them. It was said, that the Statue of *Victory*, on the Top of the Temple of *Concord*, had been removed by a Clap of Thunder, and carried into one of the Niches of the Building, among the other little Images of *Victory*. It was reported, That the Gates and Walls of *Anagnia*, and *Fregellæ*, had been beaten down by Lightning;

That in the Market-place of *Tuderta*, a City of *Umbria*, now called *Todi*, Streams of Blood had been seen to run for a whole Day; That at the City of *Eretum*, it had rained Stones; and That at *Reate* a Mule had brought forth a Colt. To expiate these Prodigies, whether true or false, the Senate ordered one Day of solemn Prayers and Sacrifices for nine Days successively; and the Citizens were very earnest in endeavouring to avert the Anger of the Gods, and prevent the ill Effect of these fatal Presages, by sacrificing great Victims. And then, they proceeded to elect some new Ministers of Religion, to supply the Places of those who died, in the Year 542. *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus* was made one of the *Decemviri*, who were the Guardians of the *Sybilline Books*, in the room of *Marcus Æmilius Numida*. *Caius Livius* filled the Vacancy made in the *Pontifical College*, by the Decease of *Marcus Pomponius Matho*. *Spurius Carvilius*, who had been the Head of the *Augurs*, was succeeded by *Marcus Servilius*. But the Election of a Successor to the *Pontifex*, *Titus Otacilius Crassus*, who was lately dead in *Sicily*, was postponed. And then the *Romans* likewise gave a fresh Proof of their Superstition, in the Deposition of *Caius Claudius* the *Flamen Dialis*, who was accused of not having observed the Ceremonies in the Ritual of the Sacrifices, when he offered up the Entrails of a Victim.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

§. XII. BUT the two *Consuls*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, now chosen a fourth time, and *M. Valerius Lævinus* a second, did not enter upon the Exercise of their Office, at the same time. *Lævinus* continued sick in *Greece*; whither *Sulpicius* was gone to succeed him. So that he received the News of his Promotion to the *Consulship* at *Anticyra*, and did not make any great haste to come and take Possession of it. Whereas *Marcellus*, in the mean time, began to discharge his Office on *The Ides of March*. He assembled the Senate on that Day, according to Custom; but declared, that he would not do any Business of Moment, either in relation to the City, or the *Provinces*, till his Colleague arrived.

MARCELLUS was not a Stranger to the secret Plots of his Enemies against him; and *M. Cornelius Cethegus* was the most violent, and the most artful, of his Rivals in Glory. Having been nominated *Prætor* in *Sicily*, the last Year, to govern one of the *Roman Provinces* there, he was now, since the Departure of *Marcellus*, the sole Commander the *Romans* had in that Island; and it must be owned, that he had made some Conquests there. He had retaken by Capitulation all the Cities that the *Carthaginians* had taken from the *Romans*; and his Services made him proud. He thought himself equal to the incomparable *Marcellus*; and had therefore resolved to raise his own Glory on the Ruins of the Reputation of this great Man. In order to this, he had sent many Letters to *Rome*, wherein he declared, that there was a great deal to do in *Sicily*, before the whole Island would be reduced; and had thereby hindered *Marcellus* from enjoying the Honours of a Triumph, which was seldom granted, till an Expedition was completed. And now, he made a still more unworthy Attempt against the Reputation of this great Commander, against whom he ventured to appear as a Rival. He suborned a great Number of *Syracusans*, and sent them to *Italy*, with a Design to form an Accusation against *Marcellus*. These, who were ready to swear against him, kept themselves concealed in the Villages round *Rome*, and were to join all together, when a favourable Opportunity should offer, to make their Complaints against the

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

Livy, B. 26.
c. 26.

Administration of *Marcellus* at *Syracuse*.

BUT tho' the Plot had been secretly carried on, it came to the Knowledge of the new *Consul*; who was not surprized at it, and spoke of it to the Senate the first time he assembled them, in the Absence of *Lævinus*. *I have*, said he, *some Enemies dispersed about in the Neighbourhood of Rome, who secretly spread Reports in the City, which are prejudicial to me. But for my own part, I am so far from desiring to stifle their Complaints, that I will, for their Satisfaction, assemble the Senate myself, and give them all the Opportunities they can desire, to bring their Accusation against me.* By this Proceeding he gained the Reputation of great Moderation; his Confidence was a strong Prejudice in favour of his Innocence; and the Affair rested there, till *Lævinus* arrived, who was daily expected.

DURING this Interval, all publick Business was at a stand in *Rome*. The publick Tranquillity was as great as ever, for some Days; but at length, the People began to grow seditious, and it was long before they could be brought to Temper again. *What Men have they given us for Consuls?* said they. *They are indeed illustrious Warriors; but shall we never see the Republick governed by any, but Men capable of kindling great Wars, and continuing them? Have not we suffered enough, by the Approach of Hannibal, the last Year? His Troops appeared before our Gates. Our Fields were laid waste, and our Barns are still burning. How are the Roman People wasted away by this long War! How greatly is the Number of our Citizens diminished! Every Year is distinguished by the Defeat of some one or other of our Armies, and the Slaughter of our Soldiers weakens us.* These Complaints, how unreasonable soever, were in the Mouths of all the People; and nothing could restrain them, but a sudden publick Misfortune, which drew all the Attention of these idle Men. On the 4th Eve of the Festival of *Minerva*, several Fires broke out, at the same time, in several Quarters of the City, near the *Forum Romanum*. Some Inns, and some of the Shops of the Bankers, were first burnt; and then the Fire took hold of private Houses, consumed the publick Prisons, and

46 See what we have said of the Origin and Ceremonies of the Festivals consecrated to *Minerva* under the Name of *Quinquatrus*, Vol. 2.

did some Damage to the Fish-market 47, and in the Court of the Old Palace of the Kings. The Temple of *Vesta* was saved only by the Assistance of thirteen Slaves, whom the City rewarded with their Freedom, for this important Service.

BUT this sad Fire was not accidental; as plainly appeared from its beginning in different Places at the same time. The *Consul* therefore prevailed on the Senate to make Enquiry after the Authors of it, and to promise a Sum of Money to any *Freeman* that would discover them; and Liberty to any Slave: and this Promise induced one *Mannus*, a Domestick in the *Calavian* Family, to betray his Masters. The *Calavii* came originally from *Campania*; and they had done this, in Revenge for the Severity *Rome* had shewn the *Capuans*. In order to compass their Design, they had associated together five hundred of the young Nobility of the Country, whose Fathers had been beheaded by Order of the Conquerors; and the Slave accused them all, and declared that they were ready to go upon any other desperate Attempt against *Rome*, if they were not soon arrested. When brought to their Trial, they first endeavoured to invalidate the Testimony of an untractable Slave, whom they had been obliged to treat very roughly the Evening before; but this Defence was not deemed sufficient. They were forced to submit to a publick Examination in the *Forum Romanum*; and then they contradicted one another, confessed their Crime, and both they, and the Slaves their Accomplices, were punished. *Mannus* was both set at Liberty, and received the Sum 49 promised to the Informer.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

§. XIII. THIS was all the *Consul Marcellus* did, during the Absence of his Colleague. In the mean time, *Lævinus* recovered Strength enough to be able to cross the Sea, and he landed in *Italy*, and took the Road to *Rome*. As he passed thro' *Campania*, the Inhabitants of that Country crowded round him, implored his Protection, and with Tears in their Eyes besought him to give them Leave to bring their Complaints before the Senate against the severe *Pro-Consul*, *Fulvius Flaccus*, whose Inhumanity had brought the *Campanian* Nation to the very Brink of Ruin. But *Fulvius* did not want Reasons to urge in Defence of his Proceedings. *I have no personal Cause*, said he, *to treat the Campani ill. But they are declared Enemies to Rome, and shall never have any Quarter from me, as long as they continue to shew their ill Dispositions, by Treasons, and by setting Fire to the City. I will always keep them close within their Walls; lest, like wild Beasts, they should ravage the Country. They no sooner had a Moment's Liberty, but they employed it in flying for Refuge to Hannibal, or in burning Rome. Go thither, my Lord*, said he to *Lævinus*, *and there you will soon see the Footsteps of the Fury of the Campani. Vesta, the sacred Fire, and the Palladium, on which the Fate of Rome depends,* Livy, B. 26. *were with much Difficulty saved from perishing by the Attempts of these Barbarians.* c. 27.

BUT *Lævinus* was touched with Compassion for the miserable *Campani*, and ordered them to follow him to *Rome*; after *Fulvius* had first made them swear that they would return to *Capua*, in five Days after they were dismissed by the Senate. Thus attended, he drew near the Capital; and was not far from it, when the Company of *Sicilians*, who were suborned to accuse *Marcellus*, came also and joined him in his March; and he suffered them likewise to enter the City with him. Whether he thought it looked like a kind of Triumph to be thus attended by the Deputies of two powerful conquered Cities; or whether he thought it was doing Honour to the Republick, and magnifying his own Equity, to introduce into the Senate Wretches, who demanded Justice of their Conquerors; whatever was the Motive, he was pleased to have these honourable attendants in his Train. But he was not in Haste to procure them an Audience of the Senate. More important Affairs must necessarily employ him for some days after his Arrival. He first assembled the *Conscript Fathers*, and gave them

Livy, ibid.

47 The Fish-market abutted upon the Ox-market, and was near the *Tyber*, and the Herb-market. *Apuleius, Metamorph. B. 1.* seems to confound the Fish-market, with the Market which *Varro* calls *Forum Cupidinis*, because the most delicate Things, and all sorts of good Provisions, were sold there. The latter was in the fourth Quarter of *Rome*,

pretty near *The Via Sacra*; whereas the former was in the eighth Quarter of *Rome*. So that *Apuleius* could only mean, that the Fishermen sold their Fish in more Places in *Rome* than one.

48 *Livy* says the Sum promised the Informer, was twenty thousand *Asses* of Brass.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

Fast. Capit.
Liv. B. 26.
c. 28.

an Account of the Condition in which he had left *Macedon*, and her King, the *Ætolians*, and the rest of the Confederates in *Greece*, and *Asia*. *Philip*, said he, *has too much Business to do at Home, to think of coming into Italy to assist Hannibal*. The Fleet I commanded in *Greece*, is sufficient to put a Stop to the Projects of the *Macedonian*. *Sulpicius* my Successor does not so much as want the Legion which he has on board his Gallies. And upon this Report, that Legion was ordered to be brought back to *Italy*, where it might be of more Service.

§. XIV. WHAT now remained, was to assign each of the *Consuls* his Station for the next Campaign, and allot the several Generals of the *Roman* Armies their respective Provinces. In the first place therefore the Senate declared, That one of the *Consuls* should continue in *Italy*, to carry on the War against *Hannibal*, with two *Legions*; and that the other should go into *Sicily*, with two *Legions* more; and command the Fleet which *Otacilius* now commanded there, and the *Prætor* *L. Cincius* under him. Then they decreed, That the General, to whose Lot it should fall to continue in *Italy*, should nominate whomsoever he pleased, to command the Troops in *Cisalpine Gaul*. *Fulvius Centumalus*, the late *Consul*, was continued General of the Army he commanded the last Year in *Apulia*; and *Fulvius Flaccus* remained *Pro-Consul* in *Campania*. *C. Calpurnius* had the Command of the Troops in *Hetruria*; and *P. Manlius Vulso* was appointed *Prætor* of *Sardinia*. After these Appointments, the Republick and *Consuls* lessened the Number of the *Legions*. Two were reduced to one; but each *Legion* was made to consist of five thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. By this means, the Number of the *Legionaries* was much lessened; and *Rome* was repeopled. Those chiefly were dismissed the Service, who had been in it a great Number of Years; and the 49 Reform that was made in the Troops of the Allies also shewed, that *Hannibal* was less feared, after the Reduction of *Campania*. Indeed, during the nine Years the War had lasted, the *Carthaginian* General never appeared so weak; nor had the Republick ever conceived such strong Hopes of recovering from her Fall, as at this time.

It still continued customary at *Rome*, for the two *Consuls* to chuse their Provinces by Lot; and it now happened that *Italy* fell to *Lævinus*, and *Sicily* to *Marcellus*. But as soon as this was declared to the Spectators of the Ceremony, the *Sicilians* who were present, instantly made a horrible Outcry, which occasioned many Speculations. They expressed as much Terror and Consternation as they had done at *Syracuse*, when *Marcellus* surprized it. They dressed themselves in Mourning, ran to the Houses of the Senators, and declared they would never return home, rather than be again subject to the Government of *Marcellus*. They, in an Hyperbole common enough among the Nations which spoke *Greek*, affirmed, that it would be better for *Sicily* to perish in the Flames of Mount *Ætna*, or to be swallowed up by the Sea, than to fall again under the Government of her Conqueror, and her Tyrant. Till at length, these Discourses, which were dispersed all over *Rome*, came to the Ears of *Marcellus* himself; who knew that some out of Compassion, and others out of Jealousy, laid great Strefs upon the Complaints of the *Syracusans*; and he declared, that if his Colleague was willing to change Provinces with him, he would not be against it. But, says he, if the Complaints of the *Sicilians* had been heard by the Senate, I should not be so ready to change my Lot. I now comply with the Desires of the *Sicilians*, that they may have the more Liberty to accuse me before the Senate, when free from the Ap-

49 According to *Livy*, the *Consul*, *Publius Sulpicius Galba*, was ordered to disband all his Army, except the Rowers belonging to his Fleet. *Marcus Cornelius* was obliged, by an express Order of the Senate, to deliver up his Troops to the *Consul*, whose Province *Sicily* should be. The *Prætor* *Lucius Cincius* was directed to carry two *Legions* to that Island, who were formed out of the Remains of the Battel of *Cannæ*. *Publius Manlius Vulso* had the Command of those two *Legions* in *Sardinia*, which *Lucius Cornelius* had commanded there. The Soldiers who had served under *Marcus Claudius*, *Marcus Valerius*, and *Fulvius*, were excused from taking the Field this Year; and the *Romans* then

had but twenty one standing *Legions* in all. 50 According to *Plutarch*, the *Syracusans* first appeared before the Senate, as Suppliants, to demand Justice against *Marcellus*. But the *Consul* *Lævinus* vigorously defended his Colleague, who was then accidentally offering a Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, in the Capitol. As soon as *Marcellus* was informed of what had passed, he immediately repaired to the Senate-house; took his Place there; proposed several Affairs which concerned the publick Welfare, and required Dispatch; and then left his Seat, placed himself among the *Syracusans* Deputies, and waited to receive the Judgment of the House, concerning the Accusations brought against him.

prehen-

preceptions of seeing me again in Sicily; I take it for granted, that the Conscrip- Year of
Fathers will not pretend to compell me to change my Commission with my Collegue, R O M E
by Force. It is enough that I freely give up the Lot that fell to me, without suf- DXLIII.
fering the Indignity of being forced to it by a Decree.

UPON these Conditions, Marcellus consented to the Exchange with *Lævinus*; M. CLAUDIUS
and it was reported to the Senate, who barely consented to it, without enjoining MARCELLUS,
it. By this Means Marcellus was once more at the Head of the Roman Armies, M. VALERIUS
which were to act against *Hannibal*. And how strangely perverse is *Fortune*, in LEVINUS,
bestowing her Favours! The first time Marcellus had commanded the Troops of Consuls.
his Republick, *Hannibal* was fierce and victorious, yet the Roman overcame him.
Now that the *Carthaginian* General was weakened, and deprived of the most con-
siderable Part of his Allies, he began to recover the Glory of his Arms, when op-
posed by that very Marcellus who first put a Stop to his Prosperity. This Incon-
sistency in the Goddess, will plainly appear in the Course of this History; but we
must at present return to civil Affairs.

§. XV. As soon as Marcellus had changed his Province, the *Sicilians* were ad-
mitted into the Senate, to bring their Complaints against him. The two Consuls,
Lævinus and Marcellus presided; and in the Presence of their Conqueror, whom
they had no longer any Reason to dread, the *Syracusans* exclaimed against him
with much Bitterness. They first enumerated the Benefits Rome had formerly
received from *Hiero*; ascribed the important Services of this good King to the
Body of the People; and then proceeded to the mad Government of young *Hiero-*
nymus, and the Invasion of the two Tyrants *Epicyles* and *Hyppocrates*. They af- Plut. Life of
firmed, that the Attachment of these two Men to *Hannibal*, made them the Marcellus.
Curse of the Inhabitants of *Syracuse*; and at length fell furiously on Marcellus. Liv. B. 26.
It was his Fault, said they, that the *Syracusans* so long laboured under the Oppres- c. 30.
sions of the two *Hannibalists*, without receiving any Succours. It was he who
drew the Army of *Epicyles* and *Hyppocrates* upon us, by his Cruelty at *Leontini*,
after he had taken it. Can it be denied, that the chief of the *Syracusans* went to
his Camp, and continued faithful to the Romans? But it was for his Glory to
take a City by Force, which offered to surrender to him as soon as it could get rid
of the Tyrant who had subdued it. This therefore he attempted, but in vain;
and then preferred the Treasons of one *Sosis*, a worthless Fellow, a Blacksmith,
and of one *Meric*, a miserable Spaniard, to the Promises of the most illustrious of
our Citizens. All he aimed at, was to shed Blood, and rob the most ancient Al-
lies of Rome in Sicily of their Estates. If *Hieronymus* had gone over to *Hanni-*
bal with our Consent; if we had assisted the two Tyrants in usurping the Govern-
ment of *Syracuse*; or if we had been *Carthaginians* by Inclination, as we were in-
deed by Compulsion, Marcellus could not have treated us with more Barbarity. Our
Houses are sacked, our Temples rifled; our Gods are prophaned, and removed from
their old Habitations. Is any thing left us but desolate Fields, where we can
scarce find a Subsistence? How many of our Citizens have been stripped of all,
their Lands not excepted? Not that we desire all our Injuries should be repaired.
It were endless to look into them. But this we intreat of you, Conscrip Fathers,
that you would at least cause those Things to be restored us, which can be known, Liv. ibid.
and recovered.

WHEN the *Sicilians* had done speaking, *Lævinus* ordered them to withdraw,
that the Judges might be the more at Liberty to vote; but Marcellus opposed it,
and insisted that his Accusers should hear his Answer. And then probably it was,
that, tho' a Consul, he left the *Curule* Chair, and went to the Place where the Ac-
cused made their Defence. But Marcellus was as formidable to the *Syracusans* in
this humble State, as when at the Head of his Legions; his Consular Toga filled
them with as much Terror, as his Military Habit and his Actions had formerly done.
He spoke thus. Had the least Suspicion of my Conduct been entertained by the
People, I should have had too much Regard to the Majesty of the Roman People,
and the Dignity of a Consul, to have answered the Accusation of the Greeks in
that Character. But my known Innocence of the Guilt laid to my Charge, is suf-
ficient to wipe off the Shame of standing in this Place. Indeed the Question is
not, what I have done; but what they have deserved to suffer. If it be certain
that they were Enemies to Rome, to what purpose is it to run back to the Time
and

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

and Services of Hiero? Their past Attachment to us; only serves to render their present Conduct the more intollerable. What Regard have they deserved since their Revolt? Did they not murder our Deputies? Did they not shut their Gates against the Roman Troops which hastened to their Relief? Did they not bring a Carthaginian Garrison into their City? And did they not, by all these Hostilities, deserve the Rigour of Military Execution? It is indeed said, that I would not pay any Regard to the most illustrious Syracusans, who promised to deliver up the City to me; and preferred Sofis and Meric, two contemptible Persons, to them. (And surely the Persons who say this, ought to be eminent for their Birth and Fortune.) But where are those Syracusans, whose Promises I despised? Did any one of you introduce, or promise to introduce, me into Syracuse? The Truth is, Sofis and Meric opened the Gates to me; and therefore it is, Syracusans, that you even now curse them, and thus bitterly inveigh against them. Your Hatred to our Friends is not yet abated; and where then is your great Love for us? Indeed our true Friends were Sofis and Meric; and the more vile you make them, the more you prove that I neglected no body, how mean soever, who could do the Republick any Service. What Means did I not use, to bring you to consent to a Peace? I sent Ambassadors to you; and to them you offered Violence. I appeared before your Walls myself; and you shut your Gates against me. At length, after many Fatigues by Sea and Land, I conquered Syracuse; and yet you complain of the Treatment you have received. Why don't you rather complain of Hannibal, and the Carthaginians who deserted you. You say I sacked Syracuse. Did I ever make a Secret of it? Is not Rome adorned with her Spoils in all Places? But what is there in all this, more than the Laws of War authorize? It therefore belongs to you, Conscript Fathers, to confirm what I have done; and to ratify my Donations of the Estates, I justly took from Traitors, to the Friends of Rome.

At these Words, the Sicilian Deputies were desired to withdraw, and Marcellus followed them, that the Debates of the Fathers might be the more free; and by this Act of Condescension, the Consul shewed his Love of Equity, his Innocence, and the Steadiness of his Courage. He went to the Capitol, to inspect the Levies of the Legionaries, of which his Army was to consist. In the mean time, the Senate was divided between the Accused, and his Accusers. Marcellus had Enemies, among the Conscript Fathers, and some were jealous of him. T. Manlius Torquatus declared against him, and drew many over to his Opinion. The Conduct of the Conqueror of Syracuse, said he, is blameable. If he had been content with making War with the Tyrants who would have seized Syracuse, he had made himself Master of the City, without Violence, and spared the shedding of much Blood. And after he had taken it, the Conqueror might have settled the Inhabitants in Peace, and restored them their Estates and their Liberty. Was it necessary that the Pillage of Syracuse should be the Reward of a Victory gained over Hippocrates and Epicydes? Ought it not to have been remembered, that the Syracusans had supplied us with their Corn and Money, in all our Necessities? Their Services to us, were fresh in every one's Memory. If Hiero was to return to Life again, and to cast his Eyes on his ruined Capital on one Side, and on Rome, adorned with her Spoils, on the other, what would he think of our Gratitude?

BUT notwithstanding these Declamations, which in some proceeded from Jealousy, in others from Compassion, the Majority voted in favour of Marcellus. The Proceedings of this Great Man were declared regular; the Pillage of the City which he had appointed, was approved; and his Donations ratified. Nevertheless it was decreed, That Rome should for the future consult the Interest of Syracuse; and Lævinus was exhorted to shew it all the Lenity that was consistent with the Welfare of the Republick. When the Decree was passed, the Sicilians were brought into the House to hear it read; and Marcellus soon followed them, and took his Place as Consul. Then the Sicilians, confounded at what they had done, threw themselves at his Feet, washed them with their Tears, and besought him to pardon the Attempts which the present Sense of their Misery had induced them to make against his Honour. Marcellus received them very graciously; promised them his Protection; and the generous Consul kept his Word. He obtained this Favour for the Syracusans, That they should be maintained in their Liberty; and, That without changing their Laws or Customs, they should be treated only as Al-

lies, at *Rome*: and hence proceeded the eternal Gratitude of the *Sicilians* to *Marcellus* and his Posterity. They made an Order among themselves, that whenever any of his Family set Foot in *Sicily*, the People should walk before him crowned with Garlands, and should celebrate that happy Day with Sacrifices. The whole Island was ever after under the Patronage of the ⁵¹ *Marcelli*; and the *Sicilians* willingly became Clients to this illustrious Family.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

§. XVI. After the Cause of the *Sicilians* was determined, that of the *Campani* was heard. The former had indeed fewer Complaints to make, but their Cause was better. So that the *Campani* met with a very different Treatment. Tho' their Harangue was very artfully turned to raise the Compassion of the Senators, it made much less Impression on their Hearts. *Rome* called to mind, that their Revolt had led the Way for the Desertion of many Cities. Every one remembered their Obstinacy in supporting *Hannibal's* Cause. Besides, *Capua* had no Tyrants, as *Syracuse* had, on whom she could throw the Blame of the Fault she had committed, in surrendering to the *Carthaginians*. The Defence of the *Campani* therefore consisted wholly of a pathetick Representation of the Miseries they had suffered. Ought ye not, Romans, said they, to be satisfied with the Blood already spilt? Some of our Senators prevented the Executioner, by voluntarily drinking Poison; others fell by the Axes of your Lictors. The few of our Nobles that remain were neither conscious enough of Guilt to end their own Days, by the former Method; nor have they been thought so criminal even by the cruel *Fulvius* himself, as to be condemned to Death. And it is for them, and their Children, that we ask Life, Liberty, and a small Part of their Estates. Remember, that by an ancient Convention, they had a Right to marry Roman Women; so that your Blood is mixed with theirs; and let these strong Ties procure them Protection among their Relations, or their Allies!

This said, the Senate ordered the *Campani* to withdraw, that the House might deliberate about their Request; and some of the Senators were for recalling *Fulvius* from the Camp, that he might be heard in the Cause of the *Campani*, as *Marcellus* had been, in that of the *Syracusans*. But it was observed, that there were in the House several Lieutenant-Generals of the two *Pro-Consular* Armies, which had forced *Capua* to surrender; and they being privy to all the Proceedings of the two Generals, their Testimony was thought sufficient for the Senate to regulate their Judgment by. *M. Attilius Regulus*, who had been concerned in the taking of *Capua*, was therefore examined, and his Deposition was of great Weight. This Senator, formerly one of the Officers of the Army before *Capua*, spoke thus. I assisted in the Councils of War during the Siege, and after the taking of *Capua*; and I know of but two Women, who were sincerely affected to the Romans. The Name of one was *Opilia*, whose Addresses to Heaven were always in favour of *Rome*. The other was named *Facula*, a common Harlot, but she always shewed her Love to those Romans who were taken Prisoners in the War, in a very signal manner, by privately assisting and comforting them in their Wants. As for the rest of the *Capuans*, they were as much in the Interest of *Hannibal*, as the Natives of *Carthage* themselves. Those whom *Fulvius* has condemned to Death did not so much differ from the rest in the Perverseness of their Inclinations, as in the Magisterial Dignities they possessed. The Dead and the Living were equally guilty: yet after all, the *Capuans* are Roman Citizens, by their ancient Privileges; and their Crime has not blotted out this indelible Character. It therefore does not belong to the Senate to judge them, without the Approbation and Consent of the People. The Affair of the rebellious *Satricani* formerly, was exactly a parallel Case; and the Conscript Fathers would not pronounce Sentence upon them, till *Anastius*, the Tribune of the People, had obtained the Consent of the Tribes, that their Cause should be heard by the Senate. And therefore the Tribunes of the People ought now to be sent to the People for their Consent, that the Senate shall inflict on the *Capuans* the Punishment they deserve.

AND the Advice of *Regulus* was followed. Another ⁵² *Regulus*, then a Tribune of

⁵¹ At *Rome*, Conquerors thought it Matter of Duty to be the Protectors and Patrons of the Cities they had conquered. And after their Decease, this Title was given to their Children.

⁵² This *Attilius Regulus*, the Tribune of the People, was distinguished from the former *Regulus*, by the *Praenomen* of *Lucius*.

Year of *the People*, was desired to prevail on the *Comitia* to empower the Senate to judge *R O M E* the *Campani*; and the *Tribune* presented his Request to the People in these Words.
 DXLIII. *Be pleased, Romans, to determine the Fate of the Attelani, Calatini, the Nations that live on the Banks of the Sabbathus* ⁵³, *and of all the Campani in general, who have been vanquished and subdued by the Pro-Consul Fulvius, and to order what is to be done with their Cities, their Lands, and all their Moveables, as well sacred as profane!* To which the *Comitia* answered, with an Air of Authority that shewed their Sovereignty, especially in criminal Causes; *Our Will and Pleasure is, that the Conscript Fathers now assembled, determine the Affair proposed to us, by a Majority of Votes, after they have been sworn again.* Then the Senate, thinking themselves sufficiently authorized by this Decree of the People, proceeded against the *Campani*; and their Sentence was in Substance this. With regard to *Oppia* and *Facula* it was decreed, *That they should continue to enjoy their Estates, and their ancient Liberty; and That if they had any further Favours to ask, they should come to Rome.* And as to the Delinquents, the Senate proportioned their Punishment to the different Degrees of their Guilt. It was decreed, *That the Estates of some should be confiscated, and their Wives and Children reduced to Slavery, except such of their Daughters as were by Marriage removed out of Campania, before its Reduction; That others should be imprisoned, till a definitive Sentence was given against them; and That others should have all their Moveables restored them, and should only forfeit to the publick Treasury all their Cattel, except the Horses they used in Husbandry; and all their Slaves, except those under the Age of Puberty.* But Rome gave all the *Campani, Attelani, Calatini*, and the People bordering on the *Sabbathus*, their Liberty; except only the Inhabitants of those Cities and Towns which had fled to the Enemy for Refuge. The *Capuans*, who were in the City during the Siege, were banished *Campania*; an Habitation was assigned them beyond the *Tyber*, but not on the Banks of that River; and they were not suffered to settle any where but in the Territories of *Veii, Sutri, or Nepete*; and were forbidden to possess more than fifty Acres of Land there. They who were not found shut up in *Capua*, or any rebellious City, were suffered to settle on the Side of the *Liris* next to Rome. They who had come over to the Romans before *Hannibal* had come to relieve *Capua*, were ordered to settle on the Side of the *Vulturnus* next to Rome. And all these were forbidden to come within fifteen Miles of the Sea, or to purchase Lands, or build Houses, within that Distance from it. It was also decreed, *That the Effects of the Senators of Capua, and of Atellæ and Calatia, should be sold in Capua; but that the Persons of free Condition, who were by this Decree condemned to Slavery, should be brought to Rome, and exposed to Sale there: and lastly, That the Brass-Statues which were taken from the Campani, and all their other Moveables, both sacred and prophane, should be put into the Hands of the Pontifices to be applied to religious Uses.*

Thus circumstantial were the Senators in a Decree, which was not deemed severe by any but the Sufferers. The *Campani* themselves, who were brought into the Senate to hear it read, charged their Misfortunes wholly on their own ill Conduct, and the Gods; and no longer imputed them to the Inhumanity of *Fulvius* their Conqueror. But afterwards, when this Sentence came to be executed in every Particular, *Campania* stripped of all the Monuments of its Grandeur, gleaned of its old Inhabitants, and repeopled by new *Roman Colonies*, was much humbled. *Capua*, that first Rival of Rome, was in a manner left desolate; and the Idle, whose Sloth had corrupted her, were succeeded by the laborious and industrious Husbandmen, whom the Republick sent thither to cultivate the Lands. A melancholy Instance of a great Change of Fortune, but an instructive Lesson to all States! Effeminacy, occasioned by a settled Prosperity, is generally punished with great Calamities and a long Succession of Sorrows.

Zonaras.
 Val. Max. B
 5. c. 6.
 Orosius.
 Livy, B. 26.
 c. 35.

§. XVII. AFTER this, the *Consuls* applied themselves wholly to the Preparations for the approaching Campaign; and first went on with the Levies of the *Legionaries* which *Marcellus* had begun. Then they came to the Recruits of the Rowers for the Gallies, and the Seamen for the Pinks. The Navy wanted great Repairs;

⁵³ See what we have said of the River *Sabbathus*, now the *Sabbato*, in the preceding Volumes.

but the publick Treasury was exhausted. In this extreme Want therefore, the *Consuls* had recourse to an Expedient formerly tried in the Republick; which was to levy and maintain Men for the Sea-Service, at the Expence of private Persons, and to raise Money enough to pay the Mariners, and furnish them with Provisions for thirty Days by a Poll-Tax. But this was a heavy Burden for the common Citizens of *Rome*, who were already exhausted by the Taxes since *Hannibal's* Arrival in *Italy*; and the Edict of the *Consuls* caused a general Insurrection among the People, whose Murmurs were very violent. They only wanted a Head, to signalize their Resentments. They were heard to say, That the *Consuls* having already ruined *Sicily* and *Campania*, now thought of nothing but ruining *Rome*. *What have The Roman People left*, said they, *but a desolate Country, which Hannibal ravaged the last Year? The Enemy have taken away our Husbandmen; the Republick has inlisted our Slaves since the Battel of Cannæ; and to compleat our Misery, we are likewise forced to pay Seamen. The ordinary Taxes, and new Subsidies, will not leave us Bread to eat. But 'tis all to no purpose. No body can force us to pay what we have not. We have nothing left except our Liberty; and if they sell us, we have not wherewithal to redeem ourselves from Slavery.* Thus spake the People, whose Fury did not wholly vent itself in secret Murmurs, but broke out in the Presence of the *Consuls*. The Multitude often crowded round them, and complained in Terms of Despair. Nay, they went so far as to tell them, That they would give them but three Days to recal their Edict; and That if they did not do it in that time, they knew how to do themselves Justice.

THESE Clamours therefore softened, or affrighted, the *Consuls*; who assembled the Senate early the next Day, to deliberate about the Edict; but all the *Conscript Fathers* immediately voted for insisting upon it, and demanding the new Tax of the seditious Populace. And indeed, where could they find Supplies, unless among *The Roman People*? The Exchequer was empty, yet Fleets must be fitted out. Without Sea-Forces, the Republick could neither prevent *Philip's* making a Descent in *Italy*, nor preserve what she had of *Sicily*, and conquer the rest of it. Self-Interest therefore made the Senators reject all Expedients, except that of bearing down the People, even at the Hazard of a Revolt. But *Lævinus*, and his Collegue, considered things more impartially, because most disinterested; and they made a Proposal to the Fathers, by which they merited the Praises of latest Posterity. *When it is become necessary to require burdensome Aids of the People, it is then the Business of the Heads of the State in the first place to tax themselves, and thereby first give Instances of their own Liberality, by voluntary Contributions. The common People never contribute freely to the Wants of the Publick, when the Magistrates who govern them screen themselves by their Offices from the Taxes they lay upon others. The Senate ought therefore to assist the People in bearing the publick Burden. Without our Assistance our common Citizens will be ruined. Whereas the Burden will be light, if it be equally divided among all. We want Fleets and Seamen; and I grant the Treasury is exhausted. Let us then, who owe more to our Country than the Vulgar do, begin with freely devoting a small Part of our Estates to the good of the Publick. Let us to morrow Morning, without further Delay, pay into the Hands of the Triumviri, who receive the publick Taxes, all the Gold, Silver, and Brass Money that we have. And let us not even spare our Rings, or the Jewels of our Wives and Daughters, or so much as the Bullæ Aureæ, which hang on the Necks of our Children. Let us only reserve one Ounce of Gold each for our Wives, and a Silver Cup of a Pound Weight for such as have obtained the Curule Dignities, to be used in Sacrifices. And let us retain no more than five thousand Asles of Brass each, for the current Expences of our Families. Nor let us wait, Conscript Fathers, till an Edict appears to force us to this. Let our Bounties be given in such a manner, as may shew we freely strip ourselves for the sake of the Publick. By this means our Love for our Country will pass from the Consuls, and Curule Magistrates to the Senators, from them to the Knights; and will at length descend to the common People, and even raise an Emulation among them.*

Thus spake *Lævinus* in the Name of the *Consuls*; and his Discourse was so agreeable to the Assembly, that publick Thanks were returned the two Collegues for it; and their Advice was followed in every Particular. Every Senator im-

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 26.
c. 36.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS;
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

immediately sent to the Treasury all the Gold, Silver, and Brass he had. They contended who should first enter their Names; and there were scarce Officers enough in the Exchequer to receive the Gifts, or Clerks enough to register the Names of the Donors. The *Roman Knights*, and after them the private *Citizens*, followed the Example of the Senate. All readily and willingly delivered up their Superfluities, for the Support of the State, and did out of Imitation more than they had refused to do by Constraint. Thus the *Roman Fleets* were recruited, and *Rome* was in a Condition to support the War on all Sides.

§. XVIII. IN all Places where the Republick had Armies, her Affairs seemed to be perfectly *in Equilibrio*. An equal Mixture of good and ill Fortune still kept the Minds of the People in Suspence between her and her Enemies. In *Italy*, the City of *Tarentum* continued to adhere to *Hannibal*, tho' its Citadel was still in the Hands of the *Romans*. In *Greece*, *Philip* still continued to be a troublesome Enemy; and it was the whole Business of a *Roman Fleet* to keep him in his Kingdom of *Macedon*. In *Sicily*, *Syracuse* was subdued; but the *Carthaginians*, Masters of *Lilybæum*, still disputed the Empire of this fine Island, and gave *Rome* as much Concern for the future, as she had Joy for what was past. And in *Spain*, *Rome* was brought lower than any where else. The Loss of two excellent Generals, and two great Armies, had weakened her Power there; and the Youth of the *Pro-Consul* she had sent thither was fresh Matter of Apprehension. So that the Ballance was even in all Places, when *Marcellus* and *Lævinus* set out, each for his Province. The former marched against *Hannibal* with all the Confidence of one who had already more than once gained a Superiority over this illustrious General. The latter embarked for *Sicily*, in hopes of completing that Conquest, in which his Collegue had made so great a Progress.

As for *Hannibal*, who was retired into the Country of the *Bruttii*, since the Reduction of *Campania* by the *Romans*, he had taken a Resolution agreeable to his usual Barbarity. He undertook, in this Campaign, to sack all the Country he could not keep, and leave only Ruins for the *Romans*. But the Execution of this cruel Project neither promoted his Glory nor his Interest. All the Nations were the more exasperated at it, in that they had been under no Apprehensions of it; and this led *Marcellus* to form a Design of bringing over many Cities to the *Romans*, which were formerly allied to them, but had since been drawn off from them by the Prosperity of *Hannibal*. *Salapia*, a City of *Apulia*, situated some Leagues from the Sea, almost at the Mouth of the *Aufidus*, was then divided in Affection between *Marcellus* and *Hannibal*. It was governed by two Men, one of whom, named *Dafius*, was inclined to favour the *Carthaginians*; the other, named *Blasius*, was for *Rome*. The latter had sent private Deputations to *Marcellus*, and had given him Hopes, that he would bring him into the Place; but had at the same time declared, that it was scarce possible to do it without the Concurrence of *Dafius*. And at length he resolved to open himself to his Collegue, and endeavour to bring him over to his Opinion, and reconcile him to *Rome*. He had little reason to have any Dependence on a bigotted *Hannibalist*; but the Desire of succeeding made *Blasius* overlook all Dangers.

Livy, B. 26.
c. 38.
Val. Max. B. 3.
c. 8.

HANNIBAL had then a Garrison in *Salapia*, which was not numerous indeed, but it was formidable. It consisted of five hundred of the best *Numidian* Horse *Hannibal* had in his Army. *Blasius* represented to *Dafius*, that it was now time to swim with the Stream, and go over to the prevailing Party. But *Dafius* had contrary Views, and was much pleased with this Opportunity of destroying the only Rival he had, in the Government of the City. He wrote to *Hannibal*, and informed against his Collegue, as a Traitor to his Country, and a secret Enemy to *Carthage*. The proud *Carthaginian* cited them both to appear before him in his Camp; and when they came into his Tent, they found him engaged in other Business. As soon as that was dispatched, he took the two *Salapians* aside; and then *Blasius*, instead of being the Accused, became the Accuser. He spoke first, and told *Hannibal* that his Collegue kept a private Correspondence with *Rome*. *Dafius* in vain lamented his Case, and exclaimed against the Calumny; *Hannibal* could not discover which was the Criminal, or know which to condemn. He had no Proof of *Blasius's* Intelligence with the Consul; nor was there any Witness of a Correspondence between the Consul and *Dafius*; and the General therefore concluded, that

the reciprocal Accusation of the two *Salapian* Magistrates, was only the Effect of their personal Animosities and Envy; and after he had exhorted them to live in Concord, he dismissed them.

By this means therefore, *Blasius* was better enabled than ever, to continue his Negotiations with the *Romans*, and his Sollicitations with his Collegue. Upon *Dafus's* Disappointment, his Zeal for *Hannibal* was much abated; he at length agreed, that it was for the publick Good, to deliver up *Salapia*, and the *Carthaginian* Garrison, to *Marcellus*; and the two Magistrates therefore took Measures together, for the Surrendry of the Place. A Body of *Romans* appeared before *Salapia* on a sudden; and by the Looks of the Inhabitants, the *Numidian* Garrison perceived that they were sold to the Enemy. Nevertheless, as they were all brave Men, they resolved to sell their Lives dear; or at least to make their Escape out of a City which surrendered itself up to the *Romans*. But they found all the Avenues shut. And then, they in Despair left their Horses, which were of no Use in their Defence within the Walls of the City, and fought on foot, with a Fury scarce ever equalled. Till at length, being over-powered on all Sides, they were almost all killed, Sword in hand, and of the five hundred, only fifty were left, who all surrendered themselves up alive into the Hands of the *Romans*, and not one Man of them escaped. A considerable Loss for *Hannibal*! not indeed on account of the Number, but the Valour of this chosen Troop, in which the whole Strength of his Cavalry consisted! Insomuch that it has since been observed, that in all the Battels the *Carthaginian* General fought after this time, his Cavalry never gained the Superiority over the Enemy, as formerly.

§. XIX. HOWEVER, *Hannibal* comforted himself a little under this Misfortune, with the Hopes of recovering at last the Citadel of *Tarentum*. He had long set his Heart upon it, and little valued being Master of the City, without it. But *M. Livius* yet defended the Citadel, with a Constancy which obliterated the Disgrace of having suffered the City to be surprized, thro' his Negligence; and as his Love for good Eating at that time had now been long punished with the Want he had since suffered, the *Romans* at last resolved in Earnest to re-victual this important Place. *Sicily* was near enough to supply it with the Provisions it wanted; and *Lævinus* sent a good Number of Barks from thence, loaded with Provisions and Ammunition, and convoyed by a Guard of Gallies. The Commander of the Squadron was *Decimus Quintius*, a Man of Fortune, who had been raised purely by his Merit. He was of the lowest of the People; but was an excellent Seaman. *Marcellus*, who understood Men, first made him Captain of a Galley, and then gave him the Command of the four *Quinqueremes*, which were the Squadron *Lævinus* chose, to guard his Convoy. *Quintius* did not think it proper to sail directly to *Tarentum*, but to take a Compass. He knew that the *Tarentini* had a Fleet at Sea, which was too strong for his Squadron; and that *Democrates* their Admiral commanded twenty Ships of War. He therefore first sailed to the Coast of *Lucania*, and there assembled some Ships, which he ordered the Allies of *Rome* to fit out for him, in the Ports of ⁵⁴ *Pæstum* and *Velia*. From thence he came to *Rhegium*; recruited his Rowers between *Croton* and the *Sybaris*; made his Forces equal to those of the *Tarentini*; and with this Fleet, which he thought sufficient, set sail with his Barks for the Citadel of *Tarentum*.

DEMOCRATES, on the other hand, knew what Preparations the *Romans* had made, and would not shut himself up in the Ports of his City; but waited for the Convoy, off ⁵⁵ *Sacriportus*, about fifteen Miles from *Tarentum*. In the mean time, the *Roman* Fleet continued its Course, and, having fair Weather, sailed only, without using any Oar. It was already entered into *The Gulph of Tarentum*, when upon sight of the Enemy's Ships, all the Rowers immediately repaired to their Posts. The Sails were lowered, and all things got ready for a battle; the Decision of which was looked on as a Matter of Importance, by both

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

Livy, B. 26.
c. 39.

⁵⁴ We have spoken of the Cities of *Pæstum* (otherwise called *Possidonia*) and *Velia*, in the second Volume.

⁵⁵ *Orosius*, B. 5. *Florus*, B. 3. *Velleius Paterculus*, B. 2. the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, and *Appian*, B. 1. all speak of a Place called

Sacriportus, in the Neighbourhood of *Prænestæ*. But that Place of this Name which *Livy* mentions, stood on the Sea-Coasts of *South-Italy*, at a little Distance from *Metapontus*, and the Mouth of the *Bradanus*, now the *Bradano*, towards the Confines of *Lucania*, and the District of *Tarentum*.

Year of Parties. The Victory would give one or the other the Empire of the Seas, on all that Coast of *Italy*. The *Romans*, if they succeeded, would thereby deprive *Hannibal* of an easy Communication with *Carthage*; and the *Tarentini* hoped thereby to free themselves for ever from the imperious Yoke of the *Romans*. The Disgrace of a Defeat, and the Loss of their Fleet, was the least Part of what either Party would suffer, in case it did not succeed; and therefore never was Battle fought with more Fury. The *Tarentine* and *Roman* Gallies started together, to meet and break each other, with their Beaks in their Prows. And usually, after the first Onset, the Ships were drawn back a little, to return again upon one another with fresh Force. But now, the Scamen immediately fell to grappling without tarrying to make a second Charge; and thought of nothing but boarding their Enemies. The Galleys which were best manned drew those which they grappled to them, with Hooks and Grappling-Irons; till at length they came to a close Fight, not only with Darts, but with Swords. Darts were indeed still thrown from the Poops to the Prows, and from the Prows to the Poops; but the Ships were so near, that none of the Men fell into the Sea. All the Ships were engaged; but the Battel seemed fiercest between the Galleys which carried *Quintius*, and that which *Nico* commanded. The latter was a *Tarentine* Lord, who had signalized his Hatred to *Rome*, in the Surrendry of *Tarentum*, to the sedulous *Hannibal*; and now aiming only at *Quintius*, he levelled his Darts at him. He concluded that the Death of the Admiral would put his whole Fleet into Disorder; and that the Happiness of *Tarentum* depended on his Ruin; and therefore threw a Dart at him, which reached him, wounded him, and he fell from the Prow of his Ship into the Sea. Nor was this all. *Nico*, followed by his *Tarentini*, leaped into the Enemy's Ship, and seized the Prow of it, where the *Romans* were in a Consternation at the Death of their Commander. The Castle of the Prow still made some Resistance; but a *Tarentine* Galley coming and attacking the *Roman* Ship in the Stern, seized her. This first Loss put the whole *Roman* Fleet into Disorder, and every Ship fled. Some ran a-ground on the neighbouring Shore, and became a Prey to the *Thurini*, and *Metapontini*; and the Barks laden with Provisions fell into the Enemy's Hands. The rest took to the main Sea, and tacking about, arrived safe in several Ports.

THIS considerable Loss would therefore have dejected *Livius*, if his Courage had not been supported by a very great Advantage, which he gained by Land over the *Hannibalists*, who still kept the Citadel blocked up. Being doubtless oppressed by the Famine which they made others suffer, they dispersed themselves over the Fields in small Parties, to get Subsistence; and then *Livius* sent out a Detachment of his Soldiers, under the Command of *C. Persius*, an active Man, with Orders to follow and attack the Pillagers. *Persius* marched with extreme Expedition, and made the Onset with great Vigour. He drove the *Tarentini*, fighting before him; put them to Flight; and pursued them to the Walls of their City, where one Gate was opened only half way to receive them; lest in the Heat of the Action the *Romans* should enter *Tarentum* with the Fugitives. After this, *Livius* had a freer Communication with the Country, and from thence got Provisions for his Garrison, which he supported, notwithstanding the ill Fortune of the Squadron at Sea.

Plut. Life of Marcellus.
Livy, B 27.
4. 1.

§. XX. WHILEST *Hannibal's* Party was thus successively losing and gaining Ground in the extreme Parts of *Italy*, *Marcellus*, who was in the Heart of it, and nearer *Rome*, was still pursuing his first Design. He continued incessantly recovering the ⁵⁶ Cities in *Samnium*, which had formerly surrendered to the *Carthaginians*; and in all these Places, the foreign General had Garrisons, Magazines of Corn, and military Chests. So that above three thousand *Carthaginians* were there made Prisoners of War; and the Money and Provisions which were taken from the Enemy, were divided among the Soldiers. But a melancholy Piece of News interrupted the Course of these Conquests, and forced *Marcellus* to draw nearer to *Hannibal*. Two *Fulvii* then commanded each a *Roman* Army, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*. One of them, surnamed *Flaccus*, after he had reduced

⁵⁶ *Livy* reckons *Mafomea* and *Meles*, among these Cities of *Samnium*; but as to the former, we know no City in *Italy* of that Name. And *Holsenius* conjectures, that the latter was either the City now called *Melito*, in *The Further Principality*, or the City of *Molisa*, in *The County of Molisa*. Cap...

Capua, commanded in *Campania*, and kept the rebellious Inhabitants to their Duty. The other, surnamed *Centumalus*, covered *Apulia*, with the same Army he commanded during his *Consulship*. The latter, tho' tollerably brave, was not comparable to the former for Prudence, and Address in military Affairs. He was of a slothful Disposition, and had not Activity enough to undertake any Enterprize, or put it in execution. Nevertheless, induced by *Marcellus's* Example, he took it into his Head to undertake to recover the Cities in his Province which had surrendered to the *Carthaginians*. The first he pitched upon was *Herdonea*; which was neither strong by Situation, nor well garrisoned: And it was even said, that since the taking of *Salapia*, and the Retreat of *Hannibal* into the Country of the *Bruttii*, it was inclined to come over to the *Romans*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LEVINUS,
Consuls.

THESE favourable Circumstances and Dispositions induced *Centumalus* to draw near *Herdonea*, in order to try to take it, either by Force, or by Treaty: And the Hopes he had of its surrendering voluntarily, together with the Distance of *Hannibal*, made him neglect proper Precautions. There was little Order in his Camp, or Discipline in his Army; and *Hannibal* finding this to be the Character of the General, knew how to make his Advantage of it. Being informed of the Security of the *Roman*, he instantly left the Place of his Retreat, ordered only the most active of his Troops to follow him, and took such long Marches, that he arrived near *Centumalus*, before News came of his March. And his Design in this great Expedition, was not so much to save *Herdonea*, as to surprize the negligent *Pro-Consul*.

ACCORDINGLY *Hannibal*, without taking a Moment's Rest, came and offered the Enemy Battel, the Instant he came up with him. *Fulvius* had Courage; and did not think it for his Honour to decline fighting. He therefore hastily marched his Army out of his Camp, and formed it as well as he could, without considering that he was not equal to *Hannibal*, either in Strength, or Skill. Then the *Carthaginian* put his Soldiers in mind, that they had gained a Victory over another *Fulvius*, in this very Place, about two Years before; made the best use of this favourable *Augury*; and immediately the Action began. On the Side of the *Pro-Consul*, the sixth *Legion*, and the left Wing, sustained the Attack with a great deal of Intrepidity; and much might have been expected from the Valour of the *Romans*, if the Precautions of their Leader had been as well laid, as the Stratagems of *Hannibal*. The latter had given Orders, that in the Heat of the Action, when the Enemy was wholly intent upon fighting, his Horse should divide themselves into two Bodies, and one of them attack the Enemy in Flank or in Rear, whilst the other went to surprize the *Roman* Camp. And his Orders were obeyed. In the midst of the Engagement, the *Romans* were attacked by the *Numidian* Horse, and at the same time heard Shouts from the invaded Camp. This sudden Attack of the *Carthaginian* Horse first caused some Disorder in the sixth *Legion*, posted in the second Line; and that, when in Confusion, fell upon the fifth *Legion*, which fought in the first Line. So that the *Pro-Consular* Army soon suffered great Losses; nevertheless, it hitherto stood its Ground, and the Soldiers fought bravely round their Ensigns. But now, the Rout spread from the second Line to the first; whilst the most terrible Slaughter was made of the *Romans* in the midst of the Battel. There the *Pro-Consul Fulvius* perished, with eleven *Legionary Tribunes*. How great a Number of *Romans* lost their Lives in this fatal Action, is not certainly known. Some increase, and others lessen, their Number, from thirteen thousand, to seven thousand. But be that as it will, all the *Romans*, and their Allies, that could escape, fled for Refuge to *Marcellus*, in *Samnium*; the Conqueror continued on the Field of Battel; made himself Master of the *Roman* Camp; plundered it; and gave the Spoils of the Dead to his *Carthaginian* Soldiers.

Orosius, B. 4.
Eutrop. B. 3.
Plut. Life of
Marcellus.
Livy, B. 27.
&c.

§. XXI. THIS complete Victory recovered the Affairs and Credit of *Hannibal*, for some time, after the Losses and Disgrace which he had suffered the last Year: And the most remarkable Effect of his Triumph, was the Pannick that seized *Rome*. The People there were terrified at the Barbarian's severe Treatment of the Inhabitants of *Herdonea*, for barely inclining to the *Romans*, without surrendering themselves up to them. He was not content with putting all those to Death, who had kept any Correspondence with the *Pro-Consul*, but reduced the City to Ashes; demolished the Walls of it; murdered the chief of the Citizens;

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LEVINUS,
Consuls.
Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

Livy, B. 27.
c. 2.

Citizens; drove the Populace out of their Country; and forced them to go to *Thurii* and *Metapontus*, whose Distance from *Rome* kept them steady to him. The *Romans* therefore feared the like Desolation would be the Fate of all the Cities of the Allies, on which this Torrent of *Carthaginians* should fall; and nothing supported the terrified Republick, but her Dependence on *Marcellus*. She remembered that this intrepid General had always seen *Hannibal* flee before him; and had been the first who had shewn that Conqueror that he was not invincible. The People compared him with the Great *Fabius*; and acknowledged that the Delays of the one would have made the War perpetual, if the Authority of the other had not conquered many Difficulties, which the former had only postponed. But after all, they were afraid of one of those sudden Changes of Fortune, which more often happen to active and enterprizing Generals, than to those who act with more Moderation. These were the Dispositions of the People at *Rome*, when they received a Letter from *Marcellus*, to the Senate; wherein, after he had given an Account of the Rout of *Fulvius*, he endeavoured to fortify the People against the Consequences which they dreaded. *I am the same Man*, said he, *that I was after the Battel of Cannæ. I am now going to meet the same Conqueror, and have Reason to expect the same Success, as formerly. Be not uneasy. I shall soon damp the Joy, that now swells the Mind of the proud Carthaginian.*

THESE Promises, and this Step therefore, turned all the Thoughts and Attention of the *Romans* to *Marcellus*. But they were much grieved at what had happened, and very apprehensive of what was to come. In the mean time, the brave *Consul* leaves *Samnium*, advances towards *Lucania*, crosses it, marches Southward, enters the Country of the *Bruttii*, and encamps in a Valley near ⁵⁷ *Numistro*; and not far from *Hannibal*, who had fortify'd his Camp on a neighbouring Eminence. So that the two Enemies were in sight of each other; and the different Situation of the two Camps shewed the Confidence of the *Roman*; who likewise first drew up his Army in Battalia, and thereby dared the *Carthaginians* to come to a Battel. Then *Hannibal* did not indeed refuse the Challenge; but he so posted himself, as not to lose the Advantages of his Situation. *Marcellus* had drawn up his Army in the Plain, and extended his left Wing to the City of *Numistro*; but the *Carthaginian* posted his right Wing on the Hill he possessed, and the rest of his Troops in the Valley. It was about nine in the Morning, when the right Wing of the *Romans*, and their first *Legion*, began the Action; and having the Efforts of the Elephants and *Spanish* Soldiers to sustain, as well as the Shower of Stones which were thrown by the skilful Slingers of the *Baleares* Islands; these two Bodies of *Romans*, which were first exposed to the Fury of the Enemy, suffered a great deal; and being fatigued, began to fight faintly. This *Marcellus* perceived; and ordered his left Wing to the right, and commanded the third *Legion* to take the Place of the first; which was no difficult Motion for the *Romans*, on account of the Spaces they left between their Lines, when formed; but it seems not to have been so easy for the *Carthaginians*, who fought in close *Phalanxes*, without leaving any Spaces between their different *Corps*. But be that as it will, the fresh *Roman* Troops that succeeded the fatigued ones, continued the Fight with unparallel'd Ardour; and the Event will shew that it cost the *Carthaginians* dear. Nevertheless, they still continued on the Field of Battel; and Night alone divided the Combatants, who retired to their respective Camps, after a very bloody Engagement.

THE next Day, the indefatigable *Marcellus* marched out his Army at Sun-rising and drew it up in the same Place where it had fought the Day before. But *Hannibal* had felt the Superiority of the *Consul*, and he kept his Troops close in their Tents. The *Romans* long waited for him in vain; he did not appear. And the *Marcellus*, being Master of the Field of Battel, gave the Spoils of the Dead to his Soldiers; ordered the *Romans* who had been killed the Day before, to be thrown in an Heap, in sight of the Enemy; and burnt them. This he did to insult the *Carthaginian*; but the latter laid little Stress on these Points of Honour. He had

⁵⁷ According to *Livy* and *Plutarch*, *Numistro* was a City of *Lucania*. *Ptolomy* places it in the Country of the *Bruttii*, below *Consentia*, near the Place where we now see the City of *Glovento*. We

have more than once observed, that the *Bruttii* and *Lucani* were originally one People; and therefore the ancient Geographers have taken one of the Provinces for the other.

the Preservation of his Troops much more at Heart; and therefore silently decamped the next Night, and returned towards *Apulia*. However, *Marcellus* was not a Man who could be content with leaving his Work imperfect; and after he had left his wounded at *Numistro*, under the Guard of a *Legionary Tribune*, he hastened after *Hannibal*, and came up with him, near ^{ss} *Venusia*. There he spent his time in slight Skirmishes, sometimes between the Horse, and sometimes between the Foot, which always ended to the Advantage of the *Romans*; whilst *Hannibal*, hoping to succeed better by Stratagem, than by open Force, often changed his Camp, and in his Marches laid Ambuscades for the Enemy, who were very eager in pursuing him. But *Marcellus* avoided these Ambuscades, by his prudent Precautions; and never would suffer his Troops to pursue the Enemy, till he had examined the Roads. So that these two Great Generals spent all the rest of the Campaign, the one in seeking for an Opportunity to come to a general Action, and the other in endeavouring to avoid it.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

§. XXII. DURING this Interval, *Fulvius Flaccus* was busy in managing the Affairs of the Republick committed to his Care in *Campania*; and residing at *Capua*, let, or sold, the confiscated Houses there, for the Benefit of the Publick. He also farmed out the arable Lands of the Province; but instead of ordering the Farmers to pay their Rents into the Treasury, only required them to supply him with as much Corn as was wanted in the City, and for the Armies. *Fulvius* also took care of the Troops under his Command. In order to preserve Discipline among them, he turned the Soldiers out of the Houses they possessed, and kept them empty, in a Readiness for Hire. Besides, he remembered that the Air of the Country was contagious to brave Men. *Hannibal*, and his Army, had had their Courage enervated here; and therefore to keep his *Legions* in continual Exercise, he ordered them to build Barracks on the Ramparts. They were for the most part made of Boards or Hurdles, the Chasms of which were filled with Straw, and were thatched; and the Nature of the Buildings was probably what tempted the rebellious *Capuans* to set fire to them. So that an hundred and sixty of the old Inhabitants of *Capua* entered into a Plot to burn these bad Huts, in Malice to the *Romans*. The Family of the *Blosii* was at the Head of the Plot, which was discovered by the Slaves, who were admitted to be Accomplices in it: And as soon as the Informers had given in their Informations, the General ordered all the Gates of the City to be shut. Then the *Roman* Soldiers appeared under Arms in the Streets; and some of them were sent to seize the Conspirators, who were brought to their Trials, convicted, and condemned to Death: and their Accusers, together with their Liberty, received a Reward of ten thousand *Asses* of *Stafs*.

Livy, B. 27.
c. 3.

THE same *Fulvius* also sent to *Rome* the Petitions of the *Acerrani* and *Nucerini*. The former complained, that their Houses had been burnt; the latter, that their City had been destroyed: and the Senate suffered the *Acerrani* to rebuild their Houses; but transplanted the *Nucerini* to *Atella*. This was a Punishment often inflicted by the *Romans* on the Nations they subdued. And as *Campania* furnished the *Romans* with great Plenty of Corn, the Republick ordered some to be carried from thence to the Soldiers, who were in great Distress for Food in the Citadel of *Arrentum*. A Squadron sailed from the Ports of *Hetruria*, and together with a quantity of Provisions, carried thither two thousand Men, partly *Romans*, and partly Auxiliaries, to be exchanged for the old Garrison, which had long been stalled there; and this Fleet had a more happy Passage, than that of *Quintius*.

§. XXIII. THUS the Operations of the Campaign in *Italy* were successful, since *Marcellus* kept the audacious *Hannibal* in Awe; whilst the Arms of the Republick in *Spain* prospered beyond Expectation, under the Conduct of young *Scipio*. This Hero's first Exploits were of themselves sufficient to render him worthy of immortal Glory. The Winter was not yet past, when he landed on the Coast of *Spain*; and he made it his first Business to send back the Ships of *Marseilles*, which had used for transporting his Troops, and had followed him purely out of Rest. From the Territory of *Empuria*, where he came ashore, he marched his Army by Land, and ordered his Fleet to follow him by Sea, to *Tarragona*. From

We have already spoken of *Venusia* above, p. 126. of this Volume, Note 16.

OL. III.

4 S

thence

Year of thence he went and visited all the Cities of the Allies, and the Quarters of the
 R O M E Romans which had not yet taken the Field; and he won the Hearts of all who
 saw him, by the Gracefulness of his Person, and his great Complaisance. He
 M. CLAUDIUS was continually praising those old Soldiers, who had served the Republick with so
 MARCELLUS, much Courage under his Father and his Uncle; and congratulated them upon
 M. VALERIUS their Constancy in withstanding the Assaults of three Armies of the Enemy, after
 LEVINUS, the Loss of two Generals, and the Defeat of two Armies of their own. And as the
 Consuls. brave *Marcus* had assembled together the Remains of the *Roman* Forces, and had
 saved them by his Conduct, *Scipio* heaped Marks of Distinction upon him, took
 him near his Person, and was not afraid of disgracing himself, by consulting him.
 Great Souls are incapable of Jealousy. As for *Nero* his Predecessor, *Scipio* had
 not Esteem enough for him to make him one of his Lieutenant-Generals; but gave
 his Place to *Junius Silanus*, whom the Republick had sent with him, to assist him
 in his Expeditions.

Polyb. B. 10.
 c. 6.
 Livy, B. 26.
 c. 41.

In the mean time, the Season far advanced for taking the Field; and *Scipio*
 came to the Camp, where he assembled all his Troops, and displayed that Elo-
 quence, which gave him as much Power over those he harangued, as his Arms
 gave him over his Enemies. The Discourse he made to comfort the old Corps,
 which were the Remains of former Defeats, and to encourage those that were lately
 landed, was this. *Tho' my Father and my Uncle, said he to the former, lost their*
Lives in the late fatal Battels, I cannot by any means reproach you with any Want
of Valour in them. The treacherous Celtiberians brought all our Misfortunes upon
us, by their Desertion. A little too much Confidence was placed in them; the two
Scipio's separated, not imagining they should be deserted; and it was the Separa-
tion of your two Generals that reduced you to that Extremity, out of which nothing
but your own Courage could have recovered you. I ought therefore to learn from
this fatal Example, to keep you always together. By this means alone we shall
gain the Ascendant over the three Generals of the Enemy, who have themselves
taken the same false Step, which was our Ruin. The three Bodies of the Cartha-
ginian Troops are at a great distance from each other, and are making War sepa-
rately, in different Countries. As soon therefore as we shall have passed the Ebro,
we shall have reason to hope for all imaginable Success, and shall have nothing to
fear. What remains then, but that I return you my Thanks, even before I have
experienced your Affection, or employed you? Your Fidelity to him to whom I owe
my Life, and to the nearest of my Relations, is a sufficient Pledge of your future
Attachment to me. Your Constancy in supporting the Honour of the Roman Name
here, after their Deaths, forebodes me a glorious Campaign, and an exemplary Re-
venge. Let us march to the Enemy without Delay. Let not the Ebro be any
longer a Barrier to us; neither let our present Misfortunes discourage us. It has
ever been the Fate of Rome, to find new Strength in the midst of ill Success. Por-
senna, the Gauls, and the Samnites, beat, but did not discourage, her. The Battels
of the Trebia, the Lake Trasimenus, and of Cannæ, in which I was somewhat
more than an idle Spectator, would have buried Rome in her Ruins, if her Virtue
had not raised her above her Calamities. But now she revives, and by her Victories
in Sicily, since the taking of Syracuse, and in Italy, since the Surrendry of Capua
admonishes us not to give way to Distrusts. The Fortune of Rome, and the Pro-
tection of her Gods, follow me beyond the Seas. This I cannot but infer, from the
Unanimity of the Centuries, who placed me over you, from nocturnal Visions, and
above all from the Forebodings of my own Heart, which foretels me, that I shall
conquer all Spain. Nay, Reason itself seems to presage as much. The Discontent
of the Spanish Nations, who are now uneasy under the Carthaginian Yoke, their
Deputies, which come to me in Crowds, and the Disunion of the Enemy's Generals
do all forebode a speedy Overthrow to them. Only suffer not, Fellow-Soldiers, the
Memory of the Scipio's to be obliterated in your Minds; but remember, that a Branch
of the same Stock still commands you, and that the Father still lives in the Son.
And do you, who have long served here, lead your new General, and new Recruits
cross the Ebro, into the Countries where you have already gathered so many
Laurels. For my part, it shall be my chief Concern to conduct myself in such
manner, as to shew you, that the Son has the same Courage, and the same Virtue
which you admired in the Father.

Liv. ibid.

§. XXIV. Thus spake *Scipio*: and the Beauties of his Discourse were heightened by the Gracefulness of his Person, an agreeable Air of Youth, and a peculiar Sweetness in his Countenance, which gained him the Hearts of all Men as soon as they saw him. And then he took his Measures for the Execution of the great Design he had in View, and which he had not yet communicated to any body. He left *Silanus* on this Side the *Ebro* with three thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, to defend the Allies of *Rome*, in case they were attacked, and to keep them steady in their Duty; and he gave the Command of the *Roman* Fleet to *C. Lælius*, his inseparable Friend, whom he entrusted with all his Secrets. The Love of Virtue, and of Glory, had strictly united them from their Infancy. There was so great a Resemblance between them in Mind and Manners, that Nature seemed to have formed them for each other. Their Friendship was so constant, and so seldom interrupted with any the slightest Coldnesses, that it may be stiled perpetual; and *Scipio* had thereby a Refuge in all his Difficulties and Disquiets, amidst the Noise of War, and the Hurry and Confusion of Arms. He unburdened his Mind on all Occasions to his virtuous Friend, in whom he could confide; and *Lælius* was the only Man, whom *Scipio* would now entrust with the Knowledge of his designed Enterprize. He could not succeed in it, without the Assistance of his Fleet; and he ordered *Lælius*, who commanded it, to follow him along by the Shore, and meet him at the Time and Place appointed for the *Rendezvous*. After these wise Precautions, which seemed above his Age, he passed the *Ebro*, with twenty five thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse, and entered that Part of *Spain*, which was subject to the *Carthaginians*.

VULGAR Designs, such as would have entered into the Thoughts of common Generals, were below *Scipio*'s Taste. His great Soul raised him above ordinary Views; and made him reject the Counsel of many, who advised him to embrace the present Opportunity, and take Advantage of the Separation of the Enemy's Armies. *The Carthaginian Generals*, said they, *are more divided in Heart, than in Place; and are each employed in different Wars, which alienate them from each other. Mago is encamped between the Anas and the Bætis. Asdrubal, the Son of Gisco, has penetrated into Lucania, and confines himself to the Banks of the Tagus. The other Asdrubal, the Brother of Hannibal, who is more within our reach, is amusing himself in the Country of the Carpetani, with laying Siege to a Place which resists him. We ought then to make our first Efforts against the Enemy which is nearest us, and can receive no Reinforcements.* But this was too obvious a Design; the Enemy might easily foresee it, and guard against it. Whereas the Expedition the young General had in View, was so surprizing an Attempt, that neither the *Carthaginians*, nor the *Spaniards*, could foresee, or even suspect it. *Scipio* had formed this Scheme so long ago, as when he was at *Rome*, upon considering the Accounts he had collected of the State of Affairs in his Province; and he was continually ruminating on this great Design through his whole Passage, and forming a Plan for putting it in Execution. When safely arrived in the Ports of *Spain*, he desired the People of the Country to give him an impartial Account of the Strength and Situation of the Enemy's Cities, and particularly of the Capital of the *Carthaginians* on the *Spanish* Coast; and the Mariners informed him of the exact Times of the Ebb and Flow of the Tide, which are perceptible even in the *Mediterranean*, at the Places which are near *The Streights of Gades*. And being by these Accounts confirmed in his own Thoughts, *Scipio* then opened his Design to *Lælius*, shewed him how practicable it was, and the Advantages that would flow from so glorious an Enterprize. In short, he told him he was going for *New Carthage*. *No City*, said he to him, *is more convenient for Rome. On the Conquest of that alone depends the Reduction of all Spain. It has the safest and most convenient Port of any on this vast Continent. Asdrubal, the Son-in-law of Hamilcar, who built it, immediately made it the common Station for all the Carthaginian Fleets, the Magazine for their Armies, the Center of their Dominions, and the Residence of their Hostages. What immense Riches shall we find in a Place, where the Spoils of all the Spanish Countries are gathered together? And yet, as in-*

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.
Polyb. B. 10.
c. 6.

Mela, Strabo,
and Polybius.

59 The *Carpetani* formerly inhabited Part of the Country which is now *New Castille*. See above, 46. of this Volume, Note 107; and p. 148, Note 75.

Year of R O M E DXLIII. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, M. VALERIUS LEVINUS, Consuls.

credible as it may appear, the Carthaginian Garrison in this important Place does not amount to more than a thousand Men. The Security of our Enemies is so great, that they don't imagine it possible that it should be attacked. The Number of the Inhabitants is indeed considerable; but they, in all probability, are either for the most part employed in pacifick Arts, or live by the Sea, and have no Experience in military Affairs. And such a Multitude as this will do more Prejudice than Service to the City, in a Siege. I am therefore now going on this important Expedition; hope to surprize New Carthage, and make myself Master of it; and that, in a few Days.

Appian. in Iberia.

LÆLIUS applauded the Design of his General, and his Friend; readily joined in the Enterprize; and kept the Secret. Scipio therefore left the Banks of the Ebro at Sun-set, and marched all Night, without telling his Officers, or his Troops, whither he was leading them. The Prepossession of the Romans, that the Pro-Consul was guided by divine Inspirations, was brought from Italy to Spain; and made his Soldiers blindly follow him, in full Assurance of Success, under his Conduct. After seven Days, or rather seven Nights March from the Ebro, the Roman Army at length arrived before New Carthage, at Day-break; and Lælius had so regulated his Course, that he did not appear before the Place by Sea, till Scipio at the same time invested it by Land. But then the Fleet, in the first place, shut up the Port; that none of the Carthaginian Ships, which were thought very safe there, might escape.

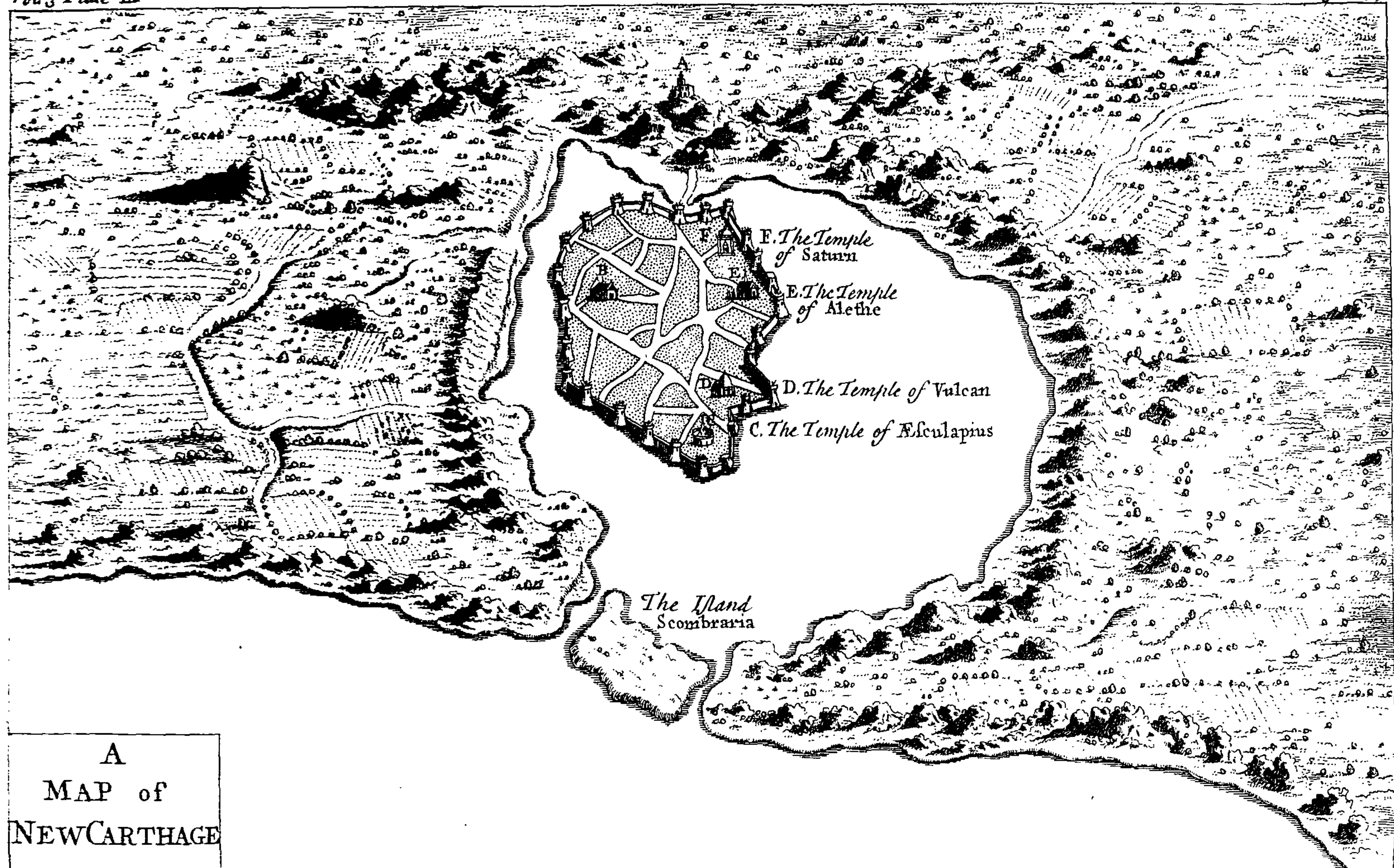
Polyb. B. 10. c. 10.
Polyb. B. 26. c. 4.

§. XXV. NEW CARTHAGE was, in a little time, become both a very strong, and a very opulent City. It lay to the South of Spain, looking towards Africa, from which it was separated only by a very narrow Sea. Tho' encompassed with good Walls, especially on the Land-side, it had a Citadel in it, which commanded it, and which probably was formerly a Palace for Asdrubal, who founded it, and was called by his Name. The City was built on a Flat, which was almost surrounded with the Sea, and joined the Continent only by a small Neck of Land. Its Port was made exceeding commodious by Nature, deep at the Mouth of it, and Ships were always afloat in it. On its Sides, and towards the Land, it was scarce any thing better than a dirty Pond, which was deeper, or shallower, according to the Ebb or Flow of the Tide; so that at low Water, there was much more Mud than Water in the extreme Parts of it. And what made it yet more singular, was, that this Port was shut in by an Island, called ⁶⁰ Scombraria, from the prodigious Quantities of Mackerel that are caught there in the proper Season. To the right and left of this Island, there were only two small Channels; but such as Ships could easily enter, especially with a South-East Wind, which commanded the Port, and was the only one that raised Storms in it, in tempestuous Weather. It was safe from Storms from any other Quarter, being guarded with a steep Shore, and high Mountains, which broke the Force of the other Winds.

Liv. B. 26. c. 43.
Polyb. B. 10. c. 11.
App. in Iberia.

As for the Siege, Scipio did not begin it with digging a Ditch next to the City; He thought the Ramparts of his Camp a sufficient Security on that Side, and thereby shewed the Besieged his Confidence. But on the Outside of his Camp, and behind it, he threw up a semi-circular Line, which reached round to the Sea both Ways; and he flanked this Line with two little Forts, on the Sea-shore. After this, the Roman Fleet moved forward, entered the two Channels into the Port, and there drew up in Line of Battel, as if just ready to make an Assault on the Place. This Management gave a considerable Diversion to the Besieged, many of whom left the Walls on the Land-side, to go and defend the Port; and then Scipio thought it a proper time to begin the Attack. But first he harangued his Soldiers after the Custom of those times. *I doubt not, said he, but you are surprized, that I should begin the Campaign where others end it; and am very sensible, that it is said to be contrary to Rule, for a General to besiege Places, before he has won Battels. But ought a Man to be so much a Slave to Rules, as to have no regard to the Circumstances of Things, and to leave no room for his Prudence to exert itself? The City before you is no ordinary Place. To take it*

⁶⁰ The Island of Scombraria is now called Scombrera. Strabo places it twenty four Stadia, that is, three Miles from New Carthage. The Name of Scombraria was also given to a Promontory, which lay five or six Leagues East of the Island; and which the Spaniards now call Cabo de Palos.



A The Hill of Teuthates . B. Asdrubal's Palace .

is to strip the Enemy of all their Refuges at once; to deprive them of all Communication with Africa, at one Blow; and to rob them of all their Provisions, Treasures, Machines of War, Magazines, and of their Fleet. It is to take from them their Hostages, by whom we may gain the Affections of all the Spanish Cities, if we send them into their own Countries: And in one Word, it is to put an End to the War; to conquer Spain; to drive the Enemy out of it; to oblige them to return home to Africa; and to settle ourselves in the Empire they have acquired here. The gaining a Battel might have weakened us; and perhaps if we were Conquerors, we should neither be in a Humour, or a Condition, to end the War, with one single Conquest. But now, Spain is yours, with this City; and that without any Hazard; and, in a manner, without any Difficulty. The Gods, and your Affection and Courage, Fellow-Soldiers, assure me of it. Heaven sometimes vouchsafes to reveal itself to me; and in this Case the God of the Seas appeared in Person to me, advised me to this Enterprize, and assured me of Success in it. Can then the Promises of Neptune be questioned? Doubtless, he will so openly appear in our Defence, at the time he mentioned, that you will all acknowledge his Presence with Admiration and Surprise; and the Miracle he will work in the Day-time will facilitate your Assault, and make you Masters of the Place. And as for me, I assure you beforehand, that I will not be ungrateful, or suffer your Labours to pass unrewarded. The Man who shall first mount the Rampart, shall be enriched and honoured with a Crown of Gold, and other military Rewards. Scipio knew the Hour when the Tide would ebb, and leave the City accessible enough for an Assault on the Side of the Port, tho' the Nature of the Tides was a Mystery unknown to his Soldiers; and he beforehand gave this Effect, which he knew must follow, the Air of a Miracle; thereby to encourage his Troops, and persuade them that their General had a supernatural Knowledge.

THE Governour of the besieged City, was *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, who did all that could be expected from a Man of his Ability. Of his thousand regular Troops, he kept five hundred in the Citadel to defend it; and posted the other five hundred on the East Side of the City, towards the Temples of ⁶¹ *Saturn*, *Aletes*, and *Vulcan*. Then he armed two thousand Townsmen; drew them up in Battalia, towards the Gate opposite to the *Roman* Camp, with Orders to be in a continual Readiness to make a Sally, on the first Signal; and commanded others to be always ready to fly to the Places where they should be most wanted. As for the *Roman* Army, tho' it had been but three Days before *New Carthage*, the *Pro-Consul* had already fortified his Camp, and prepared for the Attack; and on the fourth Day, he commanded the Assault to be made; upon which his Army shewed an extraordinary Alacrity. They rejoiced to hear the Signal given by the Trumpets; and the Sound being spread far over the City, and the Sea, by the neighbouring Mountains, *Mago*, on the other hand, waited for a favourable Opportunity for his two thousand Men to make a Sally. They were armed only with Swords; because the Space between the City and the Camp was so small, that Darts could be of little Use there; and the Archers, Slingers, *Catapultæ*, and other Machines of the Besieged, were already placed on the Ramparts. *Scipio* also advanced his *Ballistæ*, *Mantelets*, and *Rolling-towers*, under a Guard of Dartmen: And that Instant the Gate was opened, and the two thousand Burghers marched out, with Design to attack those who conducted the Enemy's Machines, and destroy their Engines. *Scipio* had formed his Army, without his Camp, on the Declivity of an Hill; and he kept back his Troops, and would not suffer them to meet the Enemy, till he saw them advanced about two hundred and fifty Paces in the Plain: Which was a wise Precaution. The farther the Enemies were from their Walls, the more difficult it would be for them to receive any Succours from

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LEVINUS,
Consuls.

⁶¹ There lay a Chain of high Mountains South of *New Carthage*, which were divided by Precipices and deep Caverns. The highest of these extended to the East, and reached quite to the Sea; and upon the *Carthaginians* built a Temple, which they dedicated to *Aesculapius*. The North Side of the City was surrounded by Rocks, the chief of which were the three following. The Mount of *Vulcan*, which was the most Southern of them all. The

Mount of *Aletes*, so called from him who first discovered Silver Mines in this District, and in Gratitude for which Benefit, the *Spaniards* paid him divine Honours after his Death. And the third Rock was The Mount of *Saturn*. The *Spaniards* erected a Temple to each of these Divinities; the Situations of which Temples are to be seen in the adjoining Map of *New Carthage*, which is agreeable to the Descriptions of *Polybius* and *Livy*.

Year of the City; and the nearer the *Romans* fought to their Camp, the more easily could they be reinforced. However, the Onset was made with Fury; and it must be owned, that these Townsmen behaved themselves with as much Bravery, in the Battel, as regular Troops could have done. They long disputed the Victory: But at length, repulsed by the Valour and Number of the *Romans*, they retired within the Walls; and the Besiegers pursued them so briskly, that they would have entered the City with them, if *Scipio* had not founded a Retreat.

DXLIII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

§. XXVI. It was yet very early in the Morning, when this first Battel was fought; nevertheless, the Terror began already to be very general in the City. Several Companies of Townsmen abandoned the Ramparts and Towers, and neglected the Defence of them; and the *Pro-Consul*, who perceived it from the Top of a ⁶² rising Ground, on which he had posted himself, thought this a proper time to scale the Walls, on the Land-Side, where it was very difficult to mount them. Besides that they were exceeding high, they were guarded with *Redants*, and *Saliant Angles*, at proper Distances, which made it no easy Matter to approach them.

NEVERTHELESS, the whole *Roman* Army marched to the Assault; and *Scipio* himself shared the Danger, as a common Soldier; but with the Circumspection of a General. He came to the Foot of the Walls, to assist his Troops in fixing their Scaling-Ladders; but was attended by three Esquires, who covered him with their Shields. And tho' a prodigious Quantity of Darts and Stones were thrown at the Assailants, the *Pro-Consul* encouraged his *Romans* by his Presence, and supported their Courage by his own Example. Whilst on the other hand, *Lælius* led up the Men on board his Fleet; and they also, with the Help of the Barks, began to scale the Town, on the Side of the Port. But the Multitude of the Assailants, and their Earnestness to take the Place without giving the Enemy time to look about them, was of Disservice to them in the Execution of their Design. Their Number was so great, that they hindered one another; and therefore the *Roman* General did not expect much from this first Attack. This was only a Prelude, to try the Valour of his Soldiers, and keep the Besieged in Play; and he had another Resource in view, which Time would soon discover.

THE Enemy indeed defended their Walls with Courage; but their Walls themselves were their best Defence. On the Land-Side, they were so high, that few of the longest Ladders could reach to the Top of them; and when the *Roman* Soldiers were up to a Level with the Besieged, and were fighting Man to Man, they were in as much Danger from the Darts that were thrown from the *Saliant Angles* of the *Courtine* that flanked them, as from the Enemies before them. Besides, the longer the Ladders were, the weaker they were, and consequently the more easily thrown down. It likewise often happened, that when the Besiegers were mounted so high, the Height made them giddy, and they tumbled down before they were touched. And lastly, the Scaling-Ladders frequently broke with the Weight of the great Numbers that were placed at each Step of them, to succeed one another. This Sight therefore raised the Courage of the Enemy, tho' it did not sink that of the *Romans*. However, *Scipio* was already sensible, that it was impossible for him to succeed in this general Assault, whereby he had at least tried the Bravery of his Troops;

⁶² This rising Ground was *The Hill of Mercury*, which is thought to be the same, which *Livy* at the same time calls *The Hill of Teuthates*. At least, it is thus that several Grammarians correct the Text of some MSS. which run *Mercurium Cantati*. They think *Teuthates* ought to be put in the room of *Cantati*, which has no Meaning. And they give this Reason for it, that the *Gauls*, from whom the *Spaniards* borrowed several Customs, worshiped *Mercury*, under the Title of *Teuthates*. According to *Lactantius*, B. 1. the *Druids* among these *Gauls* offered human Sacrifices to this God; *Teuthatem humano cruore placabant*. And *Lucan*, *Pharsal*. B. 1. reproaches them with the same Barbarity.

*Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine Caso.
Teuthates, &c.*

Strabo, and *Cæsar* in his *Commentaries*, also say, that in Times of War, and great Calamities, the

Gauls had Recourse to sacrificing Men to this God; either by burning them in the Fire, as Burnt-Offerings, thereby to avert his Anger, and obtain his Protection; or by shooting them to Death with Darts; or by strangling them in their Temples. They gave *Mercury* the first Rank among the Gods, next to *Jupiter*. They allowed him to have been the Inventor of Arts, and gave him the Quality of Patron of Travellers, and of Trade. The Word *Teuthates* seems to have been derived from the *Thoth* of the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*. *Mercury* was worshiped under this Name, especially in *Egypt*; and the first Month of the Year of the *Egyptians*, that is, our Month of *September*, was called *Thoth*, after his Name. Add to this, that many Monuments and Inscriptions, which have escaped the Shipwreck of Time, and some Traces of which are found in several Cities in *France*, prove the singular Worship which the *Gauls* paid to *Mercury*.

and to save them therefore, he founded a Retreat. And whilst he was giving them time to breathe, and carrying the Wounded to his Camp, the foreseen Hour approached, for putting his other Design in Execution.

§. XXVII. ABOUT Noon, the Tide ebb'd. *Scipio* had learnt from the Fishermen of *Tarragona*, that the Pond of *New Carthage* was fordable, when the Tide was out; and that, at most, the Water was not higher than to a Man's Waste; and a North Wind now arising, which considerably emptied the Port, and drove the Water out into the Sea; the *Pro-Consul* took his Measures according to these new Assurances of Success. In the first Place, he ordered the Assault to be renewed in the same Place where it had been begun; and thereby found the Enemy Employment on the Land-Side: And then he chose out five hundred Men only, to scale the City on the Side of the Pond, which was now left almost dry. Come, said he to this chosen Body, pursue the Road Neptune has levelled for you. Nothing can be too hard, under the Protection of the God. I myself will shew you the Way, and first enter the Lake. The Romans therefore, upon the Command of their General, readily followed so good a Guide into the Water, with their Ladders on their Shoulders, and easily passed through it. *Scipio* would likewise have fixed the first Scaling-Ladder himself; but his Esquires prevented it. However, the Rampart on this Side the City was neither guarded nor strong. The Wall was left low, because it was thought sufficiently defended by the Pond. Besides, there were no Enemies, or Machines of War near it. *Mago* employed them on the Land-Side, where they seemed to be most wanted. Then the five hundred Romans divided themselves; and some, covering themselves with their Bucklers, in the Form of a *Tortoise*, surrounded a Gate which led to the Pond, and endeavoured to break it with their Hatchets. Others mounted the Rampart, and made a Lodgment upon it. And when *Scipio* saw the Affair pursued thus far, he returned to his first Attack; whilst the Romans, who were already Masters of the Rampart, on the Side of the Lake, ran to the Gate, which their Fellow-Soldiers invested, broke down the Bars of it, and opened it. Then the five hundred Romans, when got into the Town, drew up in Order of Battel, crossed the City, and attacked those behind who defended it, near the Neck of Land that joined it to the Plain. The Hurry was so great here, and all the People were so intent on opposing the chief Attack, that none were sensible of the Surprise of the City. They did not perceive that the Enemy was in *Carthage*, till they felt him at their Backs, and heard the Roman Trumpets of the little Corps which had made the Assault on the Port-Side, and which had, by *Scipio's* Order, a greater Number of them than usual. And then the Besieged were at once struck with Dread and Despair. They no longer defended themselves with any Vigour, even on the Land-Side, and *Scipio* was soon Master of the Ramparts. The Troops which made the grand Attack, likewise broke open the Gate that led to their Camp; and instantly entered the City sword in hand. *New Carthage* therefore being thus taken by Assault, the *Pro-Consul* at first exerted his Right of Conquest to the uttermost. It was usual in such Cases, for the Roman Commanders to order a general Massacre of all that appeared in the Streets, Men, Women and Children; not sparing even the Beasts, especially the Dogs; and this was now done, to strike Terror into the Inhabitants, and oblige them to keep in their Houses. After the first Heat of the Conquerors was abated, *Scipio* entered the Place himself, with a Guard of only a thousand Men; and then the Townsmen who were in Arms immediately dispersed. Some fled Eastward, towards the Temples of *Saturn* and *Aletes*; others Westward, and took Refuge in the Citadel, whither *Mago* was already retired, there to wait the Event of this melancholy Enterprize: Whilst *Scipio* filed off his Troops to the Right and Left; and marched on himself to force *Mago's* last Entrenchment. To the East, the five hundred Carthaginians which were posted near the Temples, and the Townsmen that were cantoned there with them, were soon dislodged from the Eminence they possessed: They gave Way upon the first Assault. And to the West, and in the Citadel, *Mago* did not make any long Resistance. The Numbers of the Enemy terrified him.

ALL the Roman Army was indeed come into the City, to begin a new Siege; and this Sight sunk the Courage of the brave Defender of *New Carthage*. *Mago* surrendered to the *Pro-Consul*, at Discretion; and he gave him his Life. He committed

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

Year of
ROME
DXLIII.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LEVINUS,
Consuls.

mitted this brave Man to the Care of *Laelius*; with Orders to treat him with Respect. And then *Scipio*, when he saw his Conquest secure, and both Garrison and Inhabitants disarmed, gave his Soldiers Leave to plunder the City, as a Reward for their Valour.

§. XXVIII. BUT let not the Reader imagine that this Plunder was a mad Incursion of rapacious and greedy Soldiers, confusedly dispersed in the Houses of the City. The *Romans* always acted with Regularity, Equity, and a Regard to Religion, even in these Times of publick Confusion and Disorder. ⁶³ *Polybius* has given us a particular Account of their Conduct and Discipline, in the sacking of the Cities they took by Assault; and such Traces of their Virtue appear in all this, as afford fresh Matter of Admiration.

WHEN the Time appointed for the Pillage was ended, the *Roman* Soldiers brought all the Prisoners they had taken, into the Market-place; as likewise all the Spoils of the Houses they had plundered. The Prisoners amounted to the Number of six thousand Men, besides Women, Children, and Slaves: And among these, two venerable old Men moved the Compassion of the General, who also shewed Regard to fifteen Senators of the City. He committed them all to *Laelius's* Charge, and ordered him to take Care of them. Then these first Instances of the Moderation of the Conqueror, gave the rest of this unhappy Multitude great Hopes; which were not frustrated. *Scipio* put a Difference between the *African* Garrison, and the native *Spaniards*. The former were probably reduced to Slavery; the latter met with a favourable Treatment. They were set by themselves, and divided according to their Families. Every Citizen took his Wife and Children by him; and when they were all placed in this Order, the *Pro-Consul* pronounced their Fate. He put them in Possession of their City, and Houses; that is, as I apprehend, he suffered them to live under their own Laws and Customs, but in Subjection to *Rome*; and only desired them to entertain friendly and grateful Sentiments of the *Romans*. What Tongue then can describe the Joy of these unhappy People, who by this unexpected Goodness were at once delivered, both from Death and Slavery! All they themselves could do, was to endeavour to express it by Tears, Protestations, and the most zealous Demonstrations of Veneration and Affection for their Conquerors. As for the Artificers, who were a separate Body by themselves, *Scipio* treated them in a different Manner from what he did the other Citizens; but nevertheless with Lenity. He would not suffer them to exercise their Trades, for their own Profit; but under the Direction, and for the Use and Advantage, of the *Romans*. Which was indeed imposing a kind of ⁶⁴ Slavery upon them; but they were promised their Liberty, as soon as the *Carthaginians* should be driven out of *Spain*. Among these Artificers, there were also a great Number of Seamen, and young robust *Spaniards*, who were used to the Sea; and these the *Pro-Consul* made to serve on board his Fleet, which was now increased with an Addition of eighteen Galleys, taken in the Port of *New Carthage*. So that this Reinforcement doubled the Number of Rowers, in every Ship's Crew; and all these new Slaves, who were employed in the Service of the Publick, were ordered to get themselves enrolled by *C. Flaminius*, then *Quæstor* of the *Roman* Army in *Spain*. Thus *Scipio's* Fleet, which at its Arrival consisted of no more than thirty five Ships of War, became at once fifty three Galleys strong, all well stored with Provisions, well manned, and under the Conduct of a Commander,

⁶³ *Polybius's* Account of the Manner in which the *Romans* plundered Cities, is this. The General chose a certain Number of Soldiers out of each *Legion*, and each *Manipulus*, according to the Largeness of the Place that was to be plundered; but this Number never exceeded half the *Legionaries*. The other half were drawn up in Order of Battel, either within the City, or without the Walls; and were ready against all Events, whilst the Pillagers dispersed themselves in all the Houses. Every Soldier was obliged to put the Booty he got into the Hands of the *Tribunes* of his *Legion*, and was sworn not to take any thing to himself. Then the Money that was raised by the Sale of the Spoils taken from the Conquered, was equally divided a-

mong all the *Legionaries*; (in the Sight of the *Tribunes*) not excepting, either those who were in the *Corps de reserve*, or the Sick, or those who were sent elsewhere on any other military Expedition. They all had an equal Share in the Distribution, and the *Tribunes* were obliged to give them a faithful Account, at their Return.

⁶⁴ *Polybius* adds, *B. 10.* that these Artizans were two thousand in Number; and That *Scipio* ordered them to go to the *Quæstor*, and be enrolled. After this, they were divided into different Companies of thirty Men each; and the General put a Superintendent over each Company, who was responsible for their Conduct.

firmly

firmly united to the *Pro-Consul* in Affection. A great Step of itself, towards the Conquest he had in View!

In the next Place, *Scipio* examined into the Booty which had been brought from the plundered Houses; and found immense Riches among these Spoils. The Account that was taken of them, exclusive of the Brass-Money of private Persons, which was all distributed among the Soldiers, was this. In the Port were seized an hundred and thirteen Merchant-Men, laden with Corn, Arms, Brass, Iron, Cloth, Mats, and in a word, every thing that was necessary for equipping a large Fleet. From the Citizens were taken two hundred and sixty Cups of Gold, most of which weighed at least one Pound; eighteen thousand three hundred Pounds Weight of Silver-Money; and a prodigious Quantity of Silver-plate. In the Granaries were found about * forty thousand *Modii* of Wheat, and two hundred † and sixty thousand *Modii* of Barley. All sorts of Artillery then used in Sieges were also seized, and amounted to an hundred and twenty great *Catapultæ*, and two hundred and eighty one smaller; twenty three of the largest *Ballistæ*, and fifty two of a moderate Size; an infinite Number of *Scorpions*, Arms, and Darts, of all Sorts; and lastly, seventy four Standards. All these rich Spoils were put into the Hands of the *Quæstor*, *Caius Flaminius*.

THE Hostages likewise ⁶⁵, whom the *Carthaginians* had formerly demanded of the *Spanish* Cities and Provinces, were all in *New Carthage* when it was taken. They were the finest Youths of both Sexes, the Flower of the *Spanish* Nobility; and of all the valuable Spoils the Conqueror found in the City, none were more acceptable to him than these illustrious Children. Upon sight of them, he immediately conceived Hopes of reconciling their Country to him, by restoring to so many Families the precious Pledges which *Carthage* had extorted from them. And then the General put on ⁶⁶ that gracious Air, which he could assume when he pleased, or rather which seems to have been natural to him, and said; *Be of good Courage, my dear Children. You shall soon see your Fathers Houses, and receive the Caresses of your Mothers. The only Ransom I shall require for your dear Heads, is, that your Relations would be sincerely attached to the Romans. Scipio* also added little Presents to these tender Expressions. Out of the Heap of Goods, that had been thrown together after the Pillage of the City, he had picked out some Toys, which suited to the Age of these young Folks; and he gave the Girls

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 26.
c. 47.

* 10000 Eng-
lish Bushels.
Arbutnot.
† 65000 Eng-
lish Bushels.
Arbutnot.

Polyb. B. 10.
c. 18.

⁶⁵ *Livy* adds, that the ancient Writers by no means agree among themselves in their Accounts of the taking of *New Carthage*. Some, says he, affirm, that the Number of Hostages did not exceed three hundred; others, that it amounted to seven hundred and twenty five. Nor are they more consistent in other Particulars. Some say, the *Carthaginian* Garrison consisted of ten thousand Men; some, that it did not exceed seven thousand; and others reduce it to two thousand. Some say, the Prisoners were ten thousand in Number; others, says *Livy*, who are more exact, add twenty five to the ten thousand. And according to *Silenus*, the Conquerors found no more than sixty *Scorpions* in the Place, great and small. Whereas, *Valerius of Antium* seems to have overdone it. He says, the Romans took six thousand of the largest Size, and thirteen thousand smaller ones.

This *Silenus* was a Greek Author, whose Fidelity was suspected by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*; who, in his Preface to his *Roman Antiquities*, places him among those Writers, who for want of an exact inquiry, can produce no better Warrants for what they advance, than very uncertain Rumours. *Dionysius* mentions him in his *Life of Anaxagoras*; as *Strabo* also does, and places him among fabulous authors.

Another Particular, in which the Disagreement of the Authors appears, is, according to *Livy*, the Names of the chief Commanders on both Sides. Most agree, that *Lælius* had the Command of the Roman Army; yet *Valerius Antias* gives it to *Junius Silanus*. The latter also puts one *Armes* at the Head of the *Carthaginian* Garrison; in which he is contradicted

by the whole Stream of ancient Annalists, who say that *Mago* was the Commander in the City.

And lastly, the Number of Gallies taken from the Enemy, and the Weight of the Gold and Silver taken in the Pillage, are likewise Matters disputed. We adhere to the Computation *Livy* and *Polybius* have made of them. What is certain, is, that the *Quæstors* gathered six hundred *Talents* of Silver-Money out of the Plunder; and this Sum, added to the four hundred *Talents* *Scipio* had brought from *Rome*, enabled him to pursue his Conquests in *Spain*.

⁶⁶ According to *Livy*, all the Hostages were brought into *Scipio's* Presence; and he raised their Courage, and revived their Hopes, by addressing himself to them in a very tender manner. *Be comforted*, said he, *and bless the happy Day, which has put you into the Power of the Romans. Lay aside your Fears. Your Fate depends on a Republick which will only heap Favours upon you. Rome glories only in attaching the conquered Nations to her, by the Ties of a faithful Friendship. If she reduces the untractable Nations to Slavery by Force, it is always with Regret.* Then the General ordered the Names of all the Hostages, and of their native Cities, to be given him in Writing; and dispatched away Couriers to all the Parents of the young *Spaniards*. These soon came to *New Carthage* to own their Children; and some Deputies from different Parts of *Spain*, who were there in the City, claimed several Children in the Name of their Countries immediately. The latter *Scipio* ordered to be delivered; and committed the rest to the Care of the *Quæstor*, *Caius Flaminius*, with Directions to make their Exile as easy to them as possible, by all manner of Civilities.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

Livy, B. 26.
c. 48.

Babies and Bracelets, and the Boys little Swords and Knives. In short, the General acted many very different Parts in this most glorious Day. He was sometimes fierce and terrible, sometimes grave and serious, sometimes sweet and humane; he knew when to assume Authority, and when to lay it aside; and always did so in Season, and as Occasion required. But what was most admired in him, was the vast Reach of his Understanding. He foresaw every thing, provided for every thing, and always acted with great Presence of Mind, amidst his numberless Affairs.

§. XXIX. AFTER this fatiguing Day, both the *Pro-Consul* and his Army wanted Rest; and *Scipio* left *Lælius* to command in the City, whilst he returned to his Camp, and spent the Night there. The next Morning as soon as it was light, he assembled together his Officers, Soldiers, the Commanders of his Gallies, and even the Rowers of his Fleet; and harangued this numerous Auditory, as Generals then usually did, after this manner. *Our Thanks are due in the first place to the Gods, the Authors of Victory. It is through their Assistance, that the wealthiest City in Spain, or perhaps in Africa, is brought under the Roman Yoke. The Riches of both these Countries were gathered together here; and the taking of New Carthage is a happy Presage to me, that I shall destroy the Old. What have the Africans left on this Side their Seas? This Port, the Receptacle for their Ships, is yours. The Magazines and Arsenals of the African Republick are fallen into other Hands. Want is their Portion, whilst you abound in Plenty. And it is to your Valour and Affection, Fellow-Soldiers, that Rome is indebted for this important and speedy Conquest. The Glory of the Success is a Reward which we all share together; and why should I not now be as good as my word? I promised a Crown of Gold to him who should first mount the Wall. Let the brave Man then appear, and he shall receive the Reward which is due to his Intrepidity!* At which words, two Competitors presented themselves before him, one of which was *Q. Trebellius*, a Land-Officer, and *Centurion* of the fourth *Legion*; the other a private Seaman, named *Digitius*. Since the Romans were become rich, they no longer made their *Mural* ⁶⁷ Crowns of bare *Gramen*, but of Gold; and *embatted* them. But tho' this Reward was in itself no contemptible Present, especially to the inferior Officers, and private Men, the Glory of having obtained it pleased them more than the Value of the Crown. This made obscure Merit known, and paved the Way for its Promotion to the highest Posts of Honour.

NEVERTHELESS, the two Competitors contended for this valuable Mark of Distinction without Animosity. All the Heat of the Claimants seemed to have been transplanted into the two Bodies of the Marines, and the Land-Forces. Each of these valued themselves upon having the most intrepid of all the Assailants of their Body; and *Lælius* took his Sailor's Part, whilst *Tuditanius* espoused the Cause of the Officer in his *Legions*. Nay, the Affair had like to have produced a Sedition; but the *Pro-Consul* artfully prevented it. He named three Commissioners with the Title of *Recuperatores*, to enquire into the Truth of their Claims; *Lælius* on one Side, *Sempronius* on the other, and *Cornelius Claudius* for the third. The last was a very just and impartial Man. But the Appointment of *Lælius* and *Tuditanius* to be Judges in their own Causes, only increased the Tumult. Indeed these two General Officers, each at the Head of his Party, moderated their Passions at the same time that they stirred them up to maintain their Right; but nevertheless, the common Soldiers, when thus left to themselves, began to grow more turbulent. During the Tumult therefore, *Lælius* drew near to the Tribunal on which the *Pro-Consul* was sitting, and remonstrated to him, in the Name of *Tuditanius* and *Claudius*, That the Sea and Land-Forces were ready to come to Blow. That it was in vain to make Enquiries; and That both Parties were resolved to perjure themselves, rather than give such Testimony as might destroy their Pretensions. Upon which *Scipio* immediately put an end to the Affair; and pronounced, that *Trebellius* and *Digitius* both mounted the Ramparts at the same Instant, and That both equally deserved Crowns of Gold. After this first Reward

⁶⁷ We have already spoken of the several sorts of Crowns with which the Roman Generals honoured the Valour of their Soldiers; Vol. 1. the Index.

many others were given to the Brave, according to their Merit ; and as for *Laelius*, the *Pro-Consul* shared all the Honour of the Conquest with him. He put him upon a level with himself, and so highly extolled his Conduct and Bravery, as to equal him to his General. He declared, that the Crown of Gold, and the thirty Oxen he assigned him, were not designed as a Recompence, but only a publick Testimony of the Joy he felt, at having been so well seconded by so brave, and so faithful a Friend.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

Thus *Scipio* signalized the first Day after the Victory, by displaying his many great Virtues ; and the *Roman* Camp rung with the Wisdom, Liberality, and Moderation, of the young General. *The Soul of the Father*, said the Soldiers, *is passed into the Son*. To which we may add, that he surpassed himself, when he returned into the City, to hear the Complaints of the People, and to regulate the Affairs of his new Conquest.

§.XXX. *MAGO*, the General of the *Carthaginian* Troops in the conquered City, was the first Man who experienced the Clemency of the Conqueror. *Scipio* had a Value for this brave Man, who had omitted nothing in supporting the Interests of his Country ; and both he, and the Senators of *New Carthage*, were put into the Hands of *Laelius*, who shewed them great Civilities. These amiable Proceedings of the Conqueror therefore encouraged the *Spanish* Slaves, who were groaning under the Chains of the *Carthaginians*, to hope for a less rigorous Treatment under the Dominion of the *Romans*. The Day before, *Scipio* had ordered that their Masters should not suffer them to want, and his Orders had been obeyed. But in the mean time, one of the Female Captives got from her Company, and came and threw herself at the *Pro-Consul's* Feet. She was a Woman advanced in Years ; but notwithstanding her Slavery and her Age, still preserved a very majestic Air in her Deportment. She was indeed of a noble Extraction ; *Indibilis*, the King of the ⁶⁸ *Ilergetæ*, was Brother to *Mandonius* her Husband ; and this Captive, by her Cries, Tears, and Supplications, drew the Attention of the *Pro-Consul*, who looked favourably upon her, and encouraged her to speak. But the virtuous Lady only uttered these few Words. *Pray, my Lord, order your Romans to shew their Captives more regard than the Carthaginians have done.* Her Modesty hindered the illustrious Captive from expressing herself more clearly in relation to the particular Indignities, to which her Companions had been exposed under their first Masters ; and *Scipio* misunderstood her. He thought they had been denied the Necessaries of Life, and sent for those whom he had ordered to take care to supply these illustrious, but unhappy Women, with what they wanted ; and they protested, they had strictly obeyed his Orders. Nevertheless, *Scipio* not believing them, upon their word, promised the Lady, to appoint more faithful Persons to take care of their Food : and then the virtuous Captive replied, *The Gods forbid, that our Desires, and our Supplications should only be confined to the obtaining better Meat ! The State of Slavery, to which we are reduced, obliges us to be content with coarse Provisions. Cares of another kind disturb my Rest, when I consider the Age of these about me.* Which said, she turned her Eyes towards the Princesses her Nieces, and the other young Captives, Daughters of the little *Spanish* Kings, Women of great Beauty, to whom she had been a Mother, and had undertaken to be the Guardian of their Virtue ; and by the tender Look this venerable *Spanish* Lady gave these fearful Virgins, *Scipio* understood the Nature of her Petition, and the Cause of her Tears. And then he was much moved, both at the deplorable Condition to which these beautiful Princesses were reduced, and at the Dangers to which their Honour had been exposed. Tears dropped from his Eyes ; and compassionately reaching out his Hand towards the prostrate Lady, he ordered her to be raised up, and bespoke her thus. *The Education of a Roman has taught me to suffer nothing, which others think sacred, to be violated among us : and without it, I could not but have had a particular Regard for your Sex, Birth, and Virtue, which has not been overcome even by the Chains of your Enemies.* Which said, the *Pro-Consul* instantly ordered a *Roman* of known Probity to take care of the young Captives, and their Conductresses ; commanded, that they should be respected as his Sisters, or Daughters ; and gave Orders, that they

*Polyb. B. 10.
c. 18.
Liv. B. 26.
c. 49.*

Liv. ibid.

Liv. ibid.

⁶⁸ See above, p. 86, of this Volume, Note 11.

Year of ROM E should rather enjoy the Pleasures of an honourable Hospitality, than be treated as Slaves, at *New Carthage*.

DXLIII.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LEVINUS,
Consuls.

Val. Max. B.
4. c. 5.

Livy, B. 26.
c. 50.

Polyb. B. 10.
c. 19.

Livy, B. 26.
c. 50.

§. XXXI. INDEED, it may perhaps be said, that Policy, or a Regard to the present State of his Affairs, had a greater Share in *Scipio's* Decree, than a pure Love of Virtue. But a second Adventure at the same time, and perhaps on the same Day, discovered the Heart of the *Pro-Consul*, and plainly shewed, to how great a degree this illustrious *Roman* was Master of himself. It was well known in the Army, that the General loved Women; and it happened, that as some of the young Officers were visiting the Houses of the conquered City, they met with a young Woman of excellent Beauty. Wherever she appeared in publick, she drew the Eyes of all Spectators upon her, and charmed all that saw her. This Captive was therefore thought a Present worthy of the *Pro-Consul*; and the young Officers, to make their Court to him, brought her to their General. But *Scipio*, though then between five and six and twenty Years of Age, unmarried, and struck with her prodigious Beauty, yet did not suffer himself to be blinded by it. His Reason still kept the Ascendant, and without discovering any Weakness, he examined the charming Captive, concerning her Country, Birth, and Engagements. She told him among other things, that she was betrothed to a Prince of the *Celtiberians*, named *Allucius*; and being informed from other Hands, that this designed Husband had conceived so strong a Passion for her, that he could not survive the Loss of her, this was Motive enough to *Scipio* to sacrifice the growing Passion he felt in his Breast. His Answer to the young Officers, who had made him a Present of this beautiful Woman, was this. *Was I a private Person, I would receive this Masterpiece of Nature from your Hands, with the most sensible Pleasure. But you cannot offer me any less acceptable Present in the Post which I fill. Love may serve for an Amusement for idle Persons. But a Mistress is a terrible Burden to a General of an Army, especially when in the Career of Victory. He will be divided between her and Business; she will enervate his Body, and break the Force of his Mind.* Nevertheless, *Scipio* gave them Thanks for the Present they made him, and accepted it; but only in order to dispose of it again with great Wisdom and Disinterestedness. He sent for the Father of the young Lady, and the *Celtiberian* Prince to whom she was engaged; and when they came into his Presence, he addressed himself chiefly to the Lover of the Captive. *We are both young*, said he to him, *and can freely open our Hearts, and declare our Inclinations to each other. For my own part, I confess to you, the Beauty of your charming Mistress made a deep Impression in me at first sight. I could have heartily wished to have spent my Days with her, in an honourable Marriage; and that the Business, which my Republick has entrusted me with, as well as Decency, would have suffered me to have worn my Captive's Chains. But since I cannot; Do you, my Lord, enjoy the Happiness which Heaven refuses me. I return your Spouse into your Hands, as pure as if your Relations, or her Mother, had always had her in their Sight. And the only Return I expect from you, is your Friendship for the Romans. You knew my Father and my Uncle; whose Virtue merited some Esteem in these Countries: And you see in what manner I proceed with you. Judge then of all Rome by the *Scipio's*. Perhaps no Nation in the World better deserves the Friendship of the virtuous Spaniards.*

At which words, he put the fair Slave into the Hands of the *Celtiberian* Prince; and who can describe the Transports of Joy and Admiration, that swelled the Breast of the young *Spaniard*? His Heart was divided between *Scipio* and his Mistress. As for the Parents of the Captive, they had brought a considerable Sum of Money for the Ransom of their Daughter; and as then the generous *Pro-Consul* had freely given her to her Husband, without a Ransom; what had they to do, but to offer that as a Present to the *Roman* General, which he would not demand of them? The Father pressed and intreated the *Pro-Consul* to accept it, and threw the Money at his Feet. But *Scipio* immediately applied it to a Use more worthy of him. He forced the *Celtiberian* to accept it, as an Addition on his Part, to the Portion he was to receive from his Wife's Parents.

THIS was a truly heroick Action in all its Circumstances; and it did the Republick more Service, than even the taking of *New Carthage*. A Conqueror who can overcome himself, and is liberal, as well as Master of his Passions, soon subdues

subdues all Hearts. *Allucius* declared in *Celtiberia*, that Heaven had sent a young Conqueror into *Spain*, who was equal to the Immortals; altogether as beneficent, and as capable of striking Terror into the Minds, or gaining the Hearts, of Men. And upon his Report, the People came over to the *Roman* Party. *Allucius* joined the *Roman* Troops, at the Head of fourteen hundred Horse of the Country; and from that time all *Spain* began to favour the *Roman* Cause. The Reputation of the *Pro-Consul* was also established in the most distant Parts, upon the Arrival of the Deputies from him, to give all the Cities Notice, that they might come and fetch the Hostages they had formerly given the *Carthaginians*. The People compared the Proceedings of the *African* Republick, with the Conduct of the *Romans*; and observed, that the one settled themselves in the Countries wholly by Violence, whilst the others only desired to rule in their Hearts.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

So that *Scipio* had now nothing more to do, but to give *Rome* an Account of the glorious Success of his Arms. To this End, he equipped a *Quinquereme*, gave the Command of it to *Lælius*; sent with him *Mago*, fifteen Senators of *New Carthage*, and the chief of the Captives he had taken: And never was any News received with more Applause. The Republick had, the last Year, little expected to recover her Affairs in *Spain*. She had been fearful, that she had hazarded too much in the Hands of a young General; and was now charmed to find, that the first Enterprize of *Scipio* the Son, was so great, as to eclipse the Glory both of his Father and his Uncle. So that the Blow he had given the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, raised the Courage of the *Romans* in *Italy*; and they now thought *Hannibal* less formidable than ever.

§. XXXII. The News the Senate also received from *Syracuse*, fell little short of that from *Spain*. In the same Year that *Rome* recovered her Superiority in *Spain*, the *Carthaginians*, those ancient Usurpers of *Sicily*, who had so long possessed some Parts of it, were entirely driven out of the Island. *Lævinus* merited the Approbation of the Publick, by his Conduct in his Province. He did not continue idle, after he had settled the Government of *Syracuse*, and its Dependencies, to the Advantage of the *Romans*, and the Satisfaction of the Inhabitants; but he considered that the *Carthaginians* had properly nothing left in *Sicily*, except the City of *Agrigentum*. To conquer that, was to leave *Carthage* no Post to defend, or Port to enter, in the whole Island; and *Lævinus* therefore turned his Forces that way. But the good Fortune of *Rome* contributed more towards the taking that important Place, than the Valour of the *Consul*. The *Carthaginian* Garrison in *Agrigentum* was numerous; *Hanno* commanded an Army there for his Republick. But, unluckily for the *African*, a Lieutenant-General had been sent him, who was a Man of greater Merit than himself, and had more than once raised the Jealousy of his superior Officers. The Name of this brave Subaltern was *Mutines*. He had been driven out of *Italy* by *Hannibal*, because he had given him Umbrage; and he looked on himself as in a Place of Banishment, in *Sicily*. Nevertheless, his brave Man at first acted up to his Character. He made Incursions into all the Countries which the *Romans* possessed in the Island, signalized himself every where by many Exploits, and his Presence was fatal to the Allies of *Rome*, in all Places. So much Glory therefore made his General look on *Mutines* with a jealous Eye. It was his Fate to be envied wherever he came. *Hanno* was very uneasy, even at the Advantages his Lieutenant-General gained for his Country; and at length broke him, and put his Son in his Place. But his having no Command, did not at all lessen his Reputation and Credit among the Soldiers; on the contrary, the *Numidians* were more attached to him than ever, and all the Odium of his Re-oval fell on the General.

Brave Men cannot easily brook an Affront; and *Mutines* was fully bent on Revenge. To this End he began, and maintained, a Correspondence with the *Carthaginians*; and without doubt, he was the Man who determined *Lævinus* to bring his Army before *Agrigentum*. Upon the first News of the March of the *Romans*, *Mutines* conspired with the *Numidians* against *Hanno*; put himself at their Head; seized one of the Gates of the City, towards the Sea, with their Assistance; and when the *Romans* came, put them in Possession of it. Then the *Carthaginian* Guard was cut in Pieces, and the *Legionaries*, mixed with the *Numidians*, advanced in Order of Battel, to the Center of the City. So that the Place was already taken, before

Hanno

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

Hanno knew that any *Romans* were got into it. He hastened to the Market-place, to appease, as he imagined, a sudden Commotion among the *Numidians*, who were so untractable as to be often opposing the Orders of their Generals. But whilst he was yet at some Distance, he perceived that there were some *Romans*, whom he knew by their Shouts, mixed with the *Numidians*; and taking it for granted, that he was betrayed, he instantly turned short about, and made the best of his Way off. He went out of *Agrigentum*, attended with *Epicyles*, and a small Number of Officers; came to the Port, and embarked on a little Ship, which was ready to set Sail. The rest of his Army all took to their Heels; but *Lævinus* had stopped up all the Avenues, so that they were all killed, without a Battel, and nor one of them escaped. Thus the *Romans* became possessed of the whole Island of *Sicily*. But how much Blood, how many Fatigues, and what an immense Expence, had it cost the victorious Republick! *Sicily* was her first Conquest beyond the Seas; and by that she paved the Way to the more distant Nations in *Africa* and *Asia*. The Reduction of this fine Island, had armed the *Carthaginians* against the *Romans*. The former taught the latter, first to dispute, and then usurp, the Empire of the Seas; and when the *Roman* Republick was once in peaceable Possession of *Sicily*, she thought herself already Mistress of all the East.

LÆVINUS had the Happiness to finish this important Conquest; and the Use he made of this Victory was agreeable to the Laws and Customs of *Rome*. All the Chiefs of the rebellious *Agrigentini*, were first beaten with Rods, and then beheaded. The common People were reduced to Slavery, and publickly put up to Sale. All the Spoils of the pillaged City were sold, and the Money returned to *Rome*. Then some of the *Sicilian* Cities, which yet adhered, out of Inclination, to the *Carthaginian* Party, surrendered themselves up to the *Romans*; and others were betrayed, or taken by Force; but the greatest Number submitted voluntarily. Till at length, *Lævinus* had nothing more to do, but to settle Peace, in an Island which *Rome* enjoyed without a Competitor; and then he took upon himself the Government of the Whole, in the Name of his Republick, and made it all but one *Province*. This fruitful Territory, the Cultivation of which had long been interrupted by Wars, produced Corn an hundred fold; and from this time it became the Granary of *Rome*, and her constant Refuge in Distress. As for the Consul, he would at any other time have returned to *Rome* of his own accord, to triumph there; but the Presence of *Hannibal* so near the City, put a Stop to the Festivals, and Triumphs were become more rare, in the Capital.

§. XXXIII. HOWEVER, *Lævinus* received an Order from the Senate, to return to *Rome*, without Delay. It was necessary that one of the *Consuls* should preside in the *Comitia by Centuries*, which were to be held for electing new Magistrates for the next Year; and *Marcellus* ⁶⁹ was so busy in the Pursuit of *Hannibal*, that it was dangerous to interrupt him in his Career. Tho' his Colleague was at so great a Distance, it was judged more expedient to recall him from *Sicily*. *Lævinus* ⁷⁰ therefore came to *Rome*, but did not tarry long there. He was no sooner arrived

⁶⁹ *Marcellus* had informed the Senate by Letter, That it was of the utmost Consequence for him not to lose sight of *Hannibal*, who fled every way to avoid a Battel. It was not for the Interest of the Republick to interrupt the Course of so successful a Campaign, which promised considerable Advantages to the *Roman* Army.

⁷⁰ *Lævinus*, according to *Livy*, had carried with him into *Sicily*, a Multitude of Vagabonds, whom the Laws forced to leave their Country. This Company, consisting of Men overcharged with Debts, and of Villains, who had been guilty of the worst of Crimes, had overrun the whole Country, where they exercised their execrable Robberies. Their Conformity of Manners, and common Interests, first united this Company of *Banditti* together; and their Union was cemented by the Murders they had impudently committed, wherever they came. They were accidentally met in the City of *Agathyrna*, to the Number of four thousand, and had made themselves formidable there, by their Thefts and Rapines. Insomuch, that it was to be feared these Rogues

would disturb the Peace of the whole Island, which *Lævinus* had just settled. The Consul therefore ordered his Army to seize them; and not thinking it safe to leave them in *Sicily*, which he had just settled in Peace, he resolved to carry them with him to *Rhegium*, as he went to *Rome*. He thought the Men, who were accustomed to plunder, might be useless to the *Rhegians*, who only waited for a Body of Troops, in order to ravage the Country. The *Bruttii*, then avowed Friends to *Hannibal*.

Add to this, that *Agathyrna*, which *Strabo* calls *Agathyrsum*, and *Antoninus's Itinerary*, *Agathyrna* was one of the most ancient Cities in *Sicily*. It pretended, that it had been founded as early as the *Trojan* War. What the ancient Geographers say of it, gives us room to conjecture, that it lies on the North Coast of *Sicily*, between *Aleusa* and *Tyndaris*. And some think the Traces of it are to be seen near *San Marco*, not far from a promontory, which the *Sicilians* call *Capo d'Orlando* in *The Valley of Demona*.

⁷¹ The Consul *Lævinus* left the Command of

arrived, but he received an Express from *Valerius Messala*, with two important Pieces of News. *Messala* then commanded the *Roman* Fleet in *Sicily*; and he had learnt, from the *Carthaginian* Prisoners he had taken at Sea, at different times, that the 7² Senate of *Carthage* had resolved on two Things. First, to fit out a new Fleet, and raise an Army, again to attempt the Conquest of *Sicily*. And in the second Place, to send Orders to *Asdrubal* to leave *Spain*, and carry a formidable Army into *Italy*, to the Assistance of his Brother *Hannibal*, and there carry on the War jointly with him. These were Things of such Consequence, that it was thought necessary to lose no time in guarding against the ill Effects of them. And the chief Concern of the Senate being to preserve *Sicily*, they thought *Lævinus's* Presence necessary there, and hastened his Departure.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.

BUT in the mean time, he was ordered to nominate a *Dictator*, to preside in the great *Comitia*, in his room; and he readily obeyed; but made some Difficulty, as to the Man. In order to continue himself some Months longer in the *Consulate*, that he might have the greater Authority in his *Province*, he insisted upon his not naming the *Dictator*, till he arrived in *Sicily*, and promised that he would send *Valerius Messala* from thence, with the Title of *Dictator*. Indeed *Messala* was not unworthy of this Promotion. His Birth, the important Advice he had just sent to his Republick, and lastly, his late Services in the Fleet he commanded, authorized *Lævinus's* Choice of him. An Account was come, that *Messala* had coasted along *Africa*, with fifty Ships, filled it with Terror, made a Descent in the Territory of *Utica*, laid it waste, and had brought back his Fleet to *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*, laden with Spoils and Slaves, after an Expedition of only thirteen Days. But the Senate absolutely refused to consent to the Nomination *Lævinus* had made.

How resolute the *Conscript Fathers* were, in preserving their ancient Customs, is well known. They now pretended, that it was contrary to Law to nominate a *Dictator* any where, but in *Italy*. And they passed a Decree, requiring *Lævinus* to offer a Petition to the People, that they would recommend a proper Person to be *Dictator*, and commanding him to nominate the Person whom the *Comitia* should chuse. The Decree also provided, That in case the *Consul* absolutely refused to make this Petition to the People, the *Prætor* of *Rome* should do it; and That in case he would not, the *Tribunes of the People* should desire the Commons to pitch upon a *Dictator*; and That the *Consul* should afterwards nominate him. But *Lævinus* was peremptory in his Resolution, to nominate *Messala*, and forbad *L. Manlius* the *Prætor* to offer any Petition to the People. Upon which, the *Tribunes* with Pleasure undertook to get a *Dictator* chosen in an Assembly of the Commons. This was augmenting the Power of the People, and giving them an Opportunity to take Advantage of an indiscreet Concession of the Senate, to the Detriment of the *Consuls*. And the *Comitia*, at the Motion of the *Tribunes*, ordered that *Fulvius*, then *Pro-Consul* in *Campania*, should be nominated *Dictator*. *Lævinus* was sensible of the Wound this new Proceeding gave the *Consular* Dignity; and therefore, that he might not have the Confusion to see an ancient Prerogative of the *Consulship* taken away before his Face, and during his Administration, he privately left *Rome* in the Night, and took the Road to *Sicily*. But nevertheless, it was necessary that one of the *Consuls* of the Year should nominate the *Dictator* pitched on by the People; and recourse was had to *Marcellus*, who was desired by Letter to complete *Fulvius's* Appointment to the *Dictatorship*. In this manner the *Consuls* lost the Right they had immemorially enjoyed of nominating whom they pleased to be *Dictators*. But tho' the Law was ancient, it was wise to abolish it. The Republick had suffered by leaving it to the Ca-

Army, and the Government of *Sicily*, to the *Prætor Cincius*, during his Absence. *Lævinus* himself embarked with the Company he carried to *Rhegium*, in a Fleet of ten Gallies. When he came to *Rome*, he gave the Senate an Account of his Expeditions in *Sicily*, and of the present State of that Province. After which, he introduced into the Senate the brave *Mutines*, and all those who had deserted *Hannibal* to adhere to the Republick. They had many Honours conferred upon them; and all

the advantageous Terms which the *Consul* gave them Cause to expect, in order to gain them over to the *Roman* Interest, were granted them. *Mutines* himself had the Right of *Citizenship* conferred on him, at the Motion of one of *The Tribunes of the People*, and by the Authority of the Senate.

72 *Livy* says, that *Messala* put the *African* Prisoners to the Rack, to make them discover the Secret.

Year of price of a single Man, to chuse her an absolute Governor for six Months. When
 R O M E Q. Fulvius Flaccus was thus created Dictator only to preside in the Comitia by
 DXLIII. Centuries, he chose P. Licinius 73 Crassus for his General of Horse.

M. CLAUDIUS
 MARCELLUS,
 M. VALERIUS
 LÆVINUS,
 Consuls.

S. XXXIV. But the time for holding the Assembly for the Elections being not yet come, the Dictator employed this Interval of absolute Power in making some Alterations among the Generals of the Republick. He, by his own Authority, sent Sempronius Blæsus, his Lieutenant-General, before Capua, to command in chief in Hetruria; and recalled the Prætor Calpurnius from thence, to send him to command the Army in Campania.

Livy, B. 27.
 c. 4.

ABOUT the same time Rome sent Ambassadors to the Coasts of Africa, and to Egypt. Syphax, King of the Western Parts of Numidia, the Inhabitants of which were called 74 Masæsylians, had lately given the Roman Republick Assurances 75 of his Attachment to her, and Aversion to the Carthaginians; and an Account of the Progress of his Arms against the common Enemy. So that it was but decent to make some Return to the Friendship of a Prince, who had formerly prevented Rome, by first sending a Deputation to the two Scipio's in Spain. Besides, it seemed convenient to stir up as many Enemies against the Carthaginians in Africa as possible; and the Senate nominated three Ambassadors for Numidia Occidentalis. They carried Presents to Syphax, and among the rest, a Robe and Tunick of Purple, a Throne of Ivory, and a Gold Vase of five Pounds Weight; and they presented the little Kings in that Country with Robes bordered with Purple, and with Gold Cups of three Pounds Weight each.

THE Roman Senate and People also thought it of no less Importance to them, to keep up a good Understanding with Egypt. The Carthaginian Empire could not be invested with too many Friends and Allies of Rome; and the Republick 76 had now maintained a faithful Correspondence with the Kings of Egypt for sixty three Years. In order therefore to cultivate it, the Senate sent M. Atilius and M. Acilius, to Alexandria, with Presents for the King and Queen of Egypt. It is agreed that this Prince was a 77 Ptolomy; and Livy gives his Queen the Name of Cleopatra; tho' he seems to have been mistaken, and her Name seems rather to have been 78 Eurydice, or Arsinoe. But be that as it will, the Roman Ambassadors carried the King of Egypt a Robe and Tunick of Purple, and a Throne of Ivory; and the Queen, an Habit of Purple finely embroidered, with a Scarf of the same Colour.

HOWEVER, these publick Concerns did not make the Republick forget the Merit of a private Man. Mutines, the Numidian Commander, who had just delivered up Agrigentum to Rome, deserved a Reward; and he was brought into the Senate, with those who had done Rome great Services in Sicily; and the Conscrip-

73 This Publius Licinius Crassus was then Pontifex Maximus.

74 See above, p. 245. of this Volume, Note 8.

75 These Assurances of his inviolable Attachment to the Republick, were given her by a solemn Embassy, sent for that purpose. The Senate bestowed the greatest Marks of Distinction on the Ambassadors, and answered these Declarations of Friendship in very grateful Terms; and the three Ambassadors she sent to Numidia, to ratify this advantageous Alliance, were Lucius Genucius, Publius Patellius, and Publius Popilius.

76 It may have been observed, in the preceding Volume, that the Romans first entered into an Alliance with Egypt, in the Year of Rome 489; and in the Reign of Ptolomy Philadelphus.

77 This Ptolomy, was surnamed Philopator. He reigned nine or ten Years in Egypt. He was suspected, according to Justin and Strabo, of having poisoned his own Father Ptolomy Euergetes, or The Beneficent; but Polybius says this Prince was carried off by a Fit of Sickness, after a Reign of twenty six Years. Nevertheless, this Suspicion was the Cause of his Successor's being ironically called Philopator. His excessive Debaucheries and Cruelties made him hated by his Subjects. He fell in Love with Agathoclea, a famous Courtizan; and killed his Wife, and his own Sister, that they might not

interrupt his Pursuit of his Amours. He had had by this unfortunate Princess Ptolomy Epiphanes, or The Illustrious; whom one of the Commentators on Livy has, in his Remarks on this Part of our History, very improperly confounded with his Father Philopator. It is certain Philopator was yet on the Throne, in the Year of Rome 543; when the Roman Ambassadors came into Egypt. The best Chronologers fix the Death of this King to the first Year of the 44th Olympiad, which coincides with the Year of Rome 549; when Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, were Consuls, according to the Fasti Capitolini.

78 Perhaps Livy confounds Ptolomy Epiphanes with Ptolomy Philopator. The former indeed had married Cleopatra, a Daughter of Antiochus the Great, King of Syria. But then it is certain, that the Historians give Philopator only two Wives, Eurydice and Agathoclea. The former was yet living in the Year of Rome 543, when Marcus Atilius and Manius Acilius set out for Egypt. She did not die till about the second Year of the 143d Olympiad, which answers to the Year of Rome 546. Nevertheless, it ought not to be dissembled, that Eurydice is called by two other Names. The Author of the third Book of Maccabees, and Polybius, B. 5. call her Arsinoë. And Josephus calls her Cleopatra.

Father

Fathers did him great Honours. They passed a Decree, that the *Tribunes of the People* should be desired to offer a Petition to the *Comitia*, to admit *Mutines* to enjoy the Rights of a *Roman Citizen*, which accordingly were granted him.

§. XXXV. AND now, the *Dictator Fulvius*, who was nominated to preside alone in the 79 *Comitia by Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*, (having by this time so artfully carried on his Intrigues, that he thought himself sure of the *Consulship*) assembled the People under Arms for the great Elections, and proposed himself among the rest of the Candidates. Accordingly, the *Century of the Tribe 80 Galeria*, to whose Lot it fell to vote first, nominated him to the *Consulship*, and the great *Fabius* to be his Collegue; and the rest of the *Centuries* seemed likely to confirm this Choice. But two *Tribunes* of the same Name, *Arennii*, unfortunately opposed the Election of *Fulvius*, so that the *Comitia* were broken up, and adjourned to another Day. The *Arennii* coloured over their Opposition with this specious Pretence; *That it was a dangerous thing to suffer a Dictator to be chosen Consul; and to permit the President of an Assembly to pervert his Power over the People to serve his own Purposes.* But to these Reasons *Fulvius* opposed the Authority of the Senate, the Decisions of the People, and former Precedents. After the Death of *Flaminius*, said he, and the Loss of the Battel of the Lake *Thrasimenus*, the *Comitia* made a Decree, that as long as *Hannibal* should continue in Italy, the old Consuls might again be chosen as oft as the People pleased. And this Law took place in the Person of *Fabius Maximus*. Besides we have seen Presidents of *Comitia by Centuries* chosen Consuls by the same Assemblies over which they presided. *Postumius Megellus* was one Instance of it, in an Interregnum.

THESE Reasons therefore determined the People to refer the Decision of the Affair to the Senate; and the *Conscript Fathers* judged, That *Fulvius's Dictatorship* and Presidentship did not disqualify him for being again chosen Consul; That it was not convenient to defer the *Comitia* longer; and That they could not chuse too able Generals to oppose the *Carthaginians*. And then, the Assembly of the Republick making the Inclinations of the Senate their Rule, declared *Q. Fabius* ⁸¹, and *Q. Fulvius*, Consuls, the former for the fifth, and the latter for the fourth time. This *Temporizer*, who was so formidable to *Hannibal*, and the Conqueror of *Capua*, seemed to be the best qualified to preserve that Superiority which They themselves and *Marcellus* had first given the Arms of *Rome*.

THE Choice of the *Pro-Consuls* and *Prætors* was likewise no less judicious. The same *Comitia* continued *Marcellus* in the Command of the same Troops, which he had commanded the last Year with so much Success. *Lævinus* still governed in *Sicily*, and *Scipio* in *Spain*, with the Title of *Pro-Consuls*. *Sulpicius* remained, with the same Title, on the Coasts of *Greece*, to watch the Steps of the King of *Macedon*. The *Prætors*, *Hostilius* ⁸² *Tubulus*, *Veturius Philo*, *T. Quinctius* ⁸³, and *Aurunculeius Cotta*, drew Lots for their Provinces. *Hostilius* administered

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 27.
c. 6.

⁷⁹ At this time, the chief Magistrates were elected at *Rome* several Months before they entered upon their Offices; as appears by a Passage in *Livy*. It was towards the End of Summer, says he, and the time drew near for holding the Consular *Comitia*. *Jan æstas in exitu erat, Comitiorumque Consularium instabat tempus.* Whence it appears, that The Roman People proceeded to the Election of their Consuls about the Month of September, that is, according to our Way of computing, six Months before The Ides, or the fifteenth Day of March, on which Day, as we have observed, the Consular Year began.

⁸⁰ All that we know of The Tribe *Galeria*, is, that it was one of the Country-Tribes. In what District it lay is not known.

⁸¹ Tully, in his second Oration against *Rullus*, describes the taking of *Capua* to the two Consuls, *Quintus Fabius* and *Quintus Fulvius*; which is a Miscalculation of two Years. The former was not concerned in this Expedition; the latter, then *Pro-Consul* in *Campania*, shared the Glory of it, with his Collegue *Appius Claudius*, in the *Consulship* of

Cneius Fulvius Centumalus, and *Publius Sulpicius Galba*. *Cicero* therefore only meant, that in the next Consular Year, the *Censors* farmed out the Territory of *Capua*, to a Company of Farmers, and for the Benefit of the Republick, for the first time.

⁸² It is conjectured, that the *Hostilian* Family was descended from one *Hostus Hostilius*, a Native of *Medulia*, who obtained the Privileges of *Roman Citizenship* in the Reign of *Romulus*. This Family was divided into four different Branches, viz. those of the *Mancini*, the *Cato's*, the *Tubuli*, and the *Saferna's*.

⁸³ The Family of the *Quinctii* was transplanted to *Rome* from *Alba Longa*, after the Destruction of this City. It was *Patrician*, and at different times enjoyed the first Posts in *Rome*. *Cicero*, in his Oration for *Cluentius*, mentions another *Quinctian* Family, which was *Plebeian*, and several *Tribunes of the People* were chosen out of it. The *Capitolinus's*, the *Cincinnatus's*, the *Flaminius's*, and the *Crispinus's*, were four Branches of the *Patrician* Family of the *Quinctii*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
M. VALERIUS
LEVINUS,
Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.

Q. FABIUS
MAXIMUS,
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS,
Consuls.

Justice at *Rome*, and governed it in the Absence of the *Consuls*; *Veturius* ⁸⁴ heard the Causes of Foreigners there, an Office then of little Use; and which therefore did not hinder him from going to *Ariminum*, to command the Troops that were to keep the *Cisalpine Gauls* in Awe. *Quinctius Crispinus* took upon him the Government of *Campania*; *Aurunculeius* ⁸⁵ sailed for *Sardinia*, to keep the Inhabitants to their Duty; and *Hetruria* fell to the Lot of *Caius Calpurnius*. Thus the Foresight of the *Romans* extended itself to all the Places under their Dominion; and it is indeed very surprizing, that one single People should be able to maintain Armies, in so many different, and so far distant Countries ⁸⁶.

§.XXXVI. THE two new *Consuls*, *Fabius* and *Fulvius*, were confined to *Italy*, to act separately there, as well as the *Pro-Consul Marcellus*, who had now long harassed *Hannibal*. And as the *Consuls* did not enter upon their Office, till *The Ides of March*, they had time to regulate Affairs in the City, before they took the Field. And now *Laelius* arrived from *Spain*, on Board a *Quinqueremis*, with the Prisoners from ⁸⁷ *New Carthage*, and the Booty, and Money, taken there. Upon which the People, full of Gratitude to young *Scipio*, grew more and more attached to him. But the publick Joy was a little abated, by the Confirmation of the News *Messala* had sent from *Sicily*. *Laelius* also brought an Account from *Spain*, That *Asdrubal* had received Orders from *Carthage* to come into *Italy*; That *Masinissa*,

⁸⁴ According to *Livy*, it was not *Lucius Veturius Philo*, but *Caius Hostilius*, who succeeded the *Pro-Prætor*, *Caius Lætorius*, in the Command of the *Roman Army* at *Ariminum*. But the Course of the History inclines us to believe, that *Veturius* had that Command. Besides, *Hostilius's* Presence was necessary at *Rome*, to determine the many Processes, which were daily begun, in so numerous a Body as the Citizens of *Rome*. But the Case was different as to Foreigners. The Wars in *Italy* prevented their resorting to the Capital in so great Numbers as usual.

⁸⁵ According to *Livy*, B. 27. a *Carthaginian Fleet* of forty Gallies was sailed from *Carthage*, under the Command of *Hamilcar*; and had cast Anchor before *Olbia*, a City on the North-East Coast of *Sardinia*; (some Traces of which Place are yet to be seen near Cape *Lugudori* in the Neighbourhood of *S. Lucia*;) and towards the Close of the Summer, the *Carthaginian General* had made a Descent in the Territory of *Olbia*, at the Head of his Troops. But as soon as he saw the *Prætor*, *Publius Manlius Vulso*, draw near with his Army, *Hamilcar* had re-imbarked, tacked about, appeared in sight of *Caralis* the Capital of the Island, ravaged its Territory, loaded himself with a considerable Booty, returned on Board his Fleet, and sailed back to *Africa*.

⁸⁶ Before *Livy* goes on to the Year of *Rome* 544, he mentions several things of less Consequence, which happened in the Year 543. In the first place, he enlarges upon some Prodigies which alarmed *Rome*. It was reported, That a Lamb was yeaned at *Tusculum*, with an Udder full of Milk; That the Lightning had considerably damaged the Roof of the Temple of *Jupiter* in that City; That in the City of *Anagnia*, the Ground near one of the Gates had all on a sudden been set on Fire by Lightning; and That the Flame continued burning a whole Day and Night, without any Fuel. Several reported, That the Birds belonging to the Wood consecrated to *Diana*, near the Cross-way, in *Anagnia*, had deserted their Nests. *Livy* calls this Place *Compitum Anagninum*; and *Antoninus*, in his *Itinerary*, *Sub Anagnia*. It stood in the Place where *The Lævian Way*, and *The Latin Way*, joined. But *Cluverius* places it near the little City of *Castel Mattheo*; and it is now thought to have been near the Place where there is an Inn, called *Hosteria d'Anagni*. But to return to *Livy's* Account of these Prodigies; it was also affirmed, That at *Terracina* some Snakes of an enormous Size had bounded up in the Water like Fishes; That in *Tuscany* there was a Pig born, which

had a Man's Face; and That in the Territory of *Capena*, a great Stream of Blood had seemed to run from four Statues erected in the Wood dedicated to the Goddess *Feronia*, for a Day and a Night together. To prevent therefore the ill Effects which used to be foreseen in these Sorts of Events, the *Pontifex* set apart two Days for *Supplications*, or solemn Prayers; one in *Rome*, in all the Temples of the Gods there; and the other, in the Wood of the Goddess *Feronia*. They also at the same time ordered great Sacrifices to be offered up, to appease the Wrath of the Gods. Recourse was had to the usual Expiations; and after this, new Ministers of Religion were chosen to fill the Places of those who had died in the Year 543.

Caius Servilius was made *Pontifex*, in the room of *Titus Otacilius Crassus*. *Tiberius Sempronius Longus*, the Son of *Tiberius Longus*, was chosen one of the *Decemviri*, who kept the *Sybilline Books*, in the room of another *Tiberius Sempronius Longus*, the Son of *Caius*. *Marcus Marcius*, *The King of the Sacrifices*, and *Marcus Æmilius Papus*, the *Maximus Curio*, had also died this Year; but the Election of their Successors was postponed to another time. *Lucius Veturius Philo*, and *Publius Licinius Crassus* the *Pontifex Maximus*, had been made *Censors*, though the latter had not possessed any of the great Magistracies before this Promotion. The *Ædileship* alone paved the Way for it. But these two *Censors* did not review the Senate as usual, or discharge any Part of their Office. The Death of the first obliged the second to resign, according to ancient Custom.

This Year 543 was also remarkable for the Celebration of *The Roman Games*, with which another *Lucius Veturius*, and *Publius Licinius Varus*, *Cura Ædiles*, entertained the People. *The Plebeian Ædiles* also, *Quintus Cælius*, and *Lucius Porcius Lucius* distinguished themselves, by the Use they made of the Fines which were levied. They erected some Brass Statues in the Temple of *Ceres*; and celebrated Games, with as much Pomp and Magnificence as the present State of the Affairs of the Republic would permit.

⁸⁷ *Livy* owns, that several ancient Authors preceded the taking of *New Carthage* in the Year 543. But at the same time, he does not think it probable that so active a General as *Scipio* should have continued a whole Year in *Spain*, without doing anything. And this Reason, together with the Authority of some other Historians, makes him put the Conquest of this City forwards one Year.

the Son of *Gala* King of *Numidia*, had brought him a Reinforcement of Troops; and That he would speedily make his Way over the *Alpes*. If Hannibal alone, said the People of *Rome*, has been able to fill us with so much Terror, what will become of us, when a fresh Army, commanded by his Brother, shall come and break into our Provinces like a Torrent? Nevertheless, these Alarms did not hinder them from doing Honour to *Scipio* for his Victories. The Senate ordered publick Prayers and *Supplications* to be offered up in all the Temples, the Glory of which rebounded on the General; and then *Laelius* was immediately sent back to *Spain*, with a Piece of News which could not but be agreeable to the young Conqueror. As a Mark of Distinction to *Scipio*, he was not continued in his Commission of *Pro-Consul* of *Spain* for one Year only, but for an unlimited time. It was ordered, that he should continue there, till an Order was made for recalling him. So strong an Impression did the Relation of his Valour, Prudence, and Continnence, make on the Minds of the *Romans*.

AFTER this, the City was employed in Elections for the lesser Dignities. The *Maximus*⁸⁸ *Curio's* Place was vacant; and one *Mamilius Vitulus*, a *Plebeian*, stood Candidate for this Priestly Office. But Endeavours were made to disappoint him, under Pretence, that this honourable Function had hitherto been exercised only by *Patricians*. He therefore appealed to the *Tribunes of the People*; and they referred the Affair to the Senate; who decreed, that the *Comitia* might at Pleasure make either a *Patrician*, or *Plebeian*, *Maximus Curio*. So that *Mamilius* was the first *Plebeian* who was invested with this Sacerdotal Dignity.

AND there was something yet more particular in the Creation of the High-Priest of *Jupiter*. *P. Licinius*, then *Pontifex Maximus*, forced *C. Valerius Flaccus* to suffer himself to be consecrated. He was a young Man, whose idle and licentious Course of Life made him hated by his Family; and *Licinius* pitched on the young Debauchee, to reform him, and forced him to dedicate himself to the Service of the Altars. He was a Man of Honour, and thought himself obliged to behave himself with Decency in his Office; till at length he, by a constant Regularity, obliterated the Shame of his past Irregularities, and gained the Esteem both of his Relations and Strangers. Then, depending on the Reputation he had acquired, he thought it in his Power to recover a Privilege belonging to his Office of High-Priest of *Jupiter*, which his Predecessors had lost. This was the Right of having a Seat and Vote in the Senate. No Chief-Priest of *Jupiter* had indeed for time immemorial sat in the House; these Priests had been so dissolute and negligent, as to neglect this glorious Privilege. But *Valerius* actually took his Place among the *Fathers*. Upon which, the *Prætor* forced him to leave the Assembly. The affronted *Valerius* therefore appealed to the *Tribunes of the People*, who took him under their Protection; and contended, That the Right of a Seat in the Senate, of wearing the Robe bordered with Purple, and sitting in a *Curule Chair*, had belonged to the High-Priest of *Jupiter*, from the first Institution of that Office. This the *Prætor* did not deny; but pretended, that this original Right had been lost, by the Negligence and Worthlessness of *Valerius's* Predecessors; and That the Affair ought not to be determined by old Claims, which were not actually possessed, but by a Custom which had now prevailed for a long Course of Years. Nevertheless, the *Tribunes* pronounced Sentence in favour of *Valerius*: and he was put into Possession of an Honour, which had belonged to his Dignity from its Institution. Regard was had to the Sacerdotal Office, which ought not to have suffered for the Indolence of those worthless Men, who had been promoted to it. Yet all allowed, that the Judges had shewn more Regard to the Probity, and regular Behaviour of the Appellant, than to strict Equity. Nevertheless, the *Prætor* desisted from his Opposition; and *Valerius* was introduced into the Senate with the Consent and Approbation of the *Conscript Fathers*.

§. XXXVII. THUS these little things served to amuse the *Consuls*; but they had more important Affairs to dispatch, before they set out for the Army. It was necessary, That the several Generals should be⁸⁹ assigned their respective Commands; and

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLVIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

⁸⁸ See what we have said of the Dignity and Authority of the *Curiones*, Vol. 1. B. 2. p. 58. Note

⁸⁹ The *Legions* appointed to guard the Capital, were by the Consul *Fulvius* committed to the Care of his Brother *Caius Fulvius*, to be carried into *Hesperiæ*;

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLVIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

and That new Levies should be raised in the City, to complete the old Corps. Two Legions were brought from Sicily, to serve in Italy. Nevertheless, the Island was not left destitute of Forces. Besides, the Numidian Cavalry of Mutines, and the 20 Levies made in the Island itself, it was resolved to send thither some Latin Troops, and other Auxiliaries. But this Resolution had like to have caused an Insurrection. In the Diets of the Latins, and other Allies of Rome, such Murmurs as these were uttered with great Rage. *What! will the Romans never leave off consuming the Forces of the People who are united to them? Since their long Wars with Hannibal, either the Swords of the Carthaginians, or Distempers, or Fatigues, have robbed us of all the Flower of our Youth. At this rate, it would be best for us to be taken Captives by the Enemy. Hannibal would send us back into our own Country without Ransom. But how ill do the Romans imitate him? They make Laws to condemn us to severe Banishment. They are now going to carry us out of Italy, and will suffer us to grow old in Countries far from our own. Within these eight Tears last past, a great Number of our Countrymen have languished away their Days in Sicily; and if they make new Levies among us, on purpose to transport them beyond the Seas, will they not utterly unpeople our Countries, and make them vast Deserts? Let us then prevent this Misfortune, before it be too late. Let us not be afraid to refuse the Romans, what they cannot require of us without ruining us. By this means we shall force Rome to make Peace with Carthage. Peace is what we want; and nothing can procure it us, except the Humiliation of Rome.*

Livy, B. 27.
c. 9.

THESE Discourses, spread in the Assemblies of the Cities allied to Rome, were contagious in the Colonies; which, according to one Historian, were but thirty in all the Provinces Rome had conquered. But whether more or less in Number, they had all their Agents residing in the Capital; and 91 twelve of them answered the Consuls, by them, that they absolutely would not furnish the Republick with their Contingent, either of Men or Money. However, the Consuls did not think it proper to intreat them. They only represented to them, That such a Refusal amounted to Sedition; and That they would not expose them so far, as to make this Report to the Senate; but That they should all return to their Colonies, and assemble their Magistrates afresh, and there consider of the Affair again, as if they had yet given no Refusal. To which they added, *Put the Inhabitants of your Cities also in mind, that tho' they are transplanted into Campania, the Territory of Tarentum, and other Countries of Italy, they are not native Campani or Tarentini. They are Romans as well as we, were sent from hence to extend the Roman*

truria; and the latter had Orders at the same time to bring the Army that had hitherto served in Tuscany, to Rome. The great Fabius ordered his Son Quintus to carry into Sicily a Body of three thousand three hundred and thirty six Men, which had been gathered together out of the Remains of the Victory gained by Hannibal over Cornelius Fulvius in Apulia. The Senate had ranked them with the Remains of the Battel of Cannæ, which served in Sicily, under the Command of the Pro-Consul, Marcus Valerius Lævinus; and the same infamous Punishments were inflicted on them for their Cowardice, as had been inflicted some Years before on those who fled with Terentius Varro. At the same time, the Consul Fabius gave his Son Orders to bring back into Italy, on Board thirty Quinqueremes, the two Legions which the Republick had kept in Sicily, partly for the Conquest of Syracuse, and partly to defend the whole Island against the Invasions of the Carthaginians. The thirty Gallies were reserved for the Siege of Tarentum, which Fabius had in View. The rest of the Fleet was left under the Command of Marcus Valerius Lævinus, Lucius Cincius, and Marcus Valerius Messala; and a Design was then on foot, for one of these three Generals to make a Descent in Africa.

90 Among those who were here enlisted in the Service of the Republick, the chief were a Company of disciplined Sicilians, who had been in the Service of Epicydes and the Carthaginians; and Marcus Va-

lerius Lævinus made two Armies of these new Levies, when joined to the Roman Legions. One he committed to the Conduct of Lucius Cincius, to guard all that Part of Sicily, which had formerly belonged to King Hiero. The other he commanded himself in that Part of the Island which had been divided between the Romans and Carthaginians, before the second Punick War: and with a Fleet of seventy Gallies, the two Generals guarded all the Ports and Coasts of the Province. Lævinus himself passed through all the Parts of Sicily, at the Head of the Numidians which Mutines had commanded, and recommended to the Proprietors the Cultivation of their Lands. He encouraged the most diligent in their Activity, by his Praises, and roused the Indolence of the most slothful by his Threatnings. So that through his Care all the Lands were sowed; and the Harvest was so plentiful, that Corn enough was gathered in, both to support the Sicilians, and to fill all the Granaries of Rome and Catania. So that this ample Provision supplied the Romans with what was necessary for the Subsistence of the Army which was to pass the Summer in sight of Tarentum.

91 These twelve Colonies were, according to Livy Ardea, Nepesæ, Sutrium, Alba, Carsæoli, Cora, Suessa, Circeii, Setia, Cales, Narnia, and Interamna, which have all been mentioned in different Parts of the History.

Dominions and defend them, and owe Rome as much Submission as Children do their Mother. Can they have Ingratitude and Inhumanity enough to desert the Republick in her Distress, and deliver themselves up to the merciless Treatment of Hannibal?

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLVIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

BUT tho' nothing could be more reasonable than this Demand of the *Consuls*, the Agents of the twelve *Colonies* did not regard it. They obstinately insisted, That it was to no Purpose to return to their Cities, or assemble the Magistrates to deliberate again on the Affair; and in short, That they had neither Soldiers nor Money, and only refused to comply with this Demand, because it was impossible for them to grant it. Nothing remained therefore, but for the *Consuls* to make a Report of this dangerous Opposition to the Senate; and the Report threw the *Conscript Fathers* into a Consternation. They fancied the Misfortune to be greater than it really was. They imagined, That Affairs were desperate; That a fatal Conspiracy was already formed, between the *Colonies* and Allies of *Rome*; and That they had all in general agreed to betray the Republick, and deliver up her Capital into the Hands of her Enemies. All their Confidence in these two *Consuls* of great Credit, was scarce enough to support the drooping Spirits of the Senators. However, *Fabius* and *Fulvius* represented to them, That there was no doubt but the other *Colonies* would be tractable; That the refractory ones themselves might be brought to Reason; and, That it was necessary to send prudent Deputies to the mutinous Cities, who should rather make it their Business to intimidate them, than reclaim them by gentle Methods.

THEN the *Consuls* sent for the Agents of the other eighteen *Colonies*, who had not yet given in their Answer, with regard to their Contingents. The Agent ⁹² of *Fregellæ* spoke for them all; and he being asked whether his *Colony* would keep the Conventions, and contribute its Proportion of Men and Money, for the present War; answered, in his own Name, and in the Name of the other seventeen Deputies, That their Contingents were ready; and, That they were even willing to enlarge them, if it was necessary. He also assured the *Consuls*, That they were inviolably attached to the *Romans*; and declared, That the Cities in whose Name he spoke, neither wanted Money, nor Inclination, to obey the Orders of the Senate.

THIS comfortable Declaration therefore drew all possible Respect from the *Consuls* to the *Colonies* that submitted. The eighteen Agents were immediately brought before the Senate, who received them very graciously; and it was ordered, upon the Spot, that they should be brought before the People, to receive their publick Thanks and Congratulations. Great Encomiums were bestowed upon them, in full *Comitia*; and the Orator called to mind the old Services these ⁹³ faithful *Colonies* had formerly done the Republick. And now, by the Assistance which *Rome* at present drew from them, she was enabled to raise and support great Armies. But the twelve refractory Cities were entirely overlooked, and nothing at all said of them. The Senate revenged themselves better by their Contempt of them, than they could have done by an exemplary Punishment. And it was more for the Honour of the State to neglect their Contributions, than to extort them by Violence.

IN the mean time, in order to supply the Deficiencies occasioned by the Avarice of these twelve *Colonies*, *Rome* made use of the Gold that had long been hoarded up in a private Place in the Treasury. It is well known that the Republick, from the earliest Times, reserved to itself the twentieth ⁹⁴ Part of the Money that was paid at the granting any Slave his Freedom. This was a Tax upon ⁹⁵ the Masters;

⁹² Livy gives the Deputy of the City of *Fregellæ*, the Name of *Marcus Sextilius*.

⁹³ Livy gives us the Names of these eighteen *Colonies*; which ought to be remembered, in Gratitude for their Fidelity, which they so signally displayed on this Occasion. The Latin Historian says they were the Cities of *Signia*, *Norba*, *Saticula*, *Arundinum*, *Fregellæ*, *Luceria*, *Venusia*, *Adria*, *Ariminum*, *Pontia*, *Pæstum*, *Cosa*, *Beneventum*, *Esernia*, *Spoletum*, *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. and in some Editions, *Nola* is in the List; and the Number of all the *Colonies* is thereby made to be thirty one, instead of thirty. But the Name of this City is not found in the most authentick MSS.

⁹⁴ The Law which obliged every Citizen to pay this, had been made by *Manlius*, in the Year of *Rome* 396, as we have observed, Vol. 2. B. 15. p. 105. The Historians call this Tax *Aurum Vicesimarium*. *Festus* mentions it, when he explains the Word *Manumitti*. It was deposited in the Temple of *Saturn*. But it is probable, that *Livy* may likewise mean by *Aurum vicesimarium*, the twentieth Part of the Revenues of the Republick; which was reserved against great Emergencies.

⁹⁵ It is uncertain whether the Masters paid this Tax out of their own Pockets, or out of their Slaves Money.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLVIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

the Produce of which had long been reserved against a Day of Necessity; and this was thought a proper time to make use of it. This Money, which was now first applied to the publick Use, amounted to so considerable a Sum, as four thousand Pounds Weight of Gold; which was all distributed among the Generals, to defray the Expences of the War. Five hundred Pounds Weight of Gold were divided between the *Consuls* for the Year, the two *Pro-Consuls Marcellus* and *Sulpicius*, and the *Prætor T. Veturius*: And *Fabius* had one hundred Pounds Weight of Gold given to him, more than to his Colleague, to be laid up in the Citadel of *Tarentum*, as a Reserve for the unforeseen Exigencies of the War he was going to begin on that Side⁹⁶.

§. XXXVIII. As soon as these wise Provisions were made for the approaching Campaign, the Generals prepared for their Departure in good Earnest; and we cannot think it necessary to mention all the Prodigies, to prevent the ill Effects of which they were forced to make Expiations, to satisfy the Superstition of the People. We shall only observe in general, that Reports were spread of some of all Sorts which had been seen at different Places; and that, among the rest, ⁹⁷ it was said, That an Ox had spoken, at *Privernum*; That at *Sinuessa* a Child had been born with the Marks of both Sexes; and, That another had been born with the Head of an Elephant. So that Victims of the first Sort were offered up, *The Apollinarian Games* were celebrated, and other religious Ceremonies performed, to avert the ill Consequences of these Prejudices.

AFTER this, the *Consuls* had only a few civil Offices to discharge, before their Departure, the most considerable of which was the assembling the *Comitia* to choose *Censors*. *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Publius Sempronius Tuditanus*, who had never been *Consuls*, were promoted to this important Office; and they were no sooner chosen, but they demanded of the Senate, that the Territory of *Campania*, the old Possessors of which had been driven out of it, should be disposed of, after the best manner, for the Benefit of the Publick. The Senate referred their Petition to the People; and they accordingly decreed, that those vast Plains, and fruitful Hills, should be farmed out, and the Rents paid into the publick Treasury. Thus *Rome* increased her Riches, by confiscating the Lands of the People who revolted from her.

Aul. Gellius, AND then, another Affair of a different Kind set the new *Censors* at Variance. It belonged to them to nominate a *Prince of the Senate*; which was the most honourable Employment, and the most solicited, of any in the Republick. As it was for Life, and gave a Man a Right to preside in an illustrious Body, who were the Arbiters of State-Affairs, it was preferred to the transient Dignities of the *Consulship*, *Prætorship*, or even *Censorship*. The filling up this important Post did not at all depend on the Caprice of the People. After the Death or Resignation of a *Prince of the Senate*, the *Censor* who was then in the Exercise of his Office, drew up a new List of the Senators, and placed him at the Head of it who was to preside in it for the future. But when the two present *Censors* came to settle this List, they could not agree on the Person to be raised to this Dignity. *Sempronius*, who was then the acting *Censor*, was inclined to place the Name of the Great *Fabius* first; but his Colleague opposed it. He pretended, that Custom was the Rule by which the *Princes of the Senate* were to be chosen and, That it had always been customary to put the oldest of those who had been *Censors*, at the Head of the List of Senators; according to which Rule, the Prefidentship of the Senate would fall to *T. Manlius Torquatus*. But *Sempronius* on the other hand, contended, that as he was the acting *Censor*, no body could abridge him of his Right of Nomination; That he had a full Power to nominate whomsoever he pleased to be *President of the Senate*; That *Fabius* was the most

⁹⁶ A Part of these four thousand Pounds Weight of Gold, was applied to cloath the Soldiers who had served with so much Success in *Spain*.

⁹⁷ To which it was added, That the Statue of *Jupiter*, on the Hill of *Alba*, had been struck with Lightning; That a Tree near the Temple consecrated to that God, the Lake of *Ostia*, the Walls of *Capua*, the Temple of *Fortune*, and a Gate and the Walls of *Sinuessa*, had all been damaged by

Lightening; That the Water of *The Lake of Alba* had been turned into Blood; That at *Rome*, in the Temple of *Fortuna Fortis*, a little Image which was on the Top of her Crown had fallen into the Hands; That at *Privernum*, a Vultur had fled into a Shop in the Market-place, in the Sight of great Numbers of People; and lastly, That in the City of *Sinuessa* it had rained Milk.

able Man in the Republick, both in the Cabinet and the Field; and, That in the Opinion of *Hannibal* himself, no Man had better merited this new Mark of Distinction. And the Steadiness of *Sempronius* had its desired Effect. The *Censor Cornelius Cethegus* at length desisted from his Opposition, and *Fabius* was then put at the Head of the *Conscrip't Fathers*. In the List of Senators that the *Censor Sempronius* drew up, he likewise omitted the Names of eight old Senators, who were thereby cut off from the Body; and this Act of Severity was followed by another. A good Number of *Roman Knights* were disgraced, by having the Horses the Publick supplied them with taken from them. Among the former, who were expelled the Senate, was the cowardly *Cacilius Metellus*, who had entered into a Plot to leave *Italy*, after the Battel of *Cannæ*; and his Accomplices, who were not many, suffered with him. But the Number of the *Roman Knights* who had fled in that Battel, was greater, and they all suffered the same Punishment. The Years they had served were not considered; and, to complete the Disgrace, they were ordered to mount themselves, and serve the Republick ten Years, without any Pay. All those were also punished, who had not taken the military Oaths, since the Beginning of the War with *Hannibal*, tho' they were then full seventeen Years old. A strict Enquiry was made after them, and they were condemned to lose all the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*, without being exempted from paying their Shares of the publick Taxes.

§. XXXIX. AND now, the Season, and the Motions of *Hannibal*, invited the *Consuls* to leave *Rome*. *Marcellus*, who had not appeared there all the Winter, was watching the *Carthaginian*; and was ready to follow him, and fight him, wherever he could come at him; and *Fabius* had formed a prudent Plan of the Operations of the Campaign. He undertook himself to besiege *Tarentum*; whilst *Fulvius* was to oppose the Enterprizes of *Hannibal*; and *Marcellus* to harass him, without giving him time to breathe. *Fabius* had verbally agreed on this Plan, with his Collegue, and acquainted *Marcellus* with it by Letter; and each General set about his Part. What more likely to drive *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, than to take away those Cities from him, which might serve him for a Retreat, and obstinately adhered to him? If he now should lose *Tarentum*, after *Capua*, he would be at once deprived of all Provisions on the Continent, and of all Hopes of getting any by Sea. Besides, in order to put the *Bruttii*, his most faithful Allies, out of a Condition to help him, *Fabius* wrote to the Governour of *Rhegium*, to make use of the extraordinary Troops *Lævinus* had brought him from *Sicily*. After that *Consul* had subdued the whole Island the last Year, he had purged it of a Body of *Banditti*, who had assembled together in the Neighbourhood of *Agathyrna*, to the Number of four thousand Men, and laid the Country waste. These Villains joined with no Party, but pillaged both *Carthaginian* and *Roman Provinces*, without Distinction; and *Lævinus* therefore, in order to get rid of them, had brought them cross the Sea; and when transported to *Rhegium*, they obeyed the *Romans*, and were always ready to rob, wherever there was any Booty to be had. The Governour of *Rhegium* commanded them, and joined with them those Deserters of the *Bruttii*, who, in order to surrender to the *Romans*, had fled to *Rhegium*; and with this Company of Desperadoes the *Roman* Commander now entered *Bruttium*, destroyed all with Fire and Sword, emptied the Barns, and laid the Country desolate. And lastly, to find these Friends of *Hannibal* Employment at home, he laid Siege to ⁹⁸ *Caulonia*, a City on the *Sagra*; of great Consequence both to the *Locri* and *Bruttii*.

As for *Marcellus*, whilst this new Army (commanded by a General who had no Commission but from the *Consul*) was pursuing this Siege with Ardour, he was already at *Hannibal's* Heels. As soon as there was Forage enough upon the Ground

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLVIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.
Livy, B. 27.
c. 12.

⁹⁸ The Historians and ancient Geographers mention the City of *Caulonia*, in the Country of the *Locri* in *Italy*. It is sometimes called *Canlon*, sometimes *Aulon*, and sometimes *Anlon*. It stood near the Mouth of the River *Sagra*, now *Le Sagriano*, a little Distance from Cape *Cocinthum*, or *Stilium*, or *Capo di Stillo*, which is more to the North. *Strabo* speaks of this City, B. 6. and says it stood in a Valley, according to the Signification of the

Greek Word *αὐλὼν*. To which he adds, that it was built by the *Achei*, and was entirely deserted in his time. The Inhabitants who, according to him, were driven out by the *Bruttii*, had fled for Refuge into *Sicily*, where they had built a City of the same Name. Some think they find the Traces of old *Caulonia*, near a modern City, which the Inhabitants call *Castel Vetere*, near the River *Eleporus*, now *Alaro*, in *Calabria*, on the Coasts of the *Ionian* Sea.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

to subſiſt his Cavalry, he took the Field, with all the Confidence his paſt Advantages gave him; and at length, he came up with this formidable Enemy, near *Canuſium*, in *Apulia*. *Hannibal* was buſy in bringing this City into his Intereſt, when he received the News that *Marcellus* was arrived: but the *Carthaginian* was not the ſame Man now as formerly. At the time when he made his firſt Incurſions, depending on his Horſe, which were certainly invincible, he fought only for open Places, to give Battel. But now, he avoided the Plains, and choſe to encamp in Defiles covered by Foreſts, where it was eaſy for him to lay Ambuſcades. He therefore quitted the vaſt Plains of *Canuſium*, and retired to Forts which were difficult of Acceſs. The brave *Marcellus* followed cloſe after him, kept him always in his ſight, encamped every Evening within reach of his Entrenchments; and as ſoon as he had fortified his Camp, the *Roman* appeared drawn up in Battalia near the *Carthaginian*, and ſeemed to challenge him. But *Hannibal* would only ſuffer his Men to ſkirmiſh a little; and carefully avoided coming to a general Action. In ſhort, he was forced to act the ſame Part before *Marcellus*, for which he had formerly ſo much reproached *Fabius*. *Hannibal* was become a *Temporiſer*.

Livy, B. 27.
c. 12.
Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

Livy, B. 27.
c. 12.

§. XL. But at length, Neceſſity and Opportunity forced the *Carthaginian* General to come to an Engagement. He had been obliged to decamp, and to croſs a vaſt Plain; and *Marcellus*, who continually kept at the Side of him, had forced him to halt, and encamp there; and whiſt the *Carthaginians* were buſy in fortifying themſelves, the *Romans* on a ſudden attacked their Workmen. This brought the two Armies to engage; but Night coming on ſeparated them, before the Loſs was great on either Side. The next Morning, as ſoon as it was light, *Marcellus* came to offer the Enemy Battel, as uſual; and *Hannibal* could not help fighting. But before he marched out to the Battel, he harangued his Troops in this manner: *You are going to compleat the Work of Cannæ, and the Lake Thraſimeneus. With what Obſtinacy and Eagerneſs do the Romans run to their own Deſtruction. Their Importunity, if nothing elſe, deſerves your Reſentment. How audacious is their General! He harraſſes you, fatigues you in your Marches, and will ſcarce give you time to breathe. Marcellus and the Sun riſe together, to appear before you. Shall theſe Inſults then eſcape unpuniſhed? One ſingle Victory will free you from the troubleſome Pursuits of an Enemy, who is more raſh than formidable. Let us then overcome, and get rid of, a Fury, which is inceſſantly at our Heels! The Carthaginian Soldiers were indeed heartily tired with the eternal Pursuits of the Romans; who intercepted their Convoys, and would not ſuffer them to ſtir, at any Diſtance from their Camp, or go in Parties to plunder; and theſe Conſiderations made them deſire a Battel, and encouraged them during the Action. They fought with great Bravery, and after two Hours Engagement, with equal Succeſs on both Sides, the right Wing of the *Romans* began to give way. The choiceſt of the Auxiliaries ſeemed to forget themſelves, and to fail of their uſual Courage. *Marcellus* ſaw it; and in order to guard againſt the Conſequences of it, took a Step which ſome have condemned; but which would not have been thought blame-worthy, had the General's Deſign been ſeconded by the Courage of his Soldiers. He ordered the eighteenth *Legion*, which was poſted in the ſecond Line, to advance into the firſt, and take the Place of the Body that began to ſtagger. But at ſight of the Danger, the timorous *Legion* advanced very ſlowly towards the Enemy; whiſt the Body which they were to ſucceed, left their Poſt too haſtily. Their Fright made the one advance too ſlowly, and the other retreat with too much Precipitation. This gave the Enemy an Opportunity to penetrate a great way into the *Roman Manipuli*, and gain Ground upon them; which alſo put the *Pro-Conſular* Troops into Diſorder; and the right Wing being firſt routed, the whole Army fled. So that *Marcellus* was now unſucceſſful for the firſt time. Ever ſince he had made War with *Hannibal*, the *Roman* Arms had always proſpered in his Hands; and it was not juſt to lay the Blame of this Failure on this prudent General. Nevertheleſs, he would have been more ſenſible of his Loſs, if he had not found Means to repair it almoſt in an Inſtant. He returned to his Camp, leaving two thouſand ſeven hundred Auxiliaries and *Romans* dead on the Field of Battel; (among whom were four *Legionary Centurions*, and two of his Lieutenant-Generals;) and having loſt ſix Standards; two belonging to the ſlow *Legion* which had*

had been put into Disorder, and four belonging to the *Corps* which first suffered itself to be broken by the Enemy.

MARCELLUS, not being used to suffer such Indignities, discovered his Resentment as soon as his Troops were retreated. He immediately assembled them, the same Night, and in a very angry Speech reproached them with the ill Success of that melancholy Action: And tho' his Soldiers had been fatigued all the Day, they own'd the Reproaches of their General were more bitter to them, than all the Hardships of an unsuccessful Battel. *You ought to return the Gods Thanks, said he to them, for the Enemy's not having made the best Use of his Victory. If Hannibal had pursued you, when you were in the terrible Disorder in which I saw you after your infamous Rout, and had besieged the Roman Camp; you would, I doubt not, have put the finishing Stroke to your Cowardice, and would have abandoned your Entrenchments with as much haste as you fled before the Enemy. What, I would fain know, could possibly strike so sudden a Terror into you? Were not the Carthaginians the same Men who had felt the Strength of your Arms the last Year? Did you pursue them with so much Constancy then, only to give them the Victory now? Did you harass them in their March, only to turn your Backs upon them in the Heat of the Action? Yesterday you made them fly before you, and would not suffer them to encamp; to day, you fly before them, and load yourselves with Infamy. I really don't any longer know you. Are these the Romans who so often conquered Hannibal? I think I see the same Men, and the same Arms; but your Hearts are mightily changed. Cowards! Will you be the first to gain Glory to the proudest of our Enemies, and give him an Advantage over me?* Thus spake Marcellus, and was interrupted by the Sighs and Clamours of his Soldiers. They all asked Pardon for their sudden Flight, which was occasioned by one fearful Legion; and protested, that they would run with Ardor into any Danger whatsoever, and not return till they came off Conquerors. *Make ready then,* replied the Pro-Consul, *to perform your Promises to morrow, and to merit the Pardon you desire.* And in the mean time the General, to make Examples of them, ordered that Barley, instead of Wheat, should be given to the Soldiers of the *Manipuli* which had lost their Standards; and degraded their *Centurions*, and took from them their Swords and Belts. And then he ordered both Cavalry and Infantry to appear under Arms, the next Day, round his Tent.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMUS,
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 27.
c. 13.

ACCORDINGLY, **Marcellus** had the Pleasure to see his *Legionaries* ready to march to the Battel by Break of Day; commended them for their Readiness to obey him; and declared, that he would place those 99 *Manipuli* in the first Line, which had acted so dishonourably the Day before. *Exert yourselves,* said he to them, *to wipe off the Shame of yesterday! Fight with so much Courage, that Rome may be informed of your Victory, as soon as of your Flight!* And these few Words filled the Hearts of the *Romans* with new Ardor. They first took some Nourishment by the General's Orders, and recovered Strength for a new Battel, which they were resolved to maintain, as long as they should have any Enemies to engage; and then **Marcellus** marched them out of his Camp, and formed them as usual. In the first Line of his Left Wing, he posted the *Manipuli* which had lost their Ensigns the Day before; and the Right Wing consisted of the twentieth Legion. **Cornelius Lentulus**, and **Claudius Nero**, commanded in the Wings, in Quality of Lieutenant-Generals; and **Marcellus** posted himself in the main Body; and there doubtless directed the Motions of the eighteenth Legion. As for **Hannibal**, he was surprized at this unexpected Step of the Roman General; and said, *What a strange Man is this Marcellus! Whether he conquers, or is conquered, he is always ready to fight. When he was Conqueror, he pursued us; now he is overcome, he insults us. In good or bad Fortune, he is always the same. Let us then march out to him, and make him fear and respect his Conquerors.* Which said, he gave Orders for the Battel, drew up his Troops in the Plain, with his *Spaniards*, the main Strength of his Army, at the Head of it; the Trumpets sounded, and the Attack began.

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.
Liv. B. 27.
c. 13.

99 The *Manipuli* themselves desired, according to Plutarch in his *Life of Marcellus*, that they might be placed in the first Line, in order thereby to wipe off the Shame of their Defeat.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLVIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

THE Victory was for some Hours disputed with equal Success; and then *Hannibal* ordered his Elephants to be driven against the *Romans*; and the first Impetuosity of these furious Animals put some *Roman Manipuli* into Disorder. Several of the Soldiers were crushed to pieces under their Feet; others made way, and suffered them to penetrate into the Files of the *Legions*; and by that means, one Side of the *Roman Army* was left uncovered. But a brave *Legionary*, named ¹⁰⁰ *Decimius*, found means to put a stop to the Disorder. He took the Ensign of the first *Manipulus* of the *Hastati* in his Hand, ordered that Company to follow him, brought them to the Place where the Elephants made a terrible Gap, and with their Darts they stopped them. It is easy to imagine, that no Blow could miss such great Animals, which marched close together, and with equal Pace; and all things considered, it is still a Question, whether Elephants are useful in Battle, since they often do those who employ them as much Mischief as they do the Enemy. This was plain, in the present Instance. Such of them as were wounded in the Flank turned upon the *Carthaginian Troops* which followed them; and the Flight of the wounded Elephants drew those after them which had not been touched. The *Romans* took Advantage of their Flight, and quickened it. It was not one *Manipulus* only that threw their Darts at them; but a Shower of Arrows came from all Quarters on the flying Elephants, and increased their Fury. They neither heard the Voices, nor felt the Goads, of their Guides. They fled, and in their Flight beat down and trod under Foot all they met; till at length they caused a much greater Slaughter among their own Party, than they had done among the Enemy. In the mean time, the *Romans* made it their whole Business to pursue them, entered the *Carthaginian* Battalions with them, cut them in pieces, and put them into Disorder. And then, the *Roman Cavalry* began to act. *Marcellus* ordered them to fall upon these broken *Corps*, and complete their Rout; and his Orders were readily obeyed. The Cavalry attacked the disordered Wing; the Fugitives all left their Ranks, and fled towards their Camp; the *Romans* followed them, and drove them before them to the Foot of their Entrenchments; and there a fresh Accident occasioned a great Slaughter of them. Two Elephants were fallen down dead at the Gate of the Camp, and their large Bodies stopped it up: And there the *Roman Cavalry* fell afresh on the crowding Fugitives, whose Retreat was obstructed; and made a terrible Slaughter of them. Those who escaped, climbed up the Ramparts as well as they could, and after much Danger, found an *Asylum* in their Camp. Those *Carthaginians* also who were yet in the Plain, found it difficult to get to their Entrenchments. Some were crushed to death by Elephants which fell down dead. Others were stopped in their Flight by their huge Bodies, and fell by the Sword of the Enemy. As for *Hannibal*, he retreated without exposing his Person too much. Tho' as brave as a General ought to be, he was careful of preserving a Life which was very necessary to his Party. This was his constant Maxim, and he laughed at *Marcellus*, for exposing himself to Blows like a common Soldier. And in short, it is very surprizing, that this famous *Carthaginian* should fight so many Battels, and be present in so many Skirmishes, without being once wounded. However, the Battle of *Canusium* proved very fatal to him. He left eight thousand of his Men dead upon the Spot; and this made him wish more than ever for the Arrival of his Brother *Asdrubal* in *Italy*. Nevertheless, the *Pro Consul* bought his Victory very dear. It not only cost him the Lives of three thousand Men, but he had few Soldiers in his whole Army who escaped without Wounds: which alone freed *Hannibal* from the troublesome Pursuits of his Enemy. *Marcellus* was forced to give his Troops some Respite, led them to *Sinuessæ* in *Campania*, and there kept them during the Heats of the Summer. In the mean time, *Hannibal* decamped in the Night after his Defeat, retired to *Bruttium*, and there entrenched himself, designing to ravage and burn many Places.

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

Appian. in
Hannib.

Livy, B. 27.
c. 14
Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

Livy, B. 27.
c. 15.

§. XLI. BUT whilst *Marcellus* was giving his Troops some Respite, and *Hannibal* was venting his Spleen on the Countries subject to the *Romans*, the *Consul Fulvius Flaccus* took many Places from the *Carthaginian*. *Hirpinia* and *Lucania* now thought it their Interest to change Sides; and they delivered up the

¹⁰⁰ This Tribune's Name was *Flavius*, according to *Plutarch*; who says, he had the Courage to attack the first Elephant he met, and give him a serious Blow with the Shaft of his Ensign.

Cities to the *Consuls*, and likewise the Garrisons *Hannibal* had in them. So that *Fulvius* recovered these two *Provinces* without Blood-shed; and he only reprimanded the Chiefs of the two Nations, and reproached them with their former Revolt. Nay, the *Consul* made an Entrance upon *Bruttium* itself, which had continued faithful to the *Carthaginians*. *Volcentum* ¹⁰¹, a City of that *Province*, surrendered to *Fulvius*, and opened him a Way into this fine Country. The *Bruttii* understood their own Interest. They sent two Brothers, one named *Vibius*, and the other *Pactius*, with a Deputation to the *Consul*, to demand Peace of him, upon the Terms it had been granted to the *Lucani*; and *Fulvius* had regard to the high Birth of the two Deputies, and gave them Hopes of the same Pardon which he had granted to the *Provinces* which had submitted. Thus the two *Roman* Generals gradually paved the Way for the Recovery of *Tarentum*; one by his Victory, the other by his Clemency and prudent Conduct.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMUS,
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS,
Consuls.

FABIUS had taken upon him to recover this City to his Republick, in the Year of his *Consulship*; had been hitherto perfectly well seconded by his Colleague *Fulvius*, and the *Pro-Consul* *Marcellus*; and had spared no Pains himself to answer the Expectations of *Rome*. He had already forced ¹⁰² *Manduria* to surrender, had taken four thousand Men in it, and thereby strengthened himself with a Place of Importance which was but twenty Miles from *Tarentum*. From thence he went and attacked *Tarentum* itself; which was the main Point the *Romans* had in View. Tho' they had always been in Possession of the Citadel, it was of vast Importance to them to take the City itself from *Hannibal*, who looked upon it as a sure Refuge on all Occasions. For this reason, he had provided it with a numerous Garrison, consisting partly of his old Troops, and partly of Levies made among the *Bruttii*, whom he thought very faithful to him; the *Bruttian* Troops having marched into *Tarentum*, before their Nation had entered into any Engagements with the *Consul* *Fulvius*. But it unfortunately happened, that the Commander of the *Bruttii* was not insensible to the Charms of Beauty, and was capable of sacrificing his Duty to the Violence of his Passion. However, *Fabius* did not yet know, that this was the *Bruttian* General's Character; and he therefore made Preparations to take the Place by Force, not in the least expecting to recover it by Surprise. *Carthalo*, one of the bravest of *Hannibal's* Officers, was Commander in chief in the City. So that *Fabius* had reason to fear the Valour of the Governor, and to be apprehensive of the Succours *Hannibal* would infallibly send thither, as soon as he was disengaged from his troublesome Enemy, *Marcellus*. His Army was not far off; and therefore the *Consul* was as expeditious as possible, that he might take the Place before *Hannibal* could relieve it. Preparations were made for the principal Attack, on the Side of the Port. The Garrison of the Citadel, in which *Livius* still commanded for the *Romans*, was to assist them in it. Machines of War were erected on the *Roman* Gallies, and all the Barks and Transport-Ships the Republick had on that Coast, were to be employed in the Siege. On the Gallies were raised some of those *Towers* with several Floors, which were built higher than the Tops of the highest Walls; on Ships of the next Size, *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ* were placed, to throw Stones at the Enemies, which lined the *Courtine*; and the smaller Boats were to be used in bringing Stones and Darts to the *Ballistæ*, and Scaling-Ladders to the Assailants.

THE *Romans* had now nothing to fear from the *Carthaginian* Fleet, which was engaged before *Corcyra*; King *Philip* of *Macedon* was employing it in his War with the *Ætolians*. And as for *Hannibal*, the *Romans* ¹⁰³ amused him in *Bruttium*.

¹⁰¹ *Volcentum* stood South of *Cosentia*, in the Place where *Glocento* now stands, towards the Springs of the River *Ocinarus*, or *Le Savato*, in the extreme Parts of the two *Calabria's*.

¹⁰² The City of *Manduria*, called also *Mandulum*, and *Manduria*, was in the Country of the *Aruntini*, which is at present a Part of *The Territory* *Oranto*. Some will have it to have been near the Place where the City of *Mandula* now stands. Others fix it near the Place where we now see *Casale Nuovo*, at a little distance from the Lake *Andonia*. And indeed this Lake was, according to *Pliny*, *lib. 3.* in the *Territory* of *Manduria*.

¹⁰³ According to *Plutarch*, *Fabius* took care to secure himself against the Attacks of *Hannibal*, before he began the Siege of *Tarentum*. The surest Way to do this, was to find him Employment elsewhere. To this end, the *Consul* made use of a Stratagem which succeeded. He sent Orders to the Garrison of *Rhegium* to make an Incurtion into the Country of the *Bruttii*, ravage their Lands, and endeavour to reduce *Caulonia*, a strong Place, which it was of Importance to the *Carthaginian* General to preserve. This Garrison consisted of eight thousand Men, including the four thousand *Banditti*, which *Laevinus*, (and not *Marcellus*, as *Plutarch* reports) had

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLVIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

Plut. Life of
Fabius.
Liv. B. 27.
c. 15.

Bruttium. This able General was grown quite another Man; he now thought it worth his while to go and relieve *Caulonia*, a City besieged by the Governor of *Rhegium*, with a Body of Men consisting of *Sicilian Banditti* and *Bruttii*, who were in the Interest of *Rome*; and who, upon *Hannibal's* Arrival, entrenched themselves on an Eminence, and defended themselves with Constancy. So that *Fabius* was at full Liberty before *Tarentum*; and he therefore got ready to begin the Attacks with a Courage equal to the Care he had taken in his Preparations for them. Prudence was the great *Fabius's* Talent.

§. XLII. But during these Preparations, a young *Tarentin*, who served in the Army of the Consul, came and communicated a Secret to him; which he concluded must affect him. My Lord, ¹⁰⁴ said he, *Hannibal* formerly surprized *Tarentum* by a Stratagem; and it will not therefore be unworthy of a Roman to recover a City by Address, which the Enemy had not gained but by Artifice. I have a Sister in *Tarentum*, whose Beauty and Wit have captivated the Commander of the *Bruttian* Garrison. I believe I can gain over my Sister to the Party I espouse; and she can infuse our Sentiments into the Mind of her Lover, whom she has absolutely at her Command. If then I reconcile my Sister to *Rome*, the Conquest of the *Bruttian* is certain; and then *Tarentum*, where he commands the strongest Part of the Garrison, will not long hold out against Efforts inspired by Love.

FABIUS did not carry the Roman Virtue to such Austerity, as to refuse to make use of another Man's Passion, to serve the Interests of his Republick; and he thought this new kind of Attack might be more effectual, and less bloody, than those for which he was preparing. He therefore suffered the *Tarentin* to return to his native City, as a Deserter; and the young Soldier had Wit, and understood Business. When he came to live in the same House with his Sister, he was surprized to find the *Bruttian* slack in his Visits to his beloved Mistress; and he suspected that the Officer kept from the House to prevent giving Offence to a Brother, whom he did not think privy to his Addresses. He therefore, to remove the Scruples which he had raised in two Persons, whose Hearts he knew to be strongly united, gave the Affair this Turn. When I was in the Roman Camp, said he to his Sister, you told me in your Letters that you had entertained a Passion for an Officer of the Garrison. Who is he, and why does not he appear? If he is a Man of Honour, let his Birth be what it will, he is not unworthy of some Regard. In Times of War, it is Prudence to procure one's self an Interest among the Foreigners, who may be useful to us. Necessity is then a good Excuse for little Indecencies. The Sister was charmed to find so much Good-nature in her Brother, informed the *Bruttian* of it, and he renewed his Visits. Nor was this all the *Tarentin* did. As soon as he became acquainted with the Officer, he offered to serve him in his Address, and made his Sister yet more complaisant to him. By this means, the Soldier gained the Confidence of the General of the *Bruttii*, studied his Character, and found him full of Levity. This gave him Hopes of prevailing on him to change his Party; and his Negotiation was not useless, as will soon appear. For we think this Account far preferable to that of some Historians, who make *Fabius* himself act the Part of this Soldier. They, with the greatest Improbability, pretend, That the Consul himself had a beautiful *Bruttian* Woman in his Camp, doubtless to serve his Pleasures; That he made her walk near to the Walls of the besieged City; That the General of the Troops of her Country immediately fell in Love with her; and That by her Means the Consul gained over the *Bruttian* General to the Romans. Such a Stain do they throw on the Memory

Plut. Life of
Fabius.

had brought from *Sicily* to *Rhegium*. They had been joined to a Company of *Bruttian* Deserters, who had long been used to pillaging, *Fabius* judged it to be of little Consequence to expose this Company of Villains (who might afterwards prove troublesome to his Republick) to the Fury of the *Carthaginians*. He thought *Rome* would have little reason to lament the Loss of them, if she could thereby make herself Mistress of *Tarentum*. And *Hannibal* fell into the Snare *Fabius* had laid for him. As soon as he heard of the Incursions of the Garrison of *Rhegium*, he began his March to chase these Pilla-

gers; and found them besieging *Caulonia*. When *Hannibal* approached with his Army, the Besieged immediately retired to an Eminence, to guard themselves against it, and were there invested for some Days. But at length they were forced by *Fabius* to capitulate. After this, *Hannibal* advanced, with long Marches, to relieve *Tarentum*; but came too late. News was brought him on the Road, that the Romans were Masters of it.

¹⁰⁴ *Livy* says, that the *Tarentine* Soldier's Sister had told him in her Letters, that she was fallen desperately in Love with the *Bruttian* Captain.

of one of the most virtuous Generals *Rome* ever had; either for Want of Information, or out of an ill Design. But to proceed.

THE young *Tarentine* having succeeded in his Intrigue in the besieged City, stole out of it in the sixth Night after the Attacks had been begun, and came to the *Consul's* Tent. He found an Opportunity to come, between the Hours when the *Tarentine* Guards patrolled round the Place: And then he informed *Fabius* of what had been agreed on, between the *Bruttian* Officer and himself. He shewed him the Gate where the *Bruttian*, with his Troop, would be upon Guard; and assured him, that he would not fail delivering it up to the *Romans*. Upon which, the *Consul* ordered all things to be got ready for a general Assault to be made, on both the Sea and Land-Side, at once; and about Six in the Evening all the *Roman* Forces marched out of their Camp, and Citadel, and came to make an Assault upon the City, especially on that Side where they did not expect to enter it. There the Air resounded, with the most vigorous Shouts of the Assaultants; in order to draw the greatest Part of those who defended the City thither; whilst the Machines from the Gallies in the Port were played with great Fury; and the Clamours of those within the City were confounded with those without.

IN the mean time, *Fabius* himself marched very silently, with a great Detachment, towards that Part of the Wall which had been shewn him, and where the *Tarentini* seemed very quiet, because they saw no Approaches made that way; and the *Bruttian* General giving *Fabius* the Signal, the Ladders were immediately planted for the Assault. The *Romans*, assisted by the *Bruttii*, soon mounted the Rampart, and from thence marched into the Heart of the City. Then they advanced farther, and went to break open a Gate to let in their own Troops. And when *Fabius* saw he had Strength enough, he turned towards the Market-place, and ordered his Soldiers to give a great Shout. This immediately brought all the Garrison from the Walls to the Place where they heard the Noise; and there a Battle ensued, which was more sharp than long. The Citizens of *Tarentum*, who were the greatest Number of the Combatants, had neither the Courage, Address, nor Vigour of the *Romans*; and they threw down their Arms, that they might not encumber them in their Flight. *Nico* and *Democrates* fell bravely in the Action. But *Philomenes* the Traitor, who had treacherously taken the City from the *Romans*, fled like a Madman, from the Fight, to avoid the Vengeance of the Enemy. It was believed that he, out of Despair, threw himself into an open Well. At least, he never appeared more; his Horse was found, but the Body of the Rider was never discovered. The unfortunate *Carthalo* had laid down his Arms, and was walking towards the *Consul*, whose Favour he doubted not of obtaining, upon the Remembrance of the Hospitalities which had been reciprocally shewn each other by his Family, and that of *Fabius*. But a merciless Soldier cut off his Head, before he could come at the General. And then the Fury of the *Romans* displayed itself against all they met, without Distinction. *Carthaginians*, *Tarentini*, and even *Bruttii*, were all slaughtered. Some indeed say, none of the latter were killed, but in the first Rage of the Soldiers, who were warmed with the Slaughter. Whilst others contend, that the *Romans* killed them in cold Blood, to satisfy the old Hatred they bore to them. And some others lay all the blame of this odious Massacre on *Fabius*. They pretend, that this General himself gave the cruel Orders, that those who had delivered up *Tarentum* should first be slaughtered; and that his Motive to this was his Fear, lest if he spared them, his fine Conquest should be imputed more to Treachery, than to Force of Arms. At thus much at least must be said in his Behalf, that if *Fabius* did sacrifice his benefactors to his Vanity, he strangely forgot himself; since if that was the Case, the most mild and moderate of all the *Romans*, was become all at once the most cruel of Men.

§. XLIII. After this bloody Butchery, the City was given up to be plundered. There were almost as many stately Decorations in it, as there had formerly

by The *Bruttii* were hated by the *Romans*, ever from their first erecting the Standard of Rebellion at *Rome*, upon *Hannibal's* Arrival in *Italy*. So after the second *Punic* War, *Rome* reduced to so low a State, that they became a Reproach

among their Neighbours. They were employed in the vilest Offices. The Magistrates in the *Provinces* generally made them *Lictors*, and *Executioners*, as we are told by *Anlus Gellius*, B. 10. c. 3.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLVIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

Livy. B. 27.

c. 15.
Plut. Life of
Fabius.

Livy. B. 27.
c. 15.

Plut. Life of
Fabius.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.
Livy, B. 27.
c. 16.

merly been in *Syracuse*; and the Number of its Inhabitants was very considerable. The *Romans* found no less than thirty thousand there, whom they ¹⁰⁶ all sold for Slaves. The Riches of this maritime City were immense. The Quantity of Silver that was carried from thence in Money and ¹⁰⁷ Plate, was very great. And the *Quæstors* received there for the publick Treasury eighty seven thousand ¹⁰⁸ Pounds Weight of Gold. With regard to the Pictures and Statues with which this City was adorned, *Fabius* spared them more than *Marcellus* had done, in the sacking of *Syracuse*. The latter had a very different Taste for Arts, from *Fabius*; who seemed to neglect these useless Ornaments of the luxurious *Tarentini*. Perhaps he was afraid of enriching *Rome* with them, and enervating thereby the Courage of a warlike People, who would have been too fond of these fine Curiosities. But whatever was his Motive, the *Consul* gave the Secretary of the *Quæstors* an Answer which all the Ancients extol. When asked what he would have done with these Master-pieces of Painting and Sculpture, he replied, *Let us leave to the Tarentini their angry Gods*; alluding to the Attitudes the Painters and Sculptors gave the Gods of *Tarentum*. They represented them all after the *Lacædemonian* Manner, with Arms in their Hands, and in fighting Postures. And indeed, as the *Consul* observed, these *angry Gods* had proved very inauspicious to the City which worshipped them.

Strabo.
Plin. B. 34.
Plut. Life of
Fabius.

NEVERTHELESS, the Moderation of *Fabius* did not prevent his carrying to *Rome* a *Colossus* of *Hercules*, which was of Brass, and had been cast by the famous ¹⁰⁹ *Lysippus*. It was placed in the *Capitol*, by the *Equestrian* Statue, that was erected in Honour to *Fabius*. But the Difficulty of removing it, made him not carry to *Rome* another *Colossus* of a much greater Size; which is said to have been forty *Cubits* high. And after all, People judge very differently of this Reservedness of *Fabius*. Upon comparing his Conduct at *Tarentum*, with that of *Marcellus* at *Syracuse*, many judge that the latter better consulted the Interests of *Rome*, than the former. The one was a Man of greater Politeness, and a more refined Taste; the other a Man of greater Severity of Temper. However, the new Conquest gave the *Romans* great Joy. *Tarentum* was now absolutely reduced; and the Wall *Hannibal* had built between the City and Citadel, was destroyed. *Livius* still continued Governour of it, as he had been at the Time it had been surprized. Nevertheless, his Constancy in maintaining the Citadel so long, did not entirely obliterate the Disgrace of having suffered the City to be taken by *Hannibal*. We shall soon see him accused before the Senate.

Plut. ibid.

Livy, B. 27.
c. 16.
Plut. Life of
Fabius.

As for the *Carthaginian* General, the unexpected News of the Siege of *Tarentum* had brought him into *Bruttium*; and he immediately marched away to relieve it. After having come to a Capitulation with the Governour of *Rhegium*, and the *Sicilian Banditti*, whom he kept invested, he advanced with long Marches towards that Side of the City which *Fabius* invested; and he was but five Miles from *Tarentum*, when he received an Account that the *Roman Consul* had, in his turn, made himself Master of the City by Artifice. Upon which he cried out, in great Astonishment, *Have then the Romans their Hannibal too?* But his Surprize did not make him take one shameful Step. He did not immediately turn about; but encamped at the Place where he heard the News, and continued there some Days. Not to retire before a victorious Enemy, was in some measure to save his Honour. But a

¹⁰⁶ Or, according to *Plutarch*, thirty thousand Citizens of *Tarentum*, who escaped the general Massacre, were reduced to Slavery, and sold to the best Bidder.

¹⁰⁷ *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Romans* got in this Plunder, three thousand *Talents* of Silver in Money. That is, about nine Millions of *French Livres*, according to our Valuation of the *Talent*. And the same Historian adds, that this Money was put into the publick Treasury.

¹⁰⁸ If, as *Pliny* says, B. 33. c. 3. *Cyrus* got no more than thirty three thousand Pounds Weight of Gold Money, in the Spoils of all *Asia*, it is scarce credible that one City should produce eighty seven thousand Pounds Weight of Gold, exclusive of the three thousand *Talents* that *Plutarch* mentions. And this therefore makes some Moderns suspect, that

there is some Mistake, or Error, in *Livy's* Account

¹⁰⁹ *Lysippus*, a Native of *Sicyone*, lived in the Time of *Alexander the Great*. From a Loafsmith, he became a Painter, and then applied himself wholly to Sculpture; in which he succeeded well, that most of his Works were thought Masterpieces. The Statue of the Sun, in a Chariot drawn by four Horses, erected at *Rhodes*, and several Statues he made of *Alexander the Great*, and his Favourites, have immortalized the Name of this excellent Statuary. The *Romans* particularly admired the Statue he made of a Man rubbing himself in a Bath. His great Excellency was his natural Manner, representing the Hair. The three Children he placed behind him, acquired a general Reputation in the same Way; but *Antyochus*, who was the last, called his two Brothers. See *Pliny*, B. 34. c. 7.

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length, *Hannibal* retreated to *Metapontus*, a City in his Interest; and there the cunning *Carthaginian* invented such a Stratagem, as had like to have deceived *Fabius*, and drawn him into a Snare. *Hannibal* sent two *Metapontini* to *Fabius*, from *Metapontus*, with Letters from the chief Men of that City, offering to deliver up the Place, and the *Carthaginian* Garrison, to the *Roman*, if he would promise them Oblivion for what was past, and Security for the future. Accordingly *Fabius*, not suspecting any Contrivance between *Hannibal* and the *Metapontini*, promised the Deputies all they asked, and fixed the Day when he would come to their City; and as soon as the *Carthaginian* knew this, he prepared an Ambuscade between *Tarentum* and *Metapontus*. But the *Augurs* and *Aruspices* in the *Roman* Army, who were doubtless more suspicious, and had better Intelligence, than their General, told him, when he was ready to set out, That the *Auspices* were not favourable; and That the Entrails of the Victims foreboded nothing but Misfortunes. However, the *Consul* was not superstitious, and having but an indifferent Opinion of Divination, it was his natural Dilatoriness, and the Suspicions of his Friends, rather than the Art of the Diviners, that detained him at *Tarentum*. And in the mean time, *Hannibal*, impatient of *Fabius*'s Delays, contrived to have another Deputation sent to him; which was not received as the former. These Envoys were arrested, and intimidated, by Order of *Fabius*; and at the sight of the Punishments they were threatened with, they confessed that all they had done was at the Instigation of *Hannibal*, who had laid an Ambuscade to surprize the *Consul*. So that the cunning Artifices of the Enemy served only to make *Fabius* the more cautious; and he contented himself with his new Conquest, which was the last he gained over *Hannibal*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIII.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLVIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 27.
c. 16.

Cit. de Senec.

§. XLIV. THUS three famous *Roman* Generals then shared all the Glory of the Success of the Arms of the Republick in *Italy*; and the Exploits of *Fabius*, *Marcellus*, and *Fulvius*, were much celebrated there. But the Reputation of the latter dwindled away by degrees; and the News which was brought from *Spain* raised *Scipio*'s Fame above that of *Fulvius* at least, who had not lately signalized himself by any remarkable Enterprize. Both People and Senate were full of the Praises of the young Hero; who had lately taken more Countries from the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, than ever *Hannibal* had taken from the *Romans*.

AND indeed, since the taking of *New Carthage*, *Scipio* had signalized his Campaign by very remarkable Exploits. He did not suffer his Soldiers to be enervated with Pleasures and Ease, during his Stay in the Place he had conquered; but continually kept both Sea and Land-Forces to such Exercises as were fit to form them for great Expeditions. At Sea, he obliged the Crews of his Ships to sweat at the Oar, and move his Gallies with Swiftness and Dexterity; and appointed his Land-Forces different Exercises for every Day. On the first Day, his *Legions* were ordered to appear under Arms, in a vast Plain, and to march very fast for four Miles together, as if it were to prevent an Enemy, or surprize an advantageous Post. On the second, they were ordered to clean their Arms. On the third they rested. On the fourth, he made some tilt at one another with Lances guarded with Leather at the Points, that they might not kill one another; and exercised others in throwing at each other Darts guarded with Buttons, and warding them off with their Bucklers. And the fifth began the same Exercises over again. So that *Scipio* kept them always employed, without giving them any more Rest than one Day in four. He had likewise made it one of his chief Cares, to inspect his Armourers. He visited them several times every Day, ordered Provisions to be given them in great Plenty, and encouraged them to hasten their Works. These old Inhabitants of *New Carthage* supported their Slavery with Pleasure, and took Delight in making Arms for the *Roman* Army. The whole City rung with the Noise of the Forges which were employed in working Iron, or hardening Steel. In short, *New Carthage* seemed to be now one great Arsenal. *Scipio* raised its Walls on the Side of the Port, with all possible Expedition; fortified that Part by which he had entered it; and after having settled a strong Garrison in it, left it. *TARRAGONA* had always been faithful to the *Romans*, and the Resort of the Ships of their Republick. As soon therefore as the Weather would permit, *Scipio* ordered his Fleet thither; and marching thither himself with his Land-army, and Part of the Hostages he had found at *New Carthage*, he there exercised his

Polyb. B. 10.
c. 20.

Polyb. Ibid.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLVIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

his Cavalry as carefully as he had done his Infantry, in the Place where he had spent Part of the Year. He would have every Horseman learn to turn his Horse from right to left, and *vice versa*, and to wheel quite round, upon the first Signal. He likewise would have whole Squadrons learn to make the same Evolutions as single Men; and required that every Brigade should be taught to break off from the Body, when it should be necessary, to ride full Speed on the Enemy; and then to return at once to their Ranks in good Order. And lastly, he ordered that the whole Body of the Cavalry should be taught, sometimes to move from the Head of the Infantry to the Flanks, then to the hindmost Lines; and how to make Attacks on an Enemy, and to receive theirs. *Scipio* himself taught his Horse-Officers these different Motions; and required that they should teach them their Troops: And he went himself to all the Villages in which his Cavalry were cantoned; informed himself of the Progress every one made in the new Discipline; took a particular Account of those who shewed more or less Dexterity and Skill; and lastly, ordered a general Review of all his Cavalry, and exercised them himself. He did not approve of the Method used by many Generals, in his time; and his own Method survived him. He never placed himself in the first Line of his Army; which was rather choosing to give them an Example, than to direct and regulate their Motions. He thought this was exposing the General too much, and was depending too much on the Prudence of Subalterns. In this Situation, said he, the General is seen by all his Troops, and sees no body himself. He therefore never had any fixed Station; but was continually moving to all Parts. He was sometimes at the Head, sometimes in the Rear, and sometimes in the Center of his *Legions*; encouraging some, restraining the Impetuosity of others, and animating all, by his Example. And he did the same at the Reviews and Exercises. He ran thro' all the Lines, praised the Address of some, and rectified the Faults of others. Till at length he made his Soldiers so expert that he could find little Fault with their Motions. So that an Army so well disciplined, and formed by so great a Hand, might well be judged invincible; and we shall see that in fact it was so.

Livy, B. 27.
c. 17.
Polyb. B. 10.
3c. 1.

§. XLV. NEVERTHELESS, these military Employments did not cause *Scipio* to neglect doing an Act of the most refined Policy. In order to reconcile the little Sovereigns of *Spain* to him, and gain the Affections of their People, he sent back the Hostages the *Carthaginians* had formerly required of them; and a *Spanish* King named *Edesco*, whose Power was greater than that of the rest, seconded him in his Designs. As soon as *New Carthage* was taken, this prudent Prince foresaw that the whole *Spanish* Nation would declare for the young Conqueror; and he conceived Hopes that *Scipio* would restore him his Wife and Children, which were fallen into the Hands of the *Romans*. Nor was this all. If he declared himself first for the victorious Party, he imagined he should be respected for making the first Advances, and have the Credit of all the Alliances that *Rome* would infallibly make with other Princes. Besides, this was securing his Reputation at least; since it was not natural to believe that he was now forced to embrace the strongest Party. All these Considerations therefore induced *Edesco* to go to *Tarragona*, where *Scipio* spent the rest of the Winter; and he carried with him his Household, and his Friends, who made a considerable Train; and *Scipio* was exceedingly rejoiced at his Arrival. He had long had a Design to draw off as many of the *Spanish* Lords as possible, from the *Carthaginian* Interest, and make them Friends to *Rome*; and he was charmed to hear *Edesco* make him this Speech. *It is, said he to the Pro-Consul, a singular Favour of the Gods to me, that none of the Kings of this Country have prevented me, in the Advances I now make to you. Other Princes do yet halt between the Carthaginians and the Romans. They stretch out their Hands to the latter, and at the same time send private Embassies to the former. They are not yet determined to choose the best Side; which proceeds from a Double-mindedness, which I abhor. For my own Part, I come, my Lord, freely to offer you my Assistance, and the Services of my Relations and Friends: And perhaps my good Offices may not be useless to you. As soon as you have granted the Request I am going to make, I shall have all the other Princes crowd to my Palace, and desire me, to use my Interest in you, to obtain for them the same Favour. Restore me then my Wife and Children, and receive me under the Protection, of Rome, and int*

an Alliance with her, and you shall be secure of my Heart, and thereby of the Hearts of all the Kings of the Country. The Promise I make is an advantageous one to the Romans; and Experience will always prove it such.

SCIPIO was much pleased with this Discourse, received the King very graciously, and gave him Testimonies of a great Affection. The *Pro-Consul* not only granted *Edesco* all he asked, and made a perpetual Alliance with him; but kept the *Spanish* Prince with him for some time, greatly carested his Relations and Friends, and gave them great Expectations. And as soon as the Report of this favourable Reception was spread beyond the *Ebro*, the Nations which were formerly Enemies to *Rome*, renounced the *Carthaginian* Party with great Sincerity. Upon which the *Pro-Consul* judging that a Fleet could no longer be of any Use to him; he landed all his Marines, Seamen and Rowers; incorporated them among his *Legionaries*; and thereby considerably increased his Army. Then with these Troops so well qualified to take the Field, *Scipio* left *Tarragona*, accompanied by *Laelius*, his faithful Friend, now returned from *Rome*; without whom, *Scipio* would undertake nothing; and had therefore delayed his Departure, till he arrived.

§. XLVI. THE *Carthaginian* Forces in *Spain* were yet divided into three Bodies, commanded by three different Generals; and the Dissentions among them, as well as the Necessity of their Affairs, had driven them into different *Provinces*. The nearest to the *Romans* was *Asdrubal* the Brother of *Hannibal*; and *Scipio* therefore advanced towards him, with Design to fight him, before the other *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisco*, and *Mago*, had joined him. The Army the former *Asdrubal* commanded was indeed more numerous than that of the *Pro-Consul*; but, the Troops which *Masinissa* had brought him from *Numidia* excepted, it almost wholly consisted of *Spaniards*, who served him more out of Fear, than any Affection for *Carthage*. This plainly appeared, when *Scipio* came to encamp near *Asdrubal*. For then the little *Spanish* Kings, who much enlarged the *Carthaginian* Army, thought of nothing but deserting. There were among them two Sovereigns of great Distinction, whose Names were *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*; of whom *Asdrubal*, wholly bent upon obeying the Orders of his Republick, and going into *Italy* to his Brother, had demanded great Sums of Money; and to secure the Payment of them, had taken their Wives and Children for Hostages. At the taking of *New Carthage*, these Hostages had fallen into *Scipio's* Hands, who now had these precious Pledges in his Camp; and this at once gave the two Kings an Aversion to the *Carthaginian* Government, and an Inclination to go over to the *Romans*. They only wanted an Opportunity, otherwise they had put their Plot in Execution sooner; the Restraint under which they were kept in *Asdrubal's* Camp, was what alone prevented it. But at length, they found a favourable Moment to escape together; crossed a long Chain of Mountains, which lay between the Camps of the two Enemies; came to the *Roman* General's Tent; and *Indibilis*, who was the Speaker, presented his Request in these Words.

MY Lord, we are very sensible, that the Name of Deserters does no Honour to those who take it, either among the old Allies they leave, or the new ones they join. Nevertheless, we are come to dedicate ourselves, and our Troops, to your Service. Let then the just Causes of our Desertion wipe off the Odium that sticks to the Name of a Deserter! How many important Services have we done the *Carthaginian* Generals? And how have they rewarded us? We have received the worst Treatment at their Hands, that Pride and Avarice could tempt Men to shew, to two miserable conquered Princes. And therefore our Hearts have long been alienated from *Carthage*, and are become entirely *Roman*. Here we meet with the same Clemency, as when we address ourselves to the Gods. Here Equity and Politeness reign. We don't pretend to make a Merit of the Preference we have given to you; but we intreat you not to put an ill Construction on our Inconstancy. Try us; and judge of us only by our future Deportment, and by real Services. A Speech which had nothing barbarous in it; which did not tend to magnify their Merit in preferring the *Roman* Cause; which contained some fine Compliments mixed with just Complaints against their Oppressors; and which was heard with Pleasure. *Scipio* held out his Hand to the two Kings, and promised not to look upon them as Deserters. No religious Ties, said he, bound you

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLVIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLVIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

Polyb. B. 10.
c. 34.

Livy. B. 27.
c. 18.

Livy. *ibid.*

Polyb. B. 10.
c. 35.

Livy, B. 27.
c. 18.

you to our Enemies; and where Violence reigns, Contracts are not indissoluble. Your having broken them, is no Infraction either of divine or human Laws. Which said, he ordered their Wives and Children to be brought into the Presence of the two Kings, who were transported with Joy at the Sight of them, and burst out into Tears. Then the Roman restored them to their Husbands, and their Fathers; and desired *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* to tarry some Days with him, and accept of the most hospitable and kind Reception he could give them. After which, they brought their Troops to the Roman Camp, and mixed them with the Auxiliaries of the Republick; and *Scipio* made use of these two Kings as his Guides, in his March to meet *Asdrubal*.

§. XLVII. THE Carthaginian General was in a terrible Perplexity. Being abandoned by the Spaniards, destitute of the Succours he might expect from his two Collegues, and hard pressed by a Roman Army, he hesitated, whether he should give Battel; but at last resolved upon it. *If I come off Conqueror*, said he to himself, *I shall then have time to consider what to do. If Fortune does not favour me, I will gather together the Remains of my Troops after the Defeat, and make the best of my Way cross the Pyrenees into Gaul, and so on to Italy. So that I shall either make the Romans fly from me, before I leave Spain; or I will revenge my Rout upon them in the Heart of their own Country.* *Asdrubal's* Camp was then pitched in the Country of the *Castellani*, at a little distance from the River *Tech*, and near a City called ¹¹⁰ *Bacula*. *Livy*, after *Polybius*, confounds this River, which is little known, with the *Tagus*; as he had confounded the *Drance* with the *Durance*, in his Relation of *Hannibal's* Passage over the *Alpes*. The Carthaginian had placed Advanced-Guards round his Camp; and by their Behaviour *Scipio* judged favourably of the Success of a Battel. They gave way upon the first Onset, and were driven back quite to their Entrenchments; and then the Pro-Consul gave himself time to encamp, fully resolving to attack the Enemy. But in the Night *Asdrubal* posted his Troops on an Eminence in a fine Plain, watered by a River, which winding round the Eminence, made it a *Peninsula*. So that the Carthaginian chose his Ground to great Advantage; and *Scipio*, who formed his Army near his own Camp, perceiving from thence the Enemy so advantageously posted; the Sight of a numerous Army, entrenched in a kind of inaccessible Citadel, surprized him, and kept him two Days in doubt, whether he should attack them. But in the mean time he considered, that he might by these Delays give the Armies of *Mago*, and the other *Asdrubal*, time to join their Generalissimo; and the Fear of being surrounded by three Carthaginian Armies determined him. He sought all Opportunities to begin the Action; kept his Army continually in the Field looking at the Enemy, who were obstinately bent not to come down from their Eminence to fight in the Plain; and shewing his Soldiers the Carthaginians drawn up in fine Order as it were in an Amphitheater, he addressed himself to his Troops in this manner. *The Enemy is afraid of you, since he dares not venture to face you on even Ground. Courage gives Men more Confidence than Asdrubal discovers. Shall then his Eminence be sufficient to protect him against our Arms? Were not the Walls of New Carthage higher, and more difficult of Access, than a little Hill, on which we can openly see the Enemy? No Dangers, either by Sea or Land, could affright you there. And what will Asdrubal get by posting his Troops*

¹¹⁰ *Ptolomy* mentions the City of *Bacula*, and places it in the Country of the *Ausetani*, or *Autetani*, that is, in that Part of Spain which reaches from the Pyrenees to *Gironne* and *Vic*. In some Manuscripts of *Livy* we find the Names of *Betula*, and *Besula*; whence some conjecture, that this was the City of *Besalu* in *Catalonia*. If that was the Situation of *Bacula*, it would very well suit with *Asdrubal's* Design, at this time, of going into Gaul; but it will not agree with *Polybius's* Relation, who supposes, B. 10. that this City was near *Castulo*. And *Livy* seems to have been of that Opinion, when, after speaking of the Battel which was fought between the Romans and Carthaginians, he says, that *Scipio* passed by the Streight of *Castulo*, in order to return to *Tarragona*. From whence it follows, that *Bacula* was in the Country of the *Oretani*, which

is now a Part of *New Castille*. And according to the same Latin Author, *Asdrubal*, who was vanquished at *Bacula*, near the *Tagus*, which rises in the Confines of *Celtiberia*, fled towards the Pyrenees. All things considered therefore, it is most probable, that the Battel was fought in the Country of the old *Castellani*, a People of *Catalonia*, who bordered on the *Ausetani*, and the Pyrenees. So that *Livy* and *Polybius* may have confounded the Territory of *Castulo* with that of the *Castellani*. They likewise may have both taken the *Tagus* for the *Tech*, a little River which runs from the Pyrenees, passes by *Gironne*, and falls into the Sea. And lastly, if the Battel had been fought near the *Tagus*, it would have been more natural for *Scipio* to have returned to *Tarragona* by Mount *Idabeda*, than by The Streight of *Castulo*, which would have been out of his Way.

on a Rock? Your Courage is such, that you will certainly put them to Flight; and then their only Advantage will be that of falling from Top to Bottom, in their Rout, and beating one another down the Precipices: And I will take care to shut up all the Ways, by which they can escape. Which said, *Scipio* immediately detached some *Manipuli* to guard the Neck of Land that led to the Hill between the Windings of the River; and to seize the hollow and slippery Way that led from the Rock of *Bacula* to the Plain.

AFTER these Dispositions, the *Roman* General himself drew out his light-armed Infantry, and even the Servants of his Army; and led them to the Attack of the Rock, which had several Flats upon it. On the first of these, *Asdrubal* had planted those of his Soldiers on whom he little depended, and who were used to begin Battels with throwing Stones and Darts; but he had not yet vouchsafed to draw his regular Troops out of his Camp, taking it for granted, that the *Romans* would not have the Boldness to attack him in a Place he thought inaccessible. Nevertheless, they advanced to the Foot of the Rock, without any Obstruction, except those of the Bushes and Thorns; and as soon as they were within reach, they felt a Shower of Stones and Darts, which were thrown on their Heads from the Enemy above. Upon which, they in their Turns armed themselves with Stones, which they found in great Plenty upon the Place, to drive the Enemy from this first Post; and their Skill in scaling Walls was here of use to them. They climbed up to the first Flat, upon their Hands and Feet; and when they were got up to it, it was easy to make themselves Masters of it. The Troops that opposed them were not used to rally, or stand their Ground. So that the *Romans* killed many of them, and forced the rest to climb up, with much Difficulty, to the Top of the Hill: And then the Affair became more serious. *Scipio* returned to the main Body of his Army, and dividing his *Legions* into two Parts, gave one to *Laelius*, to mount the Attack to the Right, whilst he with the other fell on the Enemy, to the Left. The *Pro-Consul* had not far to march round; and then the *Carthaginians* were attacked on three Sides at once; in Front, by the Detachment which had made themselves Masters of the first Flat, and which did their utmost to get up to the second; and in the two Flanks, by the *Legionaries* that *Scipio* and *Laelius* commanded. In the mean time, *Asdrubal* drew his Army out of his Entrenchments, and was yet forming them, when *Laelius* appeared on the Eminence. He had chosen the easiest Ascent, and was come, without any Resistance, to the Top of the Hill, where he was upon a level with the Enemy; who not expecting to see the *Romans* so soon in a Condition to fight them upon even Ground, were not all formed. *Laelius* therefore took Advantage of this Disorder, whilst *Scipio* was yet climbing up to attack the Enemy on the Left.

IN the right, the Wing *Laelius* commanded fell with Fury on those Battalions which were formed; and they retired, and caused Confusion among the Corps, which were marching to their Posts. Whilst in the Left, the Detachment *Scipio* commanded gave a Shout, and seemed ready to fall on the Enemy's Right Wing in Flank. Upon which, the Disorder in the *Carthaginian* Army was universal. The Soldiers all fled towards the Camp, the Elephants mixed with the Cavalry and Infantry, and all pressed to get into it. *Scipio* and *Laelius* pursued them, and made a terrible Havock of them. It is said, that *Asdrubal* lost eight thousand Men in this single Action, including those, who running down the Rock to escape, fell by the Hands of the *Manipuli*, whom *Scipio* had posted in the Avenues to it. As for the *Carthaginian* General, he upon the first Sight of the Rout, took his Measures. Being still resolved to go into *Italy*, according to the Orders he received from *Carthage*, he got together as many of the Elephants and Soldiers as he could, passed the *Tech*, and fled for Refuge to the *Pyrenees*, in order to penetrate into *Gaul*. *Masinissa*, who would not desert him in his ill Fortune, followed him; and *Scipio* did not give himself much trouble about pursuing the Enemy in his Retreat. He contented himself with pillaging the deserted Camp, and making Prisoners there; the Number of which was no less than ten thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. But the Conqueror made a great difference between some of these unfortunate Men, and others. He sent all the *Spaniards* home, without Ransom; but put the *Carthaginians* into the *Quæstor's* Hands, to be sold for the Benefit of the Republick.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLVIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

Polyb. B. 10.
c. 36.

Livy, B. 27.
c. 18.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 10.
c. 37.

Livy, B. 27.
c. 19.

Polyb. B. 10.
c. 37.

Livy, B. 27.
c. 19.

Livy, *ibid.*

§. XLVIII. THE Fame of this memorable Action, which seemed beyond the Power of Man, was soon spread in the neighbouring Countries; upon which the little *Spanish* Kings, which had hitherto appeared well affected to the *Carthaginians*, immediately repaired to the *Roman* Camp. And then, the young Hero gained a greater Victory over himself, than that after the taking of *New Carthage*, which had acquired him such Renown. He had in the former Instance shewn so great a Mastery over his Inclinations, as to abstain from a beautiful Captive, with whom he had fallen in Love at first Sight. But now he did something more, amidst the Glitter of his new Glory. *Scipio* was as much Master of his Ambition, as his Love. *Edesco* had in his first Interview already called him King, which the *Pro-Consul* not observing, had expressed no Dislike to the Title, tho' so odious to his Republick. But now, when many Sovereigns lay prostrate at his Feet, and *Indibilis*, in the Name of all the rest, gave him that Appellation, and saluted him King, the bare mention of the Name made him tremble. And to make his whole Army the more sensible of his Indignation at it, he assembled his Troops, and bespoke them thus, in the Presence of the *Spanish* Princes.

THE Title of General of the Roman Armies is sufficient for me; and this Rome has given me. The Gods forbid that I should assume any other! Do you, Soldiers, continue to call me your General. And as for you, Princes, if out of Affection to me, you now honour me with a Title esteemed by you, but very odious to us; be content for the future with seeing me exert all the good Qualities which you annex to that Name. You shall find me a beneficent Protector, and shall feel the Happiness of the gentle Government of the Romans. But as for the Appellation of King, I abhor it, and desire you never to give it me more. Nor was this Speech purely an Effect of the Policy of the *Pro-Consul*; a sincere Affection for the Government established in his Country dictated it to him: as appeared by his Conduct in all the Countries where he afterwards extended his Victories. He was the Conqueror of *Spain, Africa, Asia, and Syria*; and might in all Places have accepted the Crowns that were offered him. But he always refused them; and only conquered, to subject the vast Countries he subdued to his Republick. Happy *Rome*, to have had so disinterested a Subject!

THE *Spanish* Sovereigns themselves were charmed with the Moderation of the young Conqueror. They did not comprehend, how a Man could have Resolution enough to decline a Title superior to all others. The *Roman* made them all Presents, and gave *Indibilis* Leave to choose himself three hundred Horses; and when they returned into their own Countries, they celebrated the Fame of their amiable Conqueror, and were ever after faithful to him.

§. XLIX. IN the mean time, *Scipio* continued in the Camp *Asdrubal* had deserted; and when he was preparing to remove from thence, a young Prince was brought before him, whom the *Quæstor* had found among the Captives. He had been informed by him, that he was of the Blood Royal, and related to *Masinissa*; and being in the Flower of his Age, very beautiful, and having an Air of Grandeur in his Deportment, suitable to his Birth, the *Quæstor* thought it necessary to acquaint the General with his Case. Then *Scipio* asked him Questions about his Country, his Birth, and the Reasons which had forced him to take up Arms: And his Reply was, *I am a Numidian; and my Name Massiva. I was left an Orphan young; and having been brought up in the Court of Gala, King of Numidia, my Grandfather by the Mother's Side, I followed my Uncle Masinissa into Spain, with the Reinforcements of Horse which that King brought hither to Asdrubal the Carthaginian. I never saw any Battel before the last, having been, on account of my Age, forbidden to come out of the Camp, in time of Action. But the Day the Romans fought Asdrubal, I, unknown to my Uncle, mounted on Horseback, and came to the Fight. My Horse threw me, and I was taken Prisoner; and I acknowledge the Power of my Conqueror.* Upon which *Scipio* ordered that Care should be taken of the young Prince; and That he should be treated as such. And after the General had finished some other Affairs, he returned to his Tent, sent for *Massiva* and asked him if he desired to return to the King his Uncle. The young *Numidian* answered, with Tears in his Eyes, that it was the utmost of his Wishes. And then *Scipio*, (who had worn off much of the Ferocity which was the Character of the first *Romans*; and made War like a gallant Man,) dressed the young Prince

a very rich Habit; gave him a *Spanish* Sword adorned with a Gold Buckle, a Cloak embroidered after the *Roman* Manner, and put a Gold Ring on his Finger; made him a Present of an Horse richly accoutred; and in this Manner sent him back, under a Guard of Horse. These were the Methods by which the *Pro-Con-*
ful gained the Affections even of his Enemies; and in this particular Instance, he seemed to provide for the future. We shall hereafter find, that *Rome* will have no Friends more sincere in their Affection, than *Masinissa* and his *Numidians*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLVIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

§. L. THE Flight of *Asdrubal*, and his March over the *Pyrenees*, gave *Scipio* some Uneasiness; and it being deliberated in a Council of War, whether he should pursue him, fight him a second time, oppose his Departure, and prevent his passing into *Italy*; some were against giving this vanquished Enemy a Moment's time to breathe. But *Scipio* judged better. He concluded, That the two Armies of *Mago* and the Son of *Gisco*, would infallibly join *Asdrubal*; and, That it would be dangerous for the *Romans* to have three Armies upon them at once. And he therefore thought it sufficient to detach some Troops to seize certain Passages in the *Pyrenees*; whilst he led his victorious Army into the Heart of *Spain*, settled all the Countries there in Peace, and received many Nations into an Alliance with the *Romans*. And these Things were the Business of the rest of the Campaign. He was already returning to *Tarragona*, and was passed the Defiles of the Country of the *Castellani*, when he received the News that the three *Carthaginian* Armies were joined.

MAGO and the other *Asdrubal* were indeed come into the extreme Parts of *Spain*, a little too late to relieve *Hannibal's* Brother; but nevertheless the three Commanders held useful Conferences together; consulted about the common Interest of the *Carthaginians*; and all agreed that there were but two Things to be done, in the present Posture of Affairs. One was, for *Asdrubal* to pass thro' *Gaul* into *Italy*; which they said the present State of Things would have required, if no Orders had come from *Carthage* about it. The other was for the *Carthaginians* to confine themselves to *Lusitania*, near *The Streights of Gades*; since there alone, the *Roman* Name was yet scarce known. They took it for granted, That the *Spaniards* would continue their Desertions; That *Scipio* was not far off; and That wherever he came, he would always draw over the People into his Interest. And the Result of the Consultation was, That the Son of *Gisco* should resign up his Troops to *Mago*, and go into the *Baleares* Islands with large Sums of Money, to make new Levies; That *Mago*, in the mean time, should go and post himself in *Lusitania*, at the Bottom of *Spain*; and That *Asdrubal* should prepare to go and join his Brother in *Italy*, with as many *Spanish* Troops as he could get together. As for *Masinissa*, three thousand of the best of the Cavalry were given him; to support the Allies the *Carthaginians* had left in the Heart of *Spain*, and to ravage the Enemy's Countries. And after these Dispositions, the Chiefs parted, and each retired to his Post.

§. LI. AT *Rome*, the News that was brought from *Spain*, gave the People and Senate an high Esteem and Veneration for *Scipio*, both on account of his Exploits and his Virtues. Of all the Generals who had signalized themselves this Year, he was the only one whose Conduct was pure and unblemished. Tho' the People thought themselves obliged to *Fabius* for having taken *Tarentum*, they said he had gained his Conquest more by Artifice than Valour. *Fulvius* seemed to have slept away the Campaign. And *Marcellus* himself was not without Reproach. After the Victory he had gained over *Hannibal*, he had been obliged to put his Troops into Quarters of Refreshment, at *Venusia*; and whilst he was there dressing his Wounded, *Hannibal* had made long IncurSIONS into the rich Countries in *Italy*.

NAY, the Malice of *Marcellus's* Enemies was such, that they would have made him responsible for the Damages he could not prevent, and of which some Provinces complained. He had a dangerous Enemy, in one of the *Tribunes of the People*, named *C. Publicius Bibulus*. His Eloquence made the *Tribune* as formi-

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.
Livy, B. 27.
c. 20.

111 According to *Plutarch*, *Marcellus* spent the summer in the City of *Sinuessæ*, to refresh his troops. But we prefer *Livy's* Account, who says, that *Marcellus* retired to the City of *Venusia* with his Army. The great Number of Wounded the

Roman General carried with him would not suffer him to go to *Sinuessæ*, which was too far from the Neighbourhood of *Canusium*, where the Battel was fought.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMUS,
Q. FULVIUS
FLACCUS,
Consuls.

dable in the *Comitia*, as *Marcellus* was in the Field; and from the Time of the first Battel with *Hannibal* which *Marcellus* had lost, and which he had repaired the next Day with so much Glory, ¹¹² *Bibulus* had endeavoured to persuade the People that this General was incapable of conducting the *Roman* Armies. So that the News of the second Victory, was what alone had preserved him from suffering by the Hatred *Bibulus* raised against him at that time; and now, his Enemy would fain have made his Repose a Crime, tho' absolutely necessary.

THE violent *Tribune* pretended, That *Marcellus* was become a second *Hannibal*; That after his Victory, he had enjoyed the Pleasures of *Venusia*, which was his *Capua*; and had there enervated his Courage, with bathing and feasting. And these Discourses having made Impressions on the Multitude, a Process was now begun against the generous *Pro-Consul*, whose Innocence, and great Courage made him too secure. He despised his Adversary, and suffered him to get an Advantage over him. But at length, his Friends persuaded him to leave the Army, and come to *Rome* to defend his Honour, thus openly attacked.

As soon as he appeared, and it was known that he would make his own Defence, all *Rome* ran together to the *Flaminian Circus*, and there the Cause was tried. The Accuser spoke first; but his Speech turned as much against all the *Patricians* in Office, as against *Marcellus*. He complained of the Injury the *Patrician* Generals did to the common Cause; and suggested that *Hannibal* could not have subsisted in *Italy* for ten Years together, had it not been for the affected Dilatoriness of the *Patrician Consuls*. How shameful is it for *Rome*, said he, that a foreign General, who was but nine Years at *Carthage*, should continue more, infesting the Lands of the Republick! And then, the Orator falling with Vehemence on *Marcellus*, said, Behold then, Roman People, the blessed Fruits of your Regard to this negligent *Pro-Consul*! You prolong his Generalship; and he delivers up your Fields to be plundered by *Hannibal*; and after he has been twice beaten, retires, and enjoys his Repose at *Venusia*. But *Marcellus* quickly stifled these ill-natured Suggestions against him: as soon as he was heard, he was justified. He enumerated his Exploits; and the bare Narrative of them was enough to disperse the Clouds with which his Enemy had endeavoured to eclipse his Glory. Other Citizens also, of the first Rank, spoke in his Favour, and said, Judge of him, Romans, as *Hannibal* does. The *Carthaginian* dreads none of our Generals so much as his last Conqueror. He does all he can to avoid a Battel with him; but desires one with all our other Commanders. In short, the Force of Truth so far prevailed over the Declamations of the *Tribune*, that not only *Bibulus's* Motion was rejected, but *Marcellus* received as great Applauses from the People, and was as much in their Esteem, as ever.

Livy, B. 27.
c. 21.

Liv. ibid.

S. LII. WHEN *Fulvius*, the very next Day, presided in the *Comitia by Centuries*, for the great Elections, *Marcellus* was chosen *Consul* ¹¹³ a fifth time, including the *Consulship* which he laid down; and with him *T. Quinctius Crispinus* was now promoted to this Office a second time. They were chosen some time before they entered upon their Office; and the Day following the other great Magistrates were elected by the same *Comitia*.

THE *Prætors* elected were *P. Licinius Varus*, *P. Licinius Crassus*, *Sex. Julius Cæsar*, and ¹¹⁴ *Q. Claudius Flaminius*; who chose their Provinces by Lot. It fell to ¹¹⁵ *Varus* to continue in *Rome*, and administer Justice among the Citizens.

¹¹² In the 27th Book of *Livy*, The *Tribune Bibulus* reproaches *Marcellus* with having quartered his Troops in the Houses of *Venusia*, instead of lodging them in Tents, according to Custom. But *Plutarch*, supposing that *Marcellus* had taken up his Quarters of Refreshment at *Sinuessæ*, says that *Bibulus* charges him with having seized the hot Baths. *Strabo* says there were some, near the last mentioned City; and adds, that they were sovereign Remedies for several Diseases.

¹¹³ *Cassiodorus*, and *The Greek Tables*, reckon this to be but the fourth *Consulship* of *Marcellus*. They doubtless don't reckon that of the Year 538; because this *Consul* was then forced to abdicate, under Pretence that his Election was defective. But *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and the ancient Monu-

ments, suppose that he was five times *Consul*. *Valerius Maximus* says, B. 1. c. 1. that *Marcellus* had been raised to the *Consulate* a fifth time, when he consecrated the Temple of Honour and Virtue. His Collegue *Titus Quinctius Crispinus* was the same Man, who had been *Prætor*, in the Year 544.

¹¹⁴ In some Editions of *Livy*, *Quintus Claudius* is surnamed *Flamen*; and soon after he is called *Flaminius*. So that this does not seem to be the Surname of a Branch of the *Claudian* Family; but a Title taken from the Priesthood, which *Quintus Claudius* then possessed.

¹¹⁵ *Licinius Varus* received a Commission at the same time, to repair thirty old Gallies, which were in the Port of *Ostia*, and to equip twenty new ones.

Crassus's Lot was to hear the Causes of Foreigners; but he likewise received Orders to march wherever the Senate should direct. *Julius Cæsar* was sent *Prætor* to *Sicily*; and *Flaminius* went to reside at *Tarentum*, to guard the Country of the *Salentini*.

THE *Pro-Consuls* chosen were, *Fulvius*, whose *Consulship* was not yet ended, and who was elected *Pro-Consul* of *Campania*, and had a *Legion* assigned him; *Valerius Lævinus*, who was continued in the ¹¹⁶ Command of the *Roman Fleet* in *Sicily*; *Sulpicius Galba*, who was again declared General of the Troops and Fleet that lay on the Coasts of *Greece*, and watched the Steps of *Philip* of *Macedon*; and lastly, *Scipio* ¹¹⁷, who was continued in *Spain*, with *Junius Silanus*: And each *Pro-Consul* had an Army in his Province.

THE following Persons were also elected *Pro-Prætors*, had the Title of Generals, and commanded Armies. *Hostilius Tubulus* was appointed to succeed *Caius Calpurnius*, in the Command of two *Legions* in *Hetruria*. *Terentius Varro* was constituted *Pro-Prætor*, at *Aretium*; *Veturius Philo*, in *Cisalpine Gaul*. *L. Cincius* was placed at the Head of the Fleet, which was to guard the Coasts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, with that Title: *Aurunculeius Cotta* commanded two *Legions* in *Sardinia*, in the same Quality; and *M. Junius Silanus*, a Body of Men in *Spain*, under *Scipio*. The Republick now had in Pay one and twenty *Legions*, all consisting of *Roman* ¹¹⁸ *Citizens*. Difficult indeed it would be to believe, that one single Nation could be able to furnish out such numerous Levies, and maintain so many Armies, in so many different Countries; did not both *Greeks* and *Latins* attest it. And which are we to admire most, the Wisdom of a Senate, which was capable of providing for so many Expeditions at once; or the Constancy of Soldiers, who were always ready to undertake so great Fatigues?

As for *Marcellus*, he did not idly languish away his time, before he came to enter upon the Exercise of his Office. The Senate receiving Information, a few Days after his Election, that *Hetruria* was ready to ¹¹⁹ rise, and that the Sedition had begun at the City of *Aretium*, the Magistrates and People of which City were ill-affected to the *Romans*; the *Consul* elect instantly set out; affrighted the *Hetrurians* with the Orders he had received from the Senate, to bring into *Hetruria* the Troops he had commanded in *Apulia*; and, in Appearance at least, re-established Tranquillity in the Province. But nevertheless, *Calpurnius* who commanded there, did not think it proper to leave that Province, till *Hostilius* his Successor had brought his Troops thither; and *Terentius Varro* was sent thither, with an extraordinary Commission. Notwithstanding the ill Success of the Battel of *Cannæ*, this presumptuous *Consul* was still employed; and now came to *Aretium*, found *Hostilius* encamped near it, and ordered him to bring his Troops into that City. After this, *Varro* erected his Tribunal in the Market-place; cited the Magistrates to appear before him; and required them to give his Republick Hostages to secure their Fidelity. The Senators desired two Days to consider of it; which *Varro*, with much Difficulty, granted; and in the mean time ordered Guards to be set at all the Gates, to hinder the *Aretini* from going out of the City in the Night. But the Orders of a contemptible General were not well executed. Seven of the Senators of *Aretium* found Means to escape, with their Families; and their Escape was not known, till the Senate appeared before *Varro*. Then the Estates of the

ones. These fifty Gallies were to cruise along the Coasts next to the *Roman* Territory, and guard them against the Invasions of the Enemy.

¹¹⁶ The Fleet commanded by *Marcus Valerius Lævinus*, consisted of seventy Gallies, exclusive of the thirty which had been employed in the Siege of *Tarentum*, and afterwards sent to *Sicily*. So that *Lævinus* had an hundred Gallies under his Command, with which he might make a Descent in *Africa*, if he thought proper.

¹¹⁷ *Livy* tells us, that of the eighty Gallies which were partly brought into *Spain*, and partly taken before *New Carthage*, *Scipio* sent away fifty to *Sardinia*. This seemed a necessary Precaution, to guard that Island against the Invasions of the *Carthaginians*. It was reported on all Hands, that a Fleet of two hundred Gallies was sitting out in the

Carthaginian Ports. The Design of the *African* Republick was to go on three different Expeditions at the same time; one on the Coasts of *Italy*, another on those of *Sicily*, and a third on those of *Sardinia*.

¹¹⁸ The *Roman* Republick at the same time gave the *Consuls* Leave to make new Levies, if they thought it necessary.

¹¹⁹ The News of this Rebellion was sent by *Caius Calpurnius*, the *Pro-Prætor* of *Hetruria*, by Letter. He had had Orders not to stir from the Territory of *Aretium* with his Army, before *Terentius Varro* arrived; and it had been particularly recommended to *Hostilius Tubulus*, before he set out for *Hetruria*, to watch narrowly the Designs and Motions of the Citizens of this City.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

*Liv. B. 27.
c. 21.*

*Liv. B. 27.
c. 24.*

Year of
R O M E
DXLIV.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Q. FVLIVS
FLACCVS,
Consuls.

Fugitives were confiscated; and the Senators gave the Hostages required. *Varro* carried sixscore to *Rome*; and exaggerated the Evil, when he came there. He informed the Senate, that *Hetruria* threatened an Insurrection; and under that Pretence demanded new Troops. Accordingly, one of the *Legions* appointed to guard the Walls of *Rome*, was given him; and being by that means become the Commander of a great Army, he continued in *Aretium* with one half of it; and gave *Hostilius* the Command of the other, with Orders to run over all *Hetruria*, and not think the *Province* sufficiently settled, till he had put it out of the Power of the Inhabitants to rise. Whence it is easy ¹²⁰ to judge, what Oppressions and Ravages were committed there.

¹²⁰ The Close of this Year 544 was remarkable for the Celebration of *The Roman Games*. The *Curule Aediles*, *Lucius Cornelius Caudinus*, and *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, presided at them. The *Plebeian Aediles* also, *Caius Servilius*, and *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, entertained the People with other Games at the same time. Then there arose a Dispute about *Caius Servilius*. His Father had been formerly sent into *Cisalpine Gaul*, with the Title of *Triumvir*, to distribute the Lands of a new Colony; and a Report having been spread that he had been killed by the *Boii*, near *Modena*, his Death was taken for granted, for ten Years together. But at

length, News came, That he was yet alive; and That the *Boii* kept him in Captivity. And this was enough to raise a Doubt, whether the Son of a Man who was actually in Slavery, in an Enemy's Hands, ought to be suffered to possess any Office in the Republick. But no Regard seems to have been had to this Scruple. Just as this Year was ready to expire, the Deputies of *Tarentum* appeared before the Senate, implored the Clemency of the *Fathers*, and desired that they might be reinstated in the Possession of their Liberty and Laws. But the Decision of this Affair was postponed till the Return of the Consul *Fabius*.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XXXIII.

S. I. **R**OME had never yet appeared to have a greater Advantage over *Hannibal*, than in the Beginning of the eleventh Year since his Entrance into *Italy*. He had now lost *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Most of the considerable Cities on the Southern and Eastern Coasts of *Italy*, which had adhered to him, were now fallen off from him; and his faithful Friends the *Bruttii* began to be wavering in their Fidelity. The many Battels he had gained and lost, had exhausted him of Men; so that few were now remaining of the Army he had brought from *Spain*, and with which he had conquered the *Romans* at *Cannæ*, and on the Banks of the Lake *Thrasimenus*. The Return of the Nations to the *Roman* Interest was now become as frequent, as their Revolt had formerly been sudden. Besides, the Republick had made a surprizing Progress against *Carthage*, in *Sicily*, and *Spain*; and *Rome* had never abounded more with great Generals. *Fabius* yet continued at the Head of the Senate, and was endowed with the greatest Talents to support, and serve his Republick, either in the Cabinet, or the Field. *Marcellus* was just raised to the *Consulship* again, and *Hannibal* was gone to enter the Lists with him, in the approaching Campaign. In *Spain*, *Scipio* was both subduing the Enemies of *Rome* with his Sword, and gaining their Hearts by his Virtues. So that these many Successes puffed up the Minds of the *Romans*: but we shall soon see them humbled by new Misfortunes, and the Hopes of their Enemies revive.

DURING the Winter, the *Consuls* almost spent their whole time in the City, in religious Affairs. It was necessary to offer many Victims, to expiate the fatal Effects of the many Presages that were constantly told the *Consuls* every Year, before they set out from *Rome*. And now, many frivolous and fabulous Stories were brought from the *Provinces*. It was said, That at *Capua* Lightning had fallen on the Temples of *Mars* and *Fortune*; and Rats knawed the Gold that was hung up in the Temple of *Jupiter*. It was reported, That at *Casinum* a Swarm of Bees had

¹ The Divinations taken from the Sight of a Rat or a Mouse, how chimerical soever they may appear to Men of Sense, had their Influence on the most important Negotiations. To meet one of these little Quadrupeds unexpectedly, was deemed by the superstitious Pagans a just Cause to suspend the Execution of Business of Moment. Upon the squeaking of a Mouse, the *Romans* assembled in *Comitia* were alarmed and dispersed without concluding what they were about. This was enough to oblige *Fabius Maximus* then *Dictator*, according to *Valerius Maximus*; or *Minucius*, according to *Plutarch*; and *Caius Flaminius*, General of Horse, to lay down their Offices, from a Persuasion that the Gods disapproved of their Promotion. This was enough to destroy the Credit of *Auspices*, according to *Pliny*, B. 8. c. 57. *Soridis occentu dirimuntur Auspicia*. And the same *Pliny* tells us in the same Place, that if the Mice happened to be white, it was a happy Presage, and foreboded the Success of the Enterprise. *Mures cum candidi provenere, letum facit*. VOL. III.

ciunt ostentum. But the Fears of the People were very great, if things that were useful in civil Life, or appropriated to Religion, were gnawed by Rats. And *Cicero*, tho' a Pagan, could not help turning such irrational Prepossessions into Ridicule. *We are*, says he, *De Divinat. B. 2. so inconsiderate as to make it an inauspicious Prodigy, if Mice gnaw any useful thing. And according to this Rule, if one has happened to gnaw Platon's Book of Politicks, in my Study, I am from thence to torment myself with Apprehensions that some great Misfortune will happen to Rome. His Words are these. Nos ita leves atque inconsiderati sumus, ut si mures corroserint aliquid, quorum est opus, hoc unum monstrum putemus. Si ista sequimur, quod Platonis Politiam nuper apud me Mures corruerint, de Republica debui pertimescere. St. Austin, De Doct. Christian. B. 2. urges against this Doctrine one of Cato's Jest. Being one Day consulted about a Rat's having knawed the Leather of a Shoe; he replied, And what is there wonderful in this? The Wonder would have been if the Shoe had knawed the Rat.* However,

Year of
R O M E
DXLV.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
T. QUINCTIUS
CRISPINUS,
Consuls.

Year of had settled in the Market-place; That at *Ostia*, the Wall, and one of the Gates of the City, had been damaged by Thunder; That at *Cære*, a ² Vultur had entered into the Temple of *Jupiter*; and That at *Vulfinii*, a Lake had appeared as red as Blood. And ³ lastly, to complete these Misfortunes, the *Aruspices* reported, that the Entrails of the Victims yet discovered no Signs, That the Anger of the Gods was appeased. These 4 sinister Prognosticks continued for some Days; but by spilling the Blood of many Animals, the Fears of the People seemed to be allayed. The Celebration of *The Ludi Apollinares*, or *Apollinarian Games*, were not yet fixed to any certain Day. That *Cornelius*, who had formerly borne the Name of *Sulla*, had instituted them; and the *Prætors* of the City celebrated them at what time they pleased. But now a Plague raged at *Rome*, which was more epidemical than mortal; and gave occasion to the fixing of these Games to a certain Day. The People, by a Decree, made a Vow to celebrate them on *The Eve of the Nones* of the Month *Quintilis*.

R O M E
DXLV.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
T. QUINCTIUS
CRISPINUS,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 27.
c. 23.

AND it was also upon religious Motives, that *Marcellus* suspended the Execution of a Project he had formed, and even delayed setting out for the Army. During his first *Consulship*, in the Battel he had fought with the *Gauls* near *Clastidium*, he had made a Vow to erect a ⁶ Temple to *Honour* and *Virtue*. He thought himself indebted to the Protection of these Gods, for the Defeat and Spoils of *Viridomarus*; and he was now desirous of seeing his Vow discharged before he left *Rome*. But the *Pontifices* opposed his Desires. *Is it 7 proper*, said they, *to honour two Divinities together under the same Roof? If this Sanctuary should be 8 struck with Lightning, to which of the two Divinities shall we address ourselves to appease him?*

However, this Opinion was older than the *Romans*. We find in *Herodotus*, that when a Company of wild Rats had come into the Camp of *Sennacherib* King of *Affyria*, (who had made an Irruption into *Egypt* with a formidable Army) and gnawed the Bucklers and Quivers of the Soldiers, it was thought a fatal Prefage.

² Not that Vulturs were not deemed lucky Birds; *Auspices* taken from them were in great Esteem among the *Romans*, from the time that *Romulus* took Advantage of one, to found his Colony. But in the present Circumstances, it was thought an extraordinary thing for a Bird of that Sort to pitch in a sacred Place. This Prodigy, according to the Prejudices of this superstitious People, foreboded great Misfortunes to the Republick.

³ To these Prodigies *Plutarch* adds others, which were, That an Ox had pronounced some Words articulately; and That a Woman had been delivered of a Monster, with an Head like that of an Elephant.

⁴ *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Marcellus*, says, that the *Aruspices* were terrified at the fatal Prefages, which they had discovered in the Entrails of the Victims, according to the Mysteries of their Art; and they made use of this religious Pretence to delay the Departure of *Marcellus*. But these Delays, adds that Historian, only increased the martial Ardor of the *Roman* General. He longed to come to Blows with *Hannibal*, and stop the Incursions of this dangerous Enemy, by a decisive Battel. He was wholly taken up in these Thoughts. This was usually the Subject of his Conversation, and all the Vows and Prayers he offered up to the Gods related to these things. Nor could even the still Calmness of the Night conquer the Disquietudes of the Day. *Marcellus* dreamed of *Hannibal* every Night, and could not rest even in Sleep. And in this Impatience to overcome him, he thought a single Combat at the Head of the Armies the readiest Way to gain the Glory after which he aspired. Upon which *Plutarch* remarks, That these Sallies were out of Character in *Marcellus*, whose Bravery had always been conducted by Prudence. This Impetuosity, says he, would have been pardonable in a young Man, but did not at all become an old General, who was then at least sixty. *Plutarch* makes him to have been of this Age,

when he took Possession of the *Consulship* the fifth time.

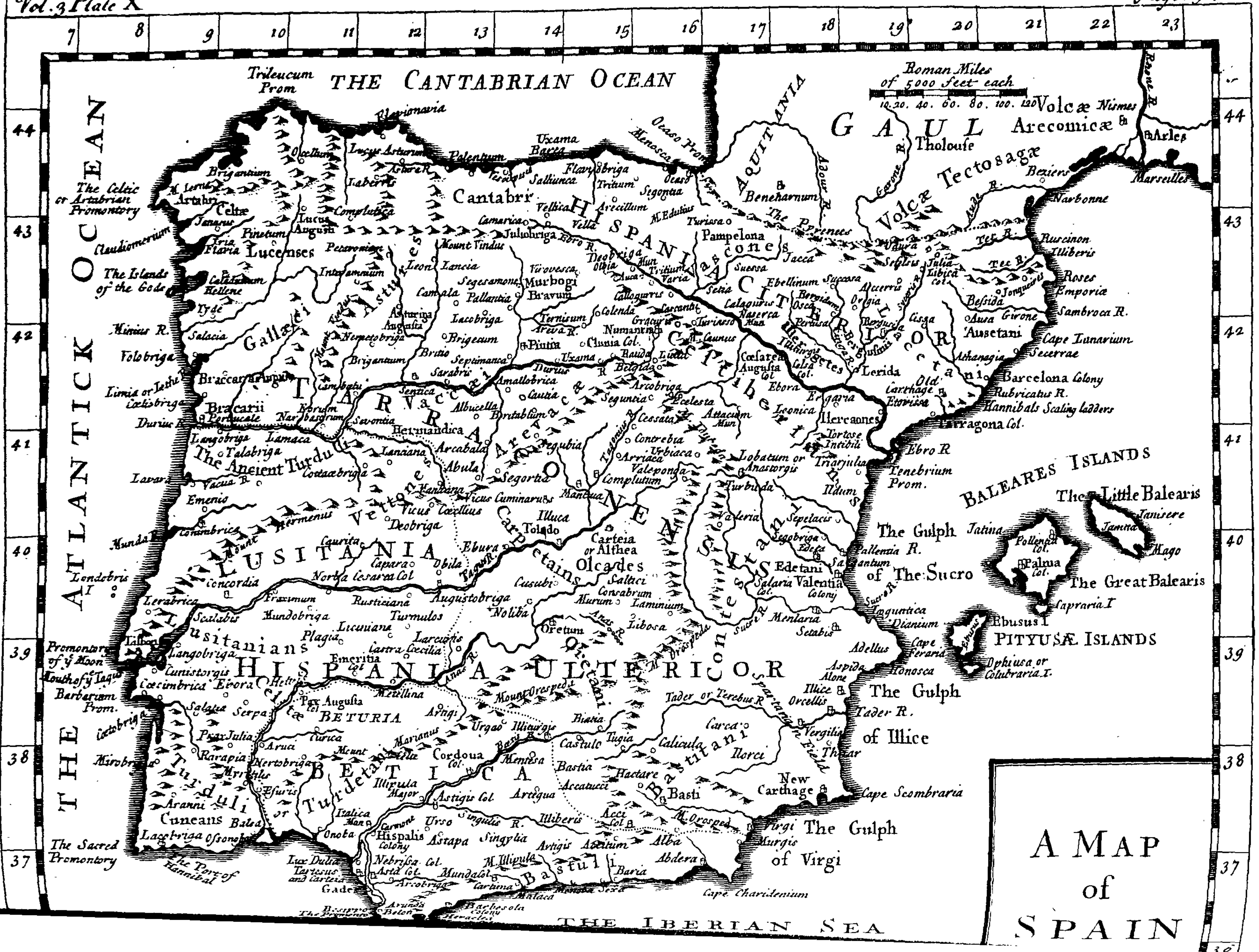
⁵ *Livy*, B. 7. antedates the Celebration of these Games one Day. But we have followed the old *Roman Calendar*, which places this Solemnity on the sixth Day of *July*, which answers to *The Eve of the Nones* of the Month *Quintilis*, so called because the fifth Month of *Romulus's* Year.

⁶ See what we have said above, in this Volume, of the Temple which *Marcellus* vowed to build to *Honour* and *Virtue*.

⁷ According to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Marcellus*, the *Pontifices* opposed the *Consul's* Design, for this Reason only, that it was indecent to shut up two Divinities in one Temple.

⁸ It was not without Design, That the Pagans represented *Jupiter* as armed with a Thunderbolt. They intended to point out by this Symbol the sovereign Power of the Supreme Being; and by these visible Representations, to make the People afraid of an avenging God. And being persuaded, that *Jupiter* never lanced his Thunder, but to punish some Crime; they therefore looked on those who were struck with it as accursed. Religion forbade any to touch them; and they were denied all the Funerary Honours, according to the following Law of *Numa*, which *Festus* expresses thus. *SI FULMINE OCCISUS SIT ET JUSTA NULLA FICTI OPORTETO*. In a word, whatever was in the least marked with Thunder, was thought accursed; and according to *Numa's* Order, those who had been killed with Lightning, were generally buried without any Ceremony; or else were barely covered with Earth in the Place where they had been killed; and the Office belonged to the *Aruspices*. I say were generally buried, because *Plutarch* *Sympos. ch. 2.* says That they were sometimes left exposed in the open Air; so that they were neither buried, nor burnt. All the Care that was taken of them, was to surround the Place where they had been killed with a Hedge. Then, adds he, tho' exposed to the Sight of all Passengers, they were thought secured against Corruption, by the Particles of Nitre and Salt-Petre, which the Lightning had dispersed in all the Parts of their Bodies.

Festus also gives us this Law, in another Place in the following Words, which favour of the old *Latin*



him? And tho' *Marcellus* endeavoured to get the better of these Scruples; he found it out of his Power. It was deemed absolutely necessary to erect two distinct Temples instead of one; and tho' they were built in all haste, *Marcellus* did not live to dedicate them. This Honour was reserved for his Son, who did it some Years after.

Year of
R O M E
DXLV.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
T. QUINCTIUS
CRISPINUS,
Consuls.

§. II. WHEN

Latinity. SI HOMINEM FULMIN JOBIS OCCISIT, NE EUM SUPRA GENUA TOLLITO. By these last Words, NE EUM SUPRA GENUA TOLLITO, *Numa* forbade their having those Funeral Ceremonies performed for them, which were then in Use among the *Romans*. But we ought not from thence to infer, that Persons so killed were absolutely denied Burial of any sort. This Interpretation of *Furnebius* does not agree with the Testimonies of ancient Authors. *Quintilian* especially, *Declam.* 64. expresses himself in so clear a manner concerning it, as to leave no Doubt remaining. Quo quis loco Fulmine ictus fuerit, eodem sepeliatur. This plainly proves, that Persons killed with Thunder might be buried. And *Artemidorus* of *Ephesus* says the same thing, *B. 2. ch. 8. Of the Interpretation of Dreams.* Nevertheless, it must be owned, that some Moderns have been divided in Opinion concerning the Meaning of the Words, NE EUM SUPRA GENUA TOLLITO. *Revard*, *ch. 32.* on the Laws of *The XII Tables*, understands them to signify, that the Body was not to be lifted off the Ground to be carried to its Burial-Place. It was drawn along with a Hook, says he, as the Bodies of executed Criminals were. *Casaubon*, according to *Pitiscus*, was of opinion, that *Numa's* Law alluded to the received Customs of the Ancients, of washing, perfuming, and dressing dead Bodies in Funeral Habits, before they were buried, or placed on the Pile. Now in order to perform these Ceremonies, it was necessary, that the dead Body should be laid on the Knees of him who did these Offices. And in Proof of this he quotes the ancient Monuments. But nevertheless, it is certain that *Numa* did not absolutely forbid the Burial of Persons killed with Thunder; he only requires, that their Bodies shall not be removed out of the Place where they fell. And there was an Exception even to this Rule; with respect to those who were killed with Lightning, within the City; as for instance, in any Street, or in the Comitium, or Theater, &c. We have already observed, *Vol. 1.* That it was a Custom religiously observed from the first Ages of *Rome*, and confirmed by the Laws of the *XII Tables*, to burn and bury all dead Bodies without the Walls. And therefore a Man, whom *Festus* calls *Ludius*, and who had been killed with Lightning in the *Circus*, was nevertheless buried on the *Janiculus*, which was then without the *Pomerium*. Indeed the Senate afterwards, by a Decree for that Purpose, ordered the Bones of the Deceased to be gathered together, and deposited in *Vulcan's Place*, near the *Comitium*; and commanded a Statue to be made of him, and placed on a Pillar, erected in the same Place, according to *Festus*, and *Publius Victor*. But the former asserts, that this Privilege was granted merely in regard to some Prodigies, and the Answers of some Oracles, which occasioned this Removal of the Body.

However, the Pagans did not confine their Superstition to these trifling Regulations. They invented new ones, with respect to the Places where the Lightning or Thunder had fallen. The *Romans* thought them sacred Places which *Jupiter* reserved to himself; and it was not lawful to apply them to prophane Uses. This appears from *Festus*, *Fulgurium*, says he, id est Fulgure ictum, qui locus statim putabatur fieri religiosus, quod eum sibi Deus disasse videretur. And therefore great Care was taken to enclose these Places with Stakes and Bounds, to prevent Passengers or Animals entering them.

Before they began the Ceremony of enclosing it, the *Aruspices* marked out the Place which had been

thunderstruck. Then they purified it, according to the Rules laid down in certain Rituals, which *Cicero*, *B. 1. De Divin.* calls *Libri Fulgurales*, or *Fulminales*. These Books treated of several Points relating to Thunder and Lightning. The *Romans* had this Ceremonial from the *Hebrurians*, who had taken it from the Books of *Tages*, the most famous Man among them, for the Art of explaining Presages. It was supposed, that an *Hebrurian* Nymph, called *Bigois*, and much revered in *Hebruria*, had written a Book concerning the manner of expiating Thunders. *Servius* speaks of this Collection in his *Commentary* on the sixth Book of the *Aeneid*, and says it was carefully preserved in the Temple of *Apollo*.

All the Mystery of these Purifications consisted in an expiatory Sacrifice, and certain Forms of Consecration, which ancient Authors have not transmitted to us. All we know of these superstitious Practices, is, that the *Aruspices* appointed by the State to do this Office, were dressed in their Sacerdotal Habits, and sacrificed a Sheep of two Years old. This expiatory Victim was offered up to *Jupiter*, in order to appease his Anger, and stop the Arm of *The Thunderer*. And sometimes, for the greater Safety, *Aruspices* were brought from *Hebruria*, on purpose to perform these Offices. *Aulus Gellius* tells us, that the *Romans* applied themselves to them, to offer Expiations on account of the Thunder that had fallen on the Statue erected in Memory of *Horatius Cocles*, in the *Forum Romanum*.

The Animal offered up was called by the *Romans*, *Bidens*; and from thence the Place where it was offered, was called *Bidental*; and the Ministers employed, *Sacerdotes Bidentales*. They seem to have had a College among themselves divided into different *Decuriae*. At least an Inscription found under the Foundations of the Temple of *Aesculapius*, in the Island of the *Tyber*, has conveyed down to us the Name of one *Sextus Pompeius*, with the Title of QUINQUENNALIS DECURIO BIDENTALIS. *Perseus* uses the Word *Bidental*, to signify a Man struck with Thunder:

Triste jaces lucis evitandumque Bidental.

But *Paul the Deacon* is mistaken, when he says, that *Bidental* signified a Place twice struck with Thunder. None of the Ancients has so understood it. Another Inscription also proves, that the Senate sometimes appointed the College of *Pontifices* to expiate Thunder. It runs thus. JOVI FULMIN. FULG. TONANTI. RESTIUS. L. F. AEPHO PONTIFEX EX S. C. DEDICAVIT.

But to return to the Places damaged by Thunder. It was usual to erect there an Altar, which was hollow at the Top, like a *Pit* or *Well*; which distinguished it from other Altars; and gave it the Name of *Puteal*. Under it the *Aruspices* carefully buried all that had received any Injury by the Thunder. But the Custom of the *Greeks* was somewhat different. They placed a covered Urn under this Altar, in which Urn they deposited the Remains of what had been thunderstruck. *Lucan*, in his *Pharsalia*, *B. 1.* alludes to this Custom of the *Romans*, in these Lines.

*Arms dispersi fulminis ignes
Colligit, Et terra mæsto cum murmure condit.*

Add to this, that besides the *Aruspices*, who had the Care of all things relating to Thunder and Lightning, the *Romans* had also another sort of Ministers, whose

Year of
R O M E
DXLV.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
T. QUINCTIUS
CRISPINUS,
Consuls.

§. II. WHEN the religious Ceremonies were performed, the Senate was assembled to settle the Affairs of the Publick. The *Prætors* set out for their respective Provinces; and Orders were sent to *Scipio*, to detach fifty Gallies of his Fleet to *Sardinia*. A Rumour was spread at *Rome*, that *Carthage* was equipping a Fleet of two hundred Sail, to ravage the Coasts of *Italy*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily*. And then, the

whose Office was wholly confined to expiating the Trees that had been thunderstruck. *Festus* calls them *Strufertarii*; a Term borrowed from two sorts of Cakes made of Paste baked on Cinders, which they offered up to *Jupiter*, by way of Oblation, or expiatory Sacrifice. These *Strufertarii* agreed with private Persons, that for a certain Sum of Money they would make several Sorts of Expiations, by way of Reparation for some Faults or Negligences, of which those Persons had been guilty, in religious Matters. And in case *Strufertarii* were not to be had, the Master of the Family, who was obliged to make this Reparation, discharged this Duty himself. And whilst the Sacrificer performed this religious Ceremony, he repeated a Prayer, which *Festus* and *Cato* have given us, in these Words. *PRECOR TE, JUPITER, UT SIES VOLENS PROPITIUS MIHI, LIBERISQUE MEIS, DOMO, FAMILIAQUE MEÆ, &c.* That is, *I intreat thee, Jupiter, to be propitious to me, my Children, Family, &c.*

Such was the Worship the *Romans* instituted for fear of Thunderbolts. Their Prepossessions were such concerning them, that it was thought a Crime to take out of a Vineyard that had been thunderstruck, even the Wine that was necessary for the Libations used in Sacrifices.

And among other Effects of the Dread of Thunder and Lightning, one was, that it made these superstitious People invent a Goddess, which they called *Fulgura*. *St. Austin* speaks of her, *B. 6. De Civitate Dei*; and *Seneca* gives her the Name of *Fulgoria*, or *Fulgora*. And after they had realized this pretended Goddess, it became customary to implore her Assistance against Lightning, as if she had had Power to prevent or avert it. So that in this, as well as all the rest, we may observe the Inconsistencies of the Pagan Worship. The Pagans first acknowledged *Jupiter* to have had the sovereign Power over Thunder; and then degraded him, and made him subject to a Goddess of an inferior Rank.

Nor was the Distinction the *Romans* put between Thunders by Day, and Thunders by Night, less chimerical than their Worship was inconsistent. They pretended, that the Thunders by Night were under the Direction of *Summanus*, or *Pluto*, or the Sovereign of the *Manes*; and that those by Day belonged to *Jupiter*. Nevertheless, the *Hetrurians* reckon up nine Divinities, which shared this Prerogative with him; and among the rest, *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Mars*, *Vulcan*, and *Saturn*. On the Reverse of a Medal of *Antigonus**, we find a *Pallas* armed with a Thunderbolt. But these Divinities enjoyed this Privilege, only in Subordination to the King of the Gods. He was the God, to whom the *Greeks* and *Romans* paid their Homage, under the Title of *ΖΕΥΣ ΚΕΡΑΥΝΙΟΚ*, or *JUPITER FULGURATOR*, as appears by the two Medals* in the adjoining Plate. One is a Medal of *Antoninus Pius*, the other of the Emperor *Dioctesian*. To which we may add, that several Inscriptions mentioned by *Gruter*, give this God the Title of *JUPITER BRONTO*, that is, *Jupiter the Thunderer*; and that *Augustus* dedicated a Temple to *Jupiter the Thunderer*, or *Jovi Tonanti*.

Nor were the Delusions of the Pagans concerning Thunder to be confined only to this mad kind of Worship, and these irrational Practices. The *Romans* undertook, pursued, suspended, or absolutely laid aside their most important Enterprizes, as the Thunder directed. Those who gave into the Delusions of Divination, made it their constant Study to discover the Secrets of Futurity by the Motions of the Meteors. This was indeed a Part of the Au-

gural Science. The *Aruspices* looked on the Noise and Falling of Thunder, as mysterious Prefages. And they above all things observed the Distances of the Places where it was heard, or seen, from the four cardinal Points of the celestial Sphere. They pretended, that the Thunder was a sacred Language, by which the Gods discovered the Decrees of Fate. But these false Prophets abused the People, by pretending to be the only Interpreters of these Signs or Characters, to which they said they had a Key. They had drawn all this Quackery, if I may use the Expression, from the old Books of the *Hetrurians*. *Pliny* says, *B. 2. c. 25.* that the Authors of these prophetic Books first divided the Heavens into four principal Parts. The first reached from the North to the East; the second, from the East to the South; the third, from the North to the West of the Equinoctial; the fourth, from the West to the South. Then they subdivided each of these four Parts into four Parts. So that by these four Subdivisions, the whole was divided into sixteen Parts, or Regions. The eight first, from the North to the South by the East, were called *Partes Sinistræ*. If the Thunder happened in any of these Parts, it was thought auspicious. The eight other Regions, to the Right, from the North to the South by the West, were called *Partes Dextræ*. The Thunder that happened in any of these was deemed unlucky. The Reason of this Difference was taken from hence, that in the former was the *East*, where the Sun begins to rejoice Nature with the Brightness of his Rays; and in the latter the *West*, where he finishes his Course, to give way to the Night, the Symbol of Sorrow. In order to give the Reader a clearer Idea of this Division of the Heavens, we have here annexed a Plan of *The Augural Temple*; which was the Name given to the Place where the *Aruspices* and *Augurs* used to observe, or contemplate, the *Auspices*.

But Men of Sense shewed no regard to these strange Dreams. *Lucretius*, who knew the Vanity of them, endeavours, *B. 6.* to undeceive those, who were imposed on by these solemn Farces.

*Ne trepidas cæli divisis partibus amens
Unde volans ignis pervenerit aut in utram se
Verterit hinc partem, quo pacto per loca septa
Insinuarit, & hinc dominatus ut extulerit se.*

These different Ways of considering Thunder, were the Foundation of a kind of mystical Language among the *Augurs* and *Aruspices*, of which the Ancients (and among others, *Varro*, *Pliny the Naturalist*, and *Festus*) have given us some Account. They divided the several Sorts of Thunder, according to their different Significations.

1. *FULMINA PERPETUA*, which were Thunders, from which such good or bad *Auguries* were taken, as affected the Persons concerned all the Days of their Lives. Such were those which were heard at the time of a Marriage, a Settlement, or the Execution of any Enterprize of Importance, as the Foundation of a City or Colony.

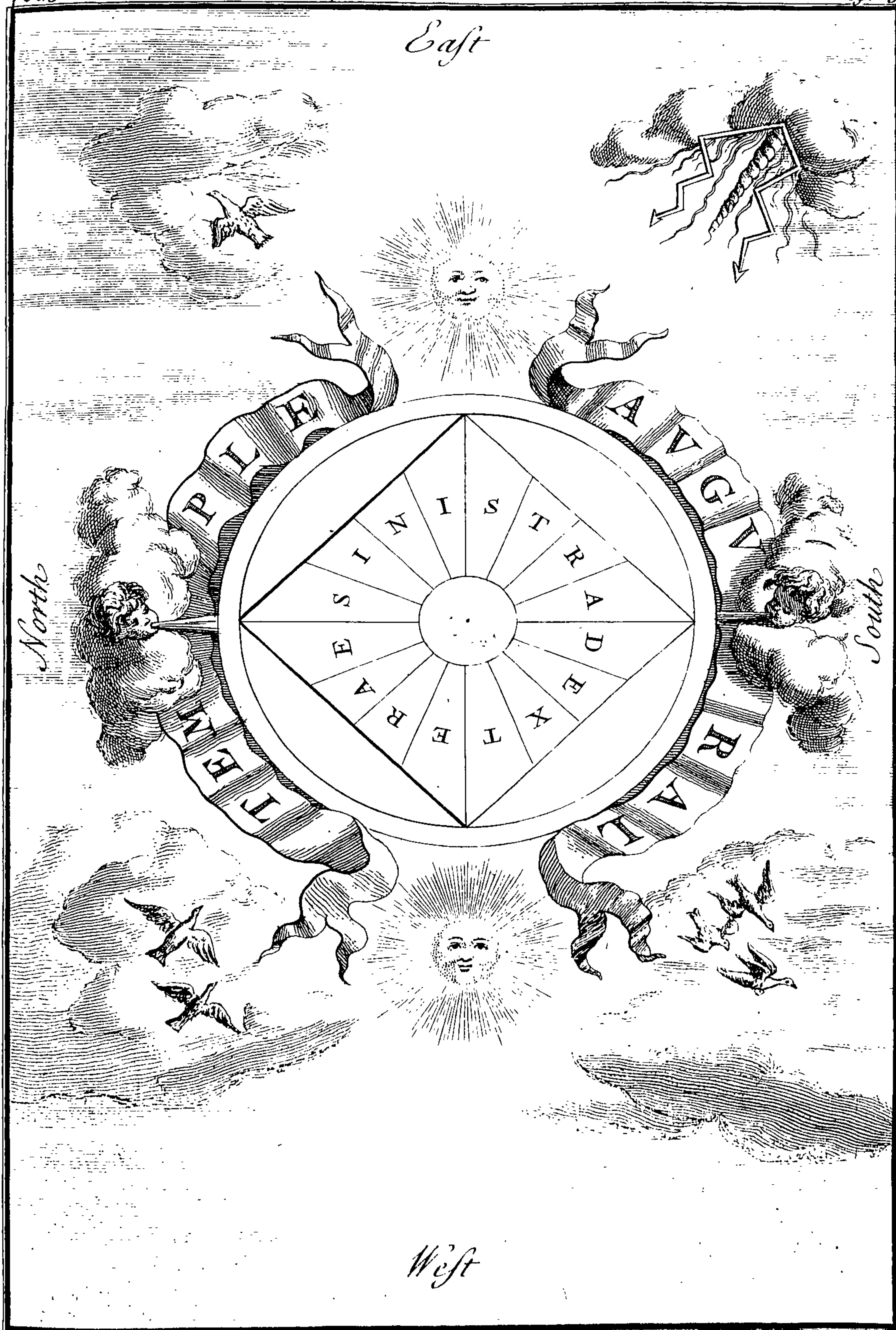
2. *FULMEN PROROGATIVUM*, which was the Thunder, whose fatal Effects might be suspended, tho' not entirely prevented.

3. *FULMEN PROVORSUM*, or *Controversum*, which, according to *Maurusius*, was equally ascribed to *Pluto Summanus*, or the Sovereign of the *Manes*, and to *Jupiter*. This was the Thunder that was heard towards the Close of the Day; and upon hearing it, an expiatory Sacrifice was offered up to each of those Gods.

4. *FULMEN VANUM ET BRUTUM*, or the Thunder which

* Plate 12.
Medal 1.

* Plate 12.
Medals 2 and 3.



The Division of the Heavens for observing Auguries.

the Command of the Armies in this last Island was divided. The Senate ordered, that *Sex. Cæsar* should command the Land-Forces which consisted of the Soldiers who had escaped at the Battel of *Cannæ*; and That *Lævinus* should command the Fleet, of seventy Sail; to which should be added thirty more Ships, which were then laid up in the Port of *Tarentum*. The latter *Pro-Consul* had also Leave to go and make a Descent on the Coasts of *Africa*, and ravage them, if he thought proper. And lastly, a Commission was given to *P. Licinius Varus*, then *Prætor Urbanus*, to refit thirty shattered Ships, which were then at *Ostia*, and to equip twenty new ones; that this Fleet of fifty Sail might be ready to guard the Coasts near *Rome*. Thus the *Conscript Fathers* made all necessary Provision for the War, both by Sea and Land, in all Places where *Rome* had Armies. Nothing belonged to the *Comitia*, but the Right of chusing Generals. The Direction of all other Things was left to the Prudence of the Senate; which then consisted of old Generals of Armies, of Officers who were grown grey in the Service of the Repub-

Year of
R O M E
DXLV.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELIUS,
T. QUINCTIUS
CRISPINUS,
Consuls.

which foreboded neither Good nor Bad, but was a mere empty Noise.

5. FULMEN FATIDICUM, or the Thunder from which any Presages were taken, whether good or bad.

6. FULMEN CONSILIARIUM, or the Thunder which grumbled during a Consultation about some publick Business.

7. FULMEN AUCTORITATIVUM, or the Thunder which was heard after a Deliberation, as it were to ratify it.

8. FULMEN MONITORIUM, or the Thunder which was thought an Admonition from Heaven, to guard against some impending Misfortunes.

9. FULMINA PESTIFERA, or that which foreboded some sad Event.

10. FULMINA DEPRECANEA, or the Thunders which only appeared formidable, and produced no Disaster equal to the Alarms they gave.

11. FULMINA FAMILIARIA, or such whose Presages were favourable or fatal to a Family.

12. FULMINA PUBLICA, that is, (according to *Seneca*, B. 2. *Nat. Quæst.*) such as were thought to forebode Good or Ill to the Republick for thirty Years.

13. FULMINA PRIVATA, or such, according to the forementioned Author, as presaged good or ill Fortune to a private Person for ten Years. Nevertheless he observes, that there were, in some Cases, Exceptions to these two last Particulars.

14. FULMINA DEMPTALIA, PEREMPTALIA, OR PEREMPTORIA, by which the *Romans* understood the Thunders which prevented the ill Effects of a bad Presage. *Seneca* observes, on this Subject, B. 2. c. 4. of the *Nat. Quæst.* that the *Auspice* of the Thunder was so decisive, that it prevailed over all other. *Quidquid exta, quidquid aves minabuntur, secundo fulmine abolbitur. Quidquid fulmina denunciatur est nec extis, nec ave contraria refellitur.*

15. FULMINA POSTULARIA, OR POSTULATORIA, or such as were thought Testimonies of the Will of a God, who not satisfied with a religious Ceremony, as a Sacrifice, for instance, required another, to repair the Defects of the former.

16. FULMINA ATERRANEA, or those Thunders whose Effects were lost in the Ground.

17. FULMINA ATTESTATA, or those from which Presages were taken, in Testimony or Confirmation of any Fact.

18. FULMINA REGALIA, or those which had fallen on the *Comitium*, or any of the chief Quarters of *Rome*. Then the Republick thought herself threatened with some grievous Calamity, which would end in the *Romans* being enslaved to a King.

19. FULMINA HOSPITALIA, or such as promised the Protection of *Jupiter*. And

20. FULMINA INFERNA, which were the subterraneous Fires that break out of the Bowels of the Earth.

The inauspicious Thunders were of two Sorts. *Plin.* B. 1. *Fast.* calls them *Fulmen inexpiabile*, and

Fulmen piabile. The Presages drawn from the former, were not to be expiated by any Sacrifice. The Decree of the Gods was irrevocable, and nothing remained but to submit to them. But the *Romans* thought they could guard against the Misfortunes denounced by the latter, by having Recourse to those religious Ceremonies, which Paganism appointed to appease the Wrath of *Jupiter*.

According to these Principles, the Thunder that was heard in fair Weather alarmed every Body, and some fatal Effect was always expected from it. Upon this Principle, *Suetonius* reckons it as one of the most remarkable Presages of the Death of the Emperor *Titus*, *Quod tempestate serena tonuerat*; that is, *That it had thundered in fair and clear Weather*.

We omit mentioning the Stratagem which *Numa Pompilius* is said to have used, to learn of *Picus* and *Faunus* the Art of expiating Thunder-strokes, and forcing *Jupiter* to come down from Heaven, by Charms; tho' this Fact, fictitious as it is, be related by *Plutarch*, in that King's Life, and by *Ovid*, in his third Book of *Fasti*. The former, tho' a Pagan, honestly confesses, that this childish Tale had not the least Shadow of Truth in it; and *Arnobius* takes Occasion from thence, B. 5. to rally the Extravagancies of Paganism. Yet the Tradition of this Sorcery was perpetuated among the *Romans*. *Numa* himself had imposed on the Credulity of the People, when in Memory of the pretended *Evocation* he erected an Altar on the Hill *Aventinus*, to *Jupiter*, under the Title of *Elicius*, as we have observed, Vol. 1. Some Authors, who are too credulous, pretend, that before *Numa's* Time, the old Kings of the *Aborigines* had practised the Art of calling up the Devil, under the Name of *Elicius*, and Thunder and Lightening when they pleased. Afterwards, *Porcena*, King of the *Hetrurians*, according to *Pliny*, B. 2. c. 53. had Recourse to these Sorceries, and procured Thunder to fall upon a Monster that laid the Fields of *Valsinii* waste. The Apparition of *Jupiter* to King *Numa*, gave Rise to the several Ways of expiating Thunders, with Onions, Pilchers, and Hair, according to the fabulous Stories of *Plutarch* and *Arnobius*. We refer those that are curious to know the Particulars of it, to those two Authors. Such Fables are below the Dignity of History.

Add to this, that the People were so attached to these Superstitions, that the first *Christian* Emperors probably thought it would be dangerous, entirely to abolish the Practice of them. At least, the Emperor *Constantine* in some measure confirmed, or rather tolerated, these superstitious Practices by a Law, dated in the Year of *Christ* 321; that is, nine Years after he had embraced the *Christian* Faith. We have this Law preserved in *The Theodosian Code*; it enacts, that if the Emperor's Palace, or any publick Edifice, shall be struck with Thunder, Care shall be taken to purify it, with the Assistance of the *Auspices*.

Year of lick; and in short, of Men who had no other Study, nor scarce any other Passion, but that of Arms and Politicks.

DXLV.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
T. QUINCTIUS
CRISPINUS,
Consuls.

§. III. SUCH were the equitable Judges before whom the Affair of *Tarentum* was brought. It consisted of two Articles, one of which related to the Inhabitants of this rebellious City; the other to the old Roman Governour *Licius* & *Macarius*, who had suffered it to be surprized by *Hannibal*. With regard to the *Tarentini*, their Fate was to be determined. Having been guilty of the same Treachery as the Inhabitants of *Capua*, they had deserved the same Punishment. So that the greatest Part of the Senators were for treating them with the same Severity; but their Conqueror took them under his Protection. *Fabius*, then *Prince of the Senate*, had great Weight in the House; Regard¹⁰ was had to his Intercession; and the Advice of *M' Acilius* was followed. This was, to place a strong Garrison in *Tarentum*, to oblige the *Tarentini* not to stir out of their City, and to delay pronouncing a definitive Sentence upon them, till more peaceable times. Which was indeed shewing the *Tarentini* Favour, inasmuch as it was, in a manner, making their Pardon to depend on their Fidelity. As for the Cause of the Governour of *Tarentum*, it was more strongly debated. Whilst *Livius* had been in that Command, he had disgraced himself by his Intemperance, which was followed by the Surprize of the City, in a shameful Manner: And this was his Crime. But he had made Amends for this Neglect, by a long and glorious Defence of the Citadel, which he had preserved for the *Romans*, notwithstanding the repeated Attacks of *Hannibal*. However, some judged him guilty; and others demanded Rewards and military Honours for him. It is certain that *Livius* had not a little contributed to this new Conquest; and one of his Friends would have given him all the Honour of it. He was so¹¹ unguarded as to say, in *Fabius's* Presence, that the retaking of *Tarentum* was the Work of *Livius*. To which *Fabius* briskly replied, *Yes, doubtless; if Livius had not suffered it to be taken, I could never have retaken it.* And this smart Answer was much applauded. As to the Process, the Historians have not told us how it ended. But it is probable, that it was referred to the Determination of the *Censors*. At least, many of the *Conscript Fathers* thought it was properly cognizable only by them.

§. IV. AND now, there being nothing to detain the *Consuls* any longer at *Rome*, *Quinctius Crispinus* set out first, for his *Province*, which was¹² *Lucania*. There he took Possession of the Army which *Fulvius Flaccus* had commanded in this *Province* the last Year; and *Quinctius* had a great Inclination to signalize himself by taking some important City. The Glory *Fabius* had acquired by the Conquest of *Tarentum*, raised his Emulation; and he therefore cast his Eyes on¹³ *Locri*, a strong maritime City, which might be a Refuge to *Hannibal*, and of Service to him; being a proper Place to receive Succours from *Carthage*. And *Quinctius* had already made very great Preparations to take this Place from the *Carthaginians*, having brought from *Sicily* the Machines *Marcellus* had formerly built for the Siege of *Syracuse*; and provided himself with a Fleet to besiege it by Sea. But in the mean time, *Hannibal* advanced near the *Lacinian*¹⁴ *Promontory*; and then

⁹ *Cicero* is guilty of a Mistake, when he confounds this *Livius Macatus* with *Livius Salinator*, in his second Book *De Oratore*. The latter had been *Consul*, in the Year of *Rome* 534, with *Lucius Aemilius Paulus*; and having been accused before the assembled *Tribes*, of having misapplied Part of the Spoils taken from the *Illyrians*, he had been condemned in an ignominious Manner. Upon this, he retired to his Country-House, in a Rage; and there lived in Solitude, till the Year 546, when he appeared again in publick, to take upon him Part of the Administration. It cannot therefore be true, that he commanded at *Tarentum*, when *Hannibal* took that City by Surprize, in the Year of *Rome* 541.

¹⁰ Among the *Romans*, it was always customary for the Conquerors of Cities or *Provinces*, to take them under their Protection: So that by their Conquests they gained the Title of *Patrons* and *Protectors* of the Nations they had subdued.

¹¹ *Plutarch* says, in his *Life of Fabius*, that it was *Livius* himself who ventured to give himself the Honour of having taken *Tarentum*, to the Pre-

judice of its true Conqueror. But it is not probable, that a Man then accused of having suffered the City to be surprized, should have had the Impudence to claim so important a Conquest. It is therefore more natural to follow *Livy's* Account; who puts this unjust Reproach which was thrown upon *Fabius*, into the Mouth of one of *Livius's* Partizans, who strenuously contended, that the latter had behaved himself valiantly, in the Defence of the Citadel, against the Attacks of *Hannibal*.

¹² Old *Lucania* formerly comprehended what is now a Part of *The Hither Principality*, on this Side the *Apennines*; great part of the *Basilicata*; and a part of *Calabria Citerior*, beyond the *Apennines*. See Vol. 2.

¹³ *Locri* stood near *Girace*, or *Gierazzo*, in that Part of *South-Italy*, which is now called *Calabria Ulterior*. See Vol. 2.

¹⁴ The *Lacinian* Promontory, now *Capo della Colonne*, stands almost in the Extremity of *The Gulf of Tarentum*. See B. 21. p. 414. of Vol. 2. Note 29.

the great Project of *Quinctius* was instantly postponed. He found himself not strong enough to cope with the Forces and Experience of the *Carthaginian*; and therefore made Haste to join his Collegue. *Marcellus* had come with Expedition from *Rome* to *Venusia*¹⁵; had there taken upon him the Army he had commanded the last Year, after he had recruited it; and was already upon his March, in quest of *Hannibal* and his Collegue; in order to join the one, and fight the other. *Quinctius* met him without *Lucania*, between *Venusia* and *Bantia*¹⁶; and there the two *Consuls* entrenching themselves continued in their different Camps, three Miles distant from each other; and in their Conferences determined it to be absolutely necessary, not to drop the Enterprize on *Locri*. On the contrary, they commanded *Cincius* the Admiral of the Fleet which was to guard the Coasts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, immediately to invest it by Sea; and at the same time ordered a Body of Troops, which was encamped before *Tarentum*, to surround it by Land. But *Hannibal* was informed by the *Thurians*¹⁷ of the designed Motion of the Detachment near *Tarentum*, and resolved to lie in Ambush for it, and surprize it.

Year of
R O M E
DXLV.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
T. QUINCTIUS
CRISPINUS,
Consuls.

ON the Road from *Tarentum* to *Locri*, there was a little River called *Laüs*¹⁸, which watered the City of *Petelia*¹⁹; and in the Valley where this River ran, *Hannibal* hid three thousand Horse, and two thousand Foot. The *Romans* continued their Rout without Suspicion, or Precaution, when they were all on a sudden invested with the Enemy's Infantry and Cavalry: And the Action was brisk, and the Execution considerable. The *Romans* lost three thousand two hundred Men; (two thousand killed on the Spot, and twelve hundred made Prisoners of War;) and the rest fled cross the Rocks and Forests to *Tarentum*. In the mean time *Cincius* began the Siege of *Locri*, with the few Troops he had; but proceeded slowly.

HANNIBAL, on the other hand, still kept following *Quinctius*, not knowing his Collegue had joined him; and at length came near the two Camps of the *Consuls*, and there encamped himself. But he determined not to fight them, unless separately; and to act only by Stratagem against them, as long as they should continue united. He remembered, that the utmost he could do the last Year, was to equal his Victories to those of *Marcellus*; and therefore thinking it impracticable, to gain any Advantage over two *Consuls* with their united Forces, he kept himself in his Entrenchments; suffered his Men to engage only in slight Skirmishes; waited for Opportunities to deceive the Enemy by Artifice; and at length succeeded beyond his Expectations.

§. V. BETWEEN his Camp, and those of the two *Consuls*, there was a little Hill, which was convenient for Encampments, because many Springs rose in it. It was nearest to *Hannibal*, and the *Romans* were surprized that he had not taken Possession of it at first. But the *Carthaginian* chose rather to prepare an Ambuscade, than to pitch his Camp, there. The Soldiers of the *Consular* Armies were unaccountably fond of the Situation of this Hill; or at least they loudly complained of their Generals for not seizing it. *Must we then wait, said they, till Hannibal has seized it? From that Eminence he will over-look us, and come down and beat us in the Valley.* And as for *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* was always in his Thoughts. He spoke of nothing else, to Gods, or Men. The *Carthaginian* General, was the Subject of his Conversations, Prayers, and Dreams. The *Roman* was extremely impatient to meet him in the Field; come to a decisive Battel with him; and, if possible, engage him in single Combat. But this was a youthful Passion, which ill became an old General, of above Sixty. However, his Eagerness to draw as near as possible to the Enemy's Army, induced him at length to comply with the

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.
Liv. B. 27.
c. 26.

¹⁵ We have shewn the Situation of this City, Vol. 2. Its Ruins are yet to be seen, in *La Puglia*, and are called *Venusia*.

¹⁶ The ancient City of *Bantia*, stood in *Apulia* *Penceria*, near the Springs of the River *Bradano*, at a little Distance from *Petra Galla*, and *Cirenza*, Cities of *La Puglia*.

¹⁷ *Thurii* formerly stood on The Gulph of *Tarentum*, in that Province of *South-Italy*, which is now called *Calabria Citerior*. The Place where it formerly stood is called by the Natives *Sybari Rovinata*. See Vol. 1. and 2.

¹⁸ The River *Laüs* is now known by the Name of *Laino*. It rises about the South Borders of The *Hither Principality*, and discharges itself into the *Tyrrhenian*, or *Tuscan* Sea. It divided *Bruttium* from *Lucania*. It gave its own Name to a neighbouring City, which the ancient Geographers call *Laum*; and to the Gulph which the modern *Italians* call *Le Golfe de Policastro*.

¹⁹ *Petelia*, a City of old *Bruttium*, stood on an Eminence. Its Situation seems to agree with that of *Belcastro*. See p. 160. of this Volume, Note 109.

Year of
R O M E
DXLV.

M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
T. QUINCTIUS
CRISPINUS,
Consuls.

Desires of his Men. *Marcellus* was also for seizing the little Hill; but he thought Precaution necessary. He did not know the Situation of the Place, and he was willing to go and reconnoitre it himself; waiting only for an Opportunity to communicate his Thoughts to his Collegue.

In the mean time, *Hannibal* might perhaps suspect *Marcellus's* Design, or have Notice of it by his Spies. But whether it were by Accident or Design, he hid a Detachment of *Numidians* in the Cavities of the Hill, and the Bushes which covered it. They marched thither in the Night, and kept themselves under Covert in the Day, lest the Enemy should discover them at a Distance, by the Glitter of their Arms; only one single Man appearing on the Eminence, to watch the Motions of the Enemy, and give the *Numidians* in Ambush Notice of them. At length *Marcellus*, tired with the Impatience of his Soldiers to go and take Possession of this Hill, accosted his Collegue on a sudden, and without Reflection, thus. *What should hinder us from going together, to view this Post, of which they are so fond? Our own Eyes will inform us better than any Reports from others.* And the hasty *Quinctius*, came into the Proposal with as little Deliberation, as if there had no Danger attended it, and followed his Collegue. The ²⁰ two Consuls set out, with a Guard of only two hundred and twenty Horse ²¹, the greatest Part of which were *Hetrurians*, that is, of a suspected and malecontent Nation; and the rest were *Fregellani*. Indeed *Marcellus* the Son, with a *Roman* ²² Officer, joined his Father; and then the two rash Generals, and the two ²³ Commanders of the Auxiliaries, marched on with Unconcern to an Expedition which would better have become a private Centinel, or an inferior Officer, than the Heads of the Republick. *Marcellus* himself was so little apprehensive of Danger, that he had left Orders with his Army to decamp on the first Signal, and advance to take Possession of this new Post.

As soon as the Troop appeared in the Plain, the *Numidian* Watchman posted on the Hill, gave his Companions Notice of the Approach of a small Body of *Romans*; and the *Africans* suffered them to advance to the Foot of the Hill; and then fell down suddenly on the Enemy. The *Numidians* did not indeed expect to cut off at once two such valuable Persons; how could they possibly foresee it? *Hannibal* had formed this Ambuscade there, only to surprize some Party of dispersed *Romans*, or some Foragers. But by unexpected good Fortune, his most formidable Enemy came of his own Accord, and fell into the Snare. The *Numidians* managed their Sally out of their Holes with Prudence. Those who were to come from the Top of the Hill, and attack the Enemy in Front, did not appear, till those who were to attack them in the Rear were in full March. So that the Consuls were not aware of their being obliged to fight, till they were invested; and then, they could neither fly, nor gain the Top of the Rock. Being therefore surrounded on all Sides, and overwhelmed with Darts from the upper Ground, they fell with Fury on those who cut off their Retreat. And perhaps

²⁰ According to *Plutarch*, before *Marcellus* set out to view the Rock, he ordered Sacrifices to be offered up; as the *Romans* generally did, when they were going on some important Expedition. They thought this previous Act of Religion necessary, whether it were to render themselves worthy of the Protection of the Gods, or to discover beforehand the Success of the Enterprizes, by the Entrails of the Victim. In the first Victim that *Marcellus* sacrificed, he and the Sacrificer found a Liver without a Head to it; which was judged an ill Omen, according to the Traditions of the *Aruspices*. Their Business was to examine the Motions, Situation, Colour, &c. of the Inwards of the Victim. If they were less than ordinary, or unsound, or not entire, the Alarm was great. It was taken for granted, that these were Manifestations of the Anger of the Gods. But in the second Victim that *Marcellus* ordered to be offered up, to supply the Defects of the first, the Head of the Liver extended itself all on a sudden to a great Bulk, and all the other Parts of the Animal were as good as could be desired. This therefore appeased the Fears of the Consul, and raised his Hopes. He was satisfied with a Presage so auspi-

cious, according to the Superstitions of that Time, and was the more in Haste to execute the Enterprize he had in hand. But the *Aruspices*, adds *Plutarch*, did not judge as he did. The remarkable Difference between the two Victims made them distrustful. They did not think such a Contrariety between two Presages immediately after one another, natural; and were afraid, says *Livy*, that under these fine Outfides, the angry Gods were laying a deluding Bait for *Marcellus*, the more surely to lead him on to his Destruction, by way of Punishment for his Want of Regard to the first *Angury*. *Valerius Maximus*, B. 1. relates the same Fact, but with this Difference, that the Liver of the second Victim had a double Head.

²¹ According to *Livy* and *Plutarch*, forty of these two hundred and twenty Horse were *Fregellani*, and the other hundred and eighty *Hetrurians*.

²² This Officer's Name was *Aulus Manlius*. He was a *Legionary Tribune*, as well as the Son of *Marcellus*.

²³ *Livy* gives the first of these two Commanders the Name of *Lucius Aremnius*; and the second that of *Manius Aulus*.

the

the *Consuls* would have made their Way through the Enemy, if they had not been deserted. But the cowardly, or treacherous *Hetrurians*, fled at the first Appearance of Danger; and the *Consuls* had left round them only five or six Officers, and about forty *Fregellani*. However, these few brave Men fought desperately, and had already opened a Passage; when *Marcellus*, being wounded by a Dart, fell from his Horse, and died. Nevertheless, his Collegue, already dangerously wounded in two Places, and *Marcellus* the Son, who was more slightly wounded, behaved themselves so valiantly, that with the Assistance of their little Guard, they returned to their Camp. Two Roman ²⁴ Officers were killed; another ²⁵ taken by the Enemy, with five of the *Consuls* *Lictors*, and eighteen Horsemen; and almost all the rest perished. In the Roman Camp, whither the News of the Battel was brought a little too late, the Soldiers were all getting ready to march in a tumultuous manner to the Assistance of the two Generals; but the Arrival of *Quinctius*, with the small Remains of his Guard, stopped them.

§. VI. THUS died the renowned *Marcellus*, surnamed *The Sword of the Republic*; a Man famous for many Victories, the Terror of *Hannibal*, and the Conqueror of *Syracuse*! And indeed it is not easy to determine, whether the Lance which robbed him of his Life, was more fatal to the Country, or the Glory, of this great Man. If he died like a brave Soldier, he thereby lost much of the Character of a prudent General: and all Antiquity blames him, for bringing *Rome* to the very Brink of Destruction, by a rash Sally, which was unpardonable in a Man of his Age. But nevertheless, Justice ought to be done to his Memory. Except in the last Instance, he displayed the Hero on all Occasions. Perhaps no Man ever shone more in the highest Dignities. In his first *Consulate*, and as it were for his first Essay, he killed with his own Hand a King of the *Gauls*; whose Spoils he afterwards hung up in the Temple of *Jupiter*. He taught the *Romans* not to fear *Hannibal*, but oppose him with their ancient Valour. If he did not gain any decisive Victory over this formidable Enemy, he at least harrassed him with frequent Battels, and was the first who taught him, that he was not invincible. The Blemishes of his Death ought not therefore to have effaced out of the Minds of *Romans*, the Remembrance of the glorious Exploits of his Life: and as for himself, his immature End was in some measure an Advantage to him. He by that means escaped the Mortification of seeing himself outshined by young *Scipio*, whose Glory was then growing, and soon after became superior to that of all the Generals of his Time. And lastly, *Marcellus* had a Taste for Politeness, as well as an uncommon Degree of Valour. He brought to *Rome* such ²⁶ Monuments as were great Ornaments to his Country, and sufficient to enable the *Romans* to bring the Arts of Sculpture and Painting to Perfection.

As

²⁴ One of these two Officers who lost their Lives, was that *Aulus Manlius* the *Legionary Tribune*, who joined with the Son of *Marcellus*; and the other was *Manius Aulus*, who commanded some Troops of the Allies.

²⁵ *Lucius Herennius*, another Officer of the Allies, was the Person who was taken by the Enemy.

²⁶ According to *Plutarch*, *Marcellus* did not only embellish the City of *Rome*; he likewise erected a *Gatana* in *Sicily*, a stately *Gymnasium*; that is, a Place for teaching the Youth all bodily Exercises. And the Works with which he enriched the Temple of *Minerva* at *Lindos*, did not a little contribute to the Embellishment of that Sanctuary; in Gratitude for which Benefaction, a Statue was erected to his Memory there. There was an Inscription upon the Honour of this great Man. *Possidonius* the Philosopher transcribed it, and has transmitted it to us, in Words to this Effect. Traveller, thou seest here the Image of an Hero, who was the Ornament of his Country. This is *Clau- Marcellus*, a Man of an illustrious Family, who seven times invested with the Consular Dignity, often struck Terror into the Enemies of the Roman Name. To which *Plutarch* adds, that he also carried to *Samothece*, from *Syracuse*, Statues and Pictures of great Value, which were placed in the Temple.

of the Gods called *Cabiri*; which was the Name given by the Pagans to certain Gods, which were worshipped with a particular kind of Worship, in different Parts of *Greece* and *Asia*.

They were held in so great Veneration, that it was thought an Act of Irreverence to pronounce their Names. But nothing that the Mythologists have said, or the Learned discovered concerning them, gives us a clear Idea of them. Ancient Authors vary so much concerning these Pagan Gods, that we can yet form only very uncertain Conjectures about them. Some derive their Name from the Hebrew Word *Cabir*, which signifies Great and Powerful: And the Greek Monk *Euthymius Zigabenus*, and *Cedrenus*, seem to confirm this Etymology. The former observed, that the *Saracens* had been Idolaters to the time of the Emperor *Heraclius*, and that this Nation then worshipped *Venus* under the Name of *Chabar*, that is, the Great Goddess. And the second confirms *Euthymius*'s Account, when he says, in his *Chronicon*, that these People called the Constellation of *Venus*, *Cubar*. But *Monsieur Astor* endeavours in a Dissertation on that very Subject to prove that the *Cabiri* were the same as the *Curetes* and *Corybantes*, so often mentioned by the fabulous Poets; and he puts them upon the same Rank, or rather does not distinguish them from the *Telchines*, famous

Year of

ROMAN

DXLV.

T. QUINCTIUS

CRISPINUS,

Consul.

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

As soon as *Hannibal* heard of the Death of *Marcellus*, he instantly left his Camp, and came to the Place where the dead Body of his Rival lay: and at this Sight, Barbarian as he was, he discovered no Marks of an immoderate Joy. He even seemed sensible of the Misfortunes of this Great Man, in losing his Life in so unworthy a Manner. His first Care was to take off the Ring ²⁷ the Consul had on his Finger; it being that with which he sealed his Dispatches. The crafty Carthaginian

famous Magicians, whom the Greeks called *δαίμονες*, or *Destroyers*. The latter were so called, because, according to the Fictions of Polytheism, they made use of the Secrets of Magic to hurt Mankind. They were deemed the Authors of all the Miseries which laid the Earth waste; and silly People fancied, that these Enchanters could raise Storms, and bring Plagues, Famines, and Diseases, whenever they pleased. These are they, whom *Ovid*, in his seventh Book of *Metamorph.* changes into Rocks. Others have confounded the *Cabiri* with certain mischievous *Genii*. Some give this Name to *Ceres*, *Pluto*, *Proserpine*, and *Mercury*. *Varro*, *de Ling. Lat.* B. 4. makes them the same as the Heaven and the Earth. The Heaven and the Earth, says he, are worshipped by the People of *Samothrace*, under the Title of *The Great Gods*. Several have confined this Appellation of the Gods *Cabiri* to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. *Cassius Hemina*, according to *Macrobius*, and *Dion. Halicarnassensis*, thought that the *Cabiri*, or Great Gods, as they were called by the Greeks and Romans, were the same as the *Dii Penates*. *Dardanus*, say they, brought them from *Samothrace* to *Phrygia*, and from thence they were carried into Italy by *Aeneas*. In a Greek Inscription they were called *Dioskouroi*, as well as the two Brothers *Castor* and *Pollux*: and they who have thought them the Sons of *Jupiter* and *Calliope*, or *Proserpine*, draw an Argument from thence in Proof of their Opinion. The most common Opinion is, that the *Cabiri* were the Sons or Grandsons of *Vulcan*. At least *Herodotus* contends, that this was the Opinion of the Egyptians. And *Hesychius* gives them the same Origin. This Tradition is also perpetuated on a Medal of the City of *Theffalonica*, and the Reverse of a Medal of the Emperor *Claudius* the Goth. On each of these Medals there is a *Cabir*, with the Greek Name of *καβίριος*, and with a Hammer in his Hand. But as we have not been able to get a Sight of the second, we here give the Reader a Stamp only of the first. This Symbol in his Hand signifies his being of the Race of *Vulcan*, the God of Blacksmiths. And thus several Mythologists make the *Cabiri* to have been the first Persons who taught the People the Art of working Iron. They lived, say the Mythologists, in *Phrygia*, near Mount *Cabyris*, from which they took their Name. Tho' some affirm, that they were so called from the Name of their Mother *Cabira*, the Daughter of *Proteus*, and the Wife of *Vulcan*; and that they overran vast Countries, and struck Terror wherever they came; and were from thence called *The Great Gods*, and *The Powerful Gods*.

All therefore that can most reasonably be inferred from this odd Jumble of Contradictions, is, that the Pagans themselves could give no Account of the Origin of these imaginary Gods, which was lost in the fabulous Ages. Nevertheless, these Gods were worshipped in several Parts of Greece and Asia; at *Lemnos*, *Theffalonica*, *Thebes*, *Rhodes*, in *Phrygia*, *Phanicia*, &c. *Pausanias* tells us, that the Territory of the *Pergamians* was consecrated to the *Cabiri*. They had a Temple at *Memphis*, which no Person was permitted to enter, besides the Priest, who had the Inspection of it. *Lactantius* speaks of a God *Cabirius*, whom the *Macedonians* worshipped. These Gods were in Number four, according to *Dionysodorus*, as quoted by an old Commentator on *Apollonius*; namely, *Axioceros*, *Axiocersa*, *Axiocersus*, and *Casmilus*, that is, according to that Author, *Ceres*,

Proserpine, *Pluto*, and *Mercury*, under different Names. *Varro*, B. 6. *de Ling. Lat.* will have the last to have been of an inferior Order, and as it were a Minister to the three first. And for this reason, they who were admitted into the *Samothracian* Mysteries, pronounced his Name with less Reserve than they did those of the other three. *Casmilus nominatur in Samothracum Mysteriis, Dii quidam administer magnis Diis*. The Island of *Samothrace* was as it were the Center of the superstitious Worship paid the *Cabiri*. There the Abominations, Murders, and Impieties, which were committed in nocturnal Assemblies, were revered as Mysteries. In order to be admitted to these Mysteries, every one was to pass through all the Ceremonies of Initiation, which were some very extravagant and burdensome Offices that were required of these Novices. But according to *Hesychius*, even Children were incorporated in this fanatical Society. Before the Initiated were admitted, they were placed on a sort of Throne crowned with Laurel, and Bands or Stripes of Purple tied round their Bellies. Then the chief of the Company danced round the Persons to be received; and this ridiculous Mummery concluded with Oaths and Execrations on that Person, who should reveal the infamous Secrets, of which they were going to be Eye-Witnesses, and Partakers. The Society fancied, that through the Protection of the *Cabiri*, they were safe from all Dangers, Thunder, Lightning, Tempests, and other bad Accidents. We find some Traces of the *Cabirian* Feasts, in ancient Authors, and on the Reverse of a Medal of *Gordian*, struck at *Theffalonica*, as the Inscription implies, which is *THESSALONICENSIVM CABIRIA*. On this Medal we see a Palm-Branch issuing out of an Urn or Vase. By which the Medalist intended to point out the Honours and Rewards given to the Conquerors in the Games which were celebrated on that Festival. The *Capricornus* which the *Cabir* holds in his Hand, in the preceding Medal, signifies perhaps, that the Festival was celebrated on the Winter Solstice. Several Authors, as particularly, *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Strabo*, *Bochart* in his *Geographia Sacra* and his *Canaan*, *Tobie*, and *Gutherlet*, in his Dissertation on this Subject, have collected together the several Dreams of the fabulous Ages, concerning the Name, Origin, Number, Mysteries, Offices, and Worship, of the *Cabiri*, and of their Sisters, who were called *The Cabirides Nymphs*. *St. Athanasius* tells us, in his Book of *The Incarnation*, that these pretended Gods uttered Oracles in the Temple in *Samothrace*. The Expiations which their Priest made for Murders, and the Iron Rings, or *Talisman*s, which he gave the Murderers for Preservatives, shew to what an Excess the People ran into this strange Fanaticism.

²⁷ According to *Aulus Gellius*, B. 10. the Greeks and Romans formerly wore their Rings on the fourth Finger of the Left Hand. For this reason it was called the Ring-Finger. And *Macrobius* observes, (after *Appian the Grammarian*, in his *History of Egypt*) That this Finger had this Privilege above the rest, because one of its finest Nerves reached from this Finger to the Heart. But modern Anatomists all agree, that this Opinion is as false as it is childish.

Pliny, speaking of the Use of Rings, says that they were at first worn at Rome on the two Fingers which are next to the little Finger; and observes, that there were some Proofs of this ancient Custom.

* Plate 12.
Medal 4.
† Plate 12.
Medal 6.

** Plate 12.
Medal 5.



1
Silver



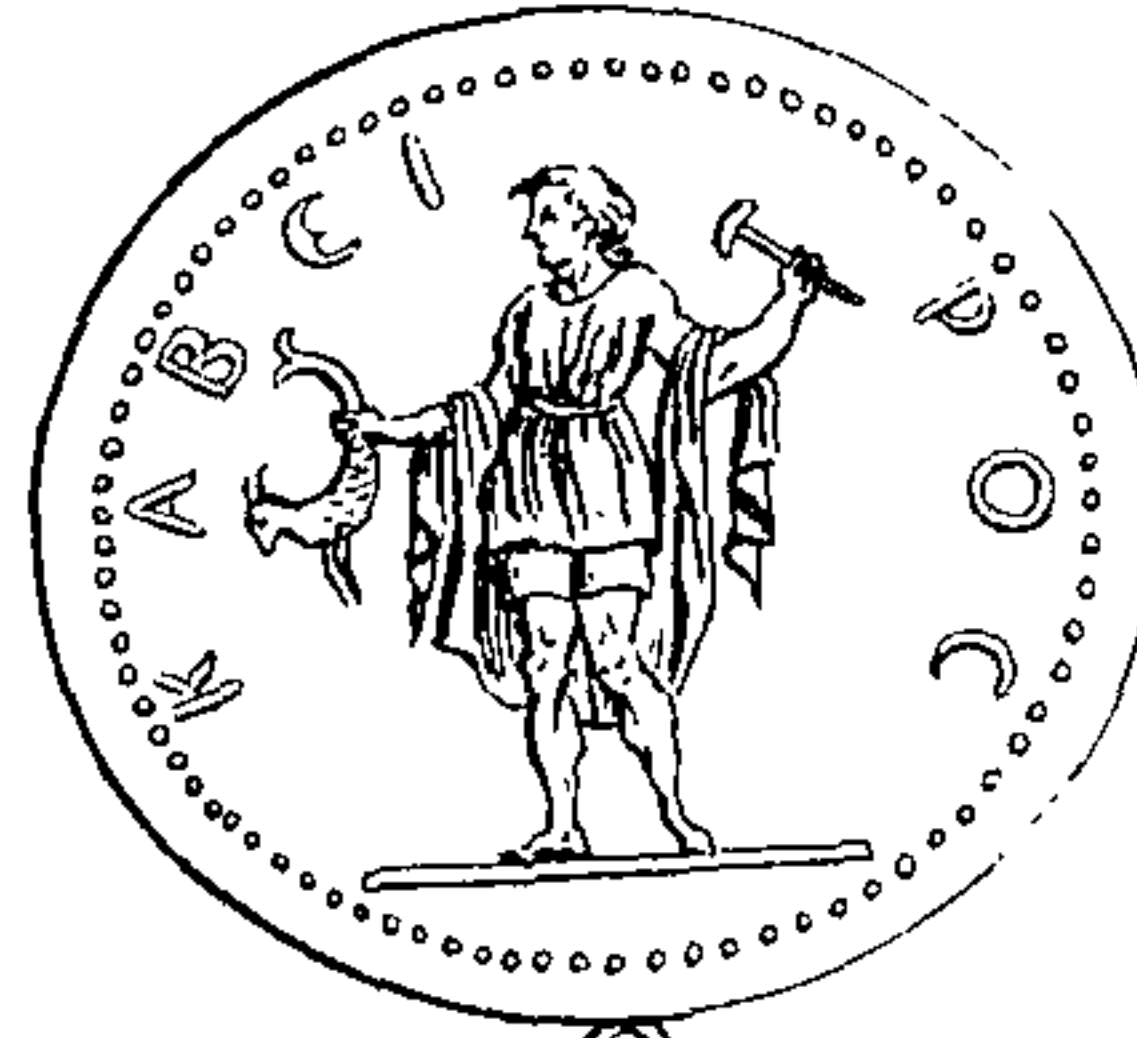
2
Gold



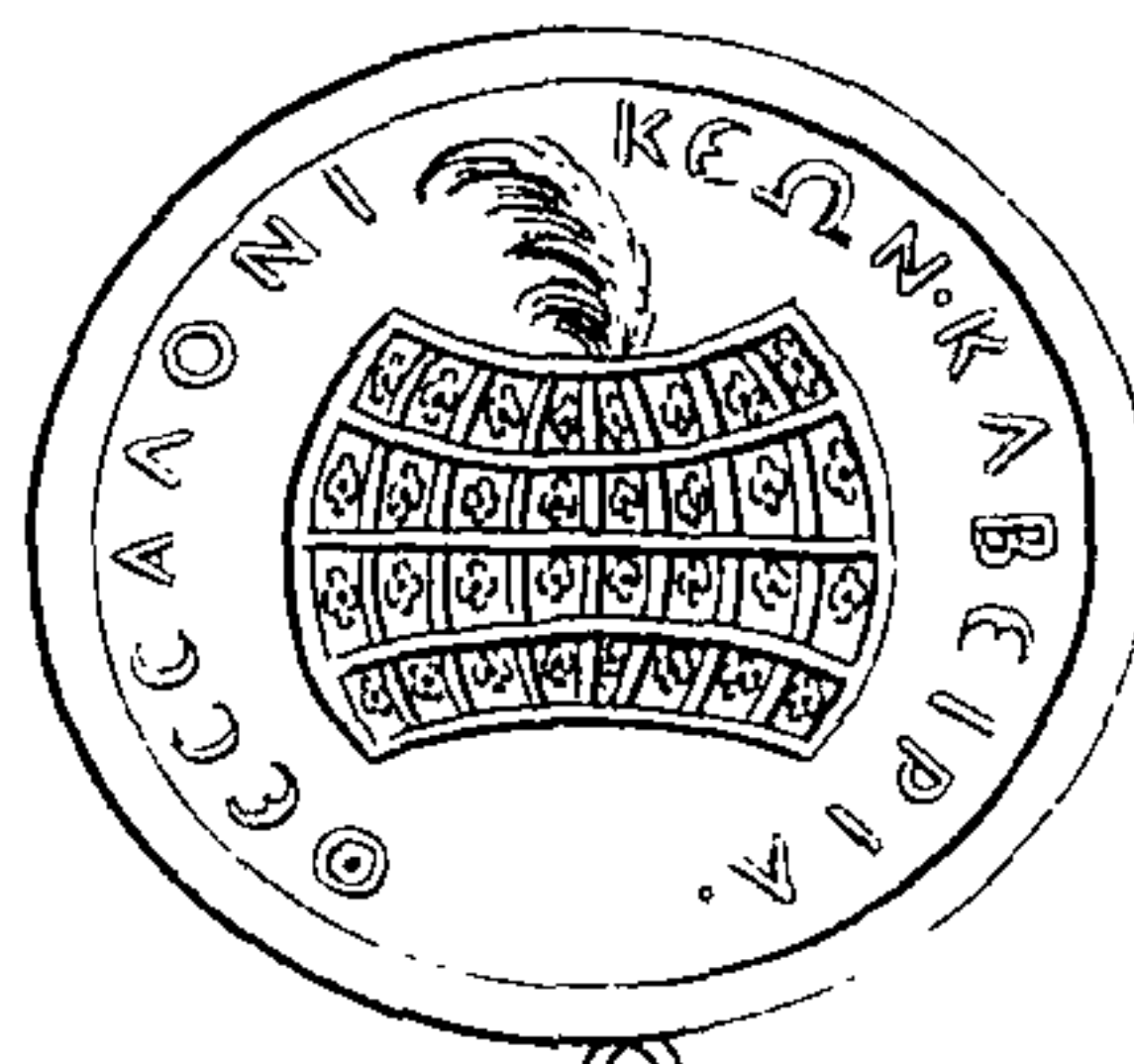
3
Brass



4
Brass



5
Brass



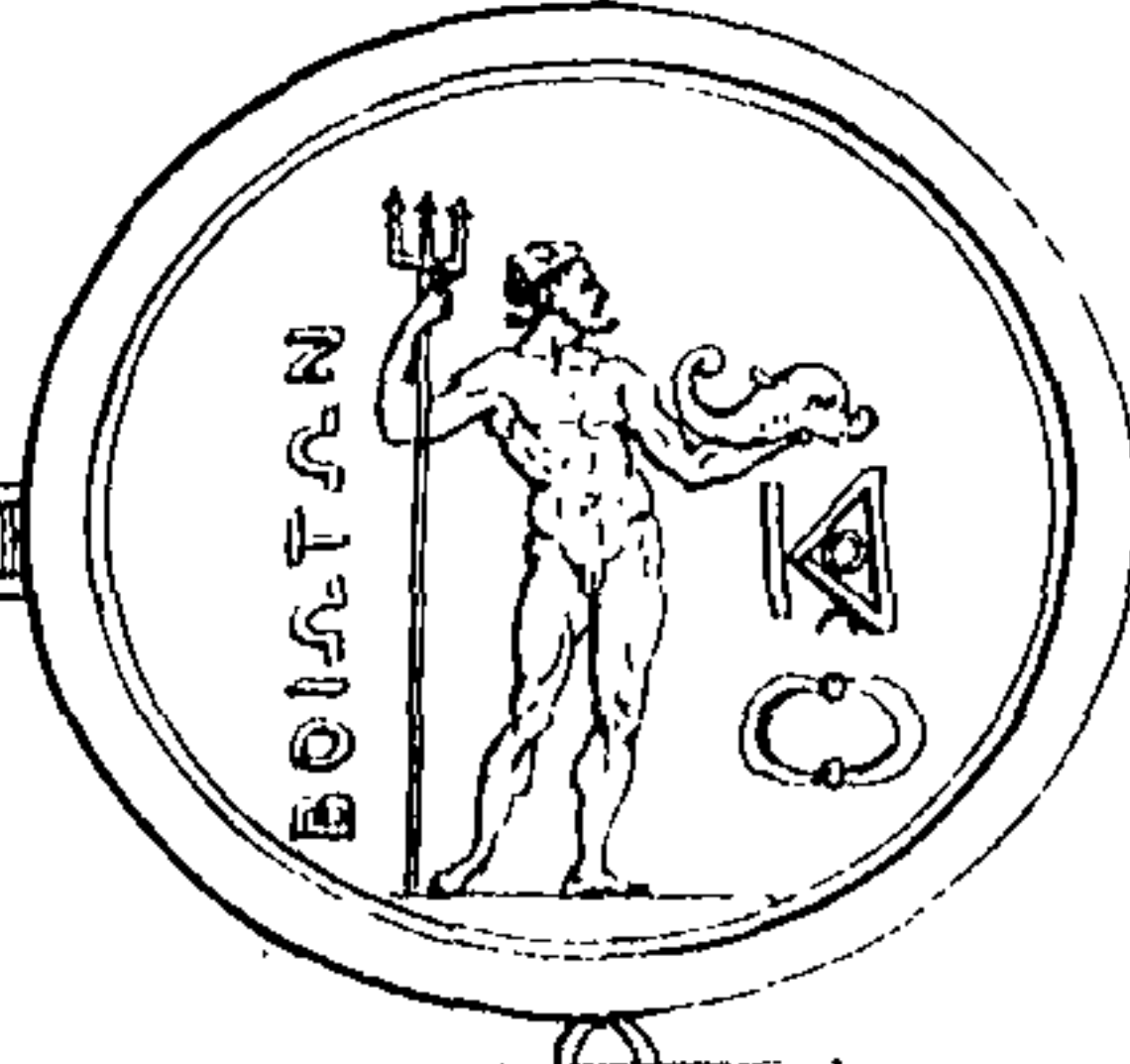
6
Brass



7
Brass



8
Silver



8
Silver

thaginian did not doubt but he should be able to use it to very good Purpose. Then standing for some time by the *Corps*, he viewed it, admired the Stature and fine Mien of the Deceased, caused him to be wrapped up in a rich Stuff; and the Honours he paid his Enemy, rebounded on himself. He ordered the Body, thus finely dressed, to be placed on a Funeral-Pile, and burnt; gathered up the Ashes, inclosed them in a Silver Urn, with a Crown of Gold on the Top of it; placed likewise a Crown of Laurel upon it; and in this pompous Manner sent the Remains of the Father to the Son, who had been slightly wounded in the Engagement. But it is ²⁸ affirmed, That a Party of *Numidian* Robbers, who sallied out from *Hannibal's* Camp without Orders, surprized those who were carrying the Funeral-Urn; and That in the Onset, the Urn was dropped, and the ²⁹ Ashes of *Marcellus* spilt on the Field of Battel. Which *Hannibal* looked on as a Decree

Year of
R O M E
DXLV.
T. QUINCTIUS
CRISPINUS,
Consul.

to be seen, in the Statues of *Numa* and *Servius Tullius*, which were in being in his time. Afterwards, out of Vanity and Luxury, the *Romans* increased the Number of their Rings, so as not only to wear them on both Hands, but on the different Joints of the same Finger. The *Gauls*, according to him, wore their Rings on the middle Finger; which was the only one on which the *Romans* did not wear them, in his time. All the rest had their Share of them; and they put them in the same manner on the Images of their Gods. *Gallia Britannique in medio dicuntur usæ. Hic nunc solus excipitur. Cæteri omnes onerantur, atque etiam privatim articuli minoribus aliis.* *Lucian* with great reason laughs at a Man, who wore sixteen Rings on his Fingers.

This Profuseness in them made *Pliny* say, B. 33. c. 1. that so many Rings were rather a Load than an Ornament to it. And from this excessive Luxury, he takes occasion to inveigh against him who first wore a Ring. *Pessimam vita scelus fecit, qui id primus induit digitis.* *Martial* speaks of this odd Ostentation, B. 5. Epigram 11.

*Sardonychas, Smaragdos, Adamantas, Jaspidas, uno
Portat in articulo, Stella Severe, meus.*

And in the sixtieth Epigram of the eleventh Book,

*Senos Charinus omnibus digitis gerit,
Nec nocte ponit, annulos.*

The old *Romans* were proud of wearing Gold-Rings. But only Senators, or *Knights*, according to *Dio*. B. 48. and *Legionary Tribunes*, according to *Appian*, in *Lybicis*, were permitted to wear them. Even Iron-Rings were thought Marks of Distinction, as we have already observed. But in After-Ages, when *Rome* was overstocked with the Riches of the old World, she could not adhere to this happy Simplicity. Opulence produced Pride and State. The Citizens, as it were, tired with their Abundance, were no longer satisfied with Gold and Silver; but bought Rubies, Emeralds, Diamonds, and the most scarce, and precious Stones, at great Prices, to adorn their Hands with them. A Man then was not ashamed to wear the Value of a considerable Estate on his Fingers. *Multis hoc modis, ut cætera Luxuria variavit, Gemmas addendo exquisiti Fulgoris, censuque opimo digitos onerando;* is a Reproach which *Pliny* casts on his Countrymen in the above-cited Place. And at the same time he highly commends some particular Persons, especially the *Quinctii*, for still retaining the Modesty of their Fathers. He says, that even the Women of the *Quinctian* Family made it a Rule among them never to wear Gold-Rings. He likewise mentions one *Calpurnius Flamma*, one *Lucius Furius*, and one *Caius Manilius*, Lieutenant to *Caius Marius*, in the *Jugurthan* War, who all refused to wear any but Iron-Rings during their Magistracies.

The same Author declares also, with no less Vehemence, against the Prodigality of those, who affected to wear very heavy Rings. This Madness prevailed in *Juvenal's* time; and gave Occasion to

the following poignant Reflection of that Satyrist, in his seventh Satyr:

Ciceroni nemo ducentos

Nunc dederit nummos, nisi fulserit annulus ingens.

Many of the *Romans* were so very silly, as to judge of the Merit of an Orator, only by the Bigness of his Ring. If he had had all the Talents of *Cicero*, and had not dazzled the Eyes of the Vulgar with this sparkling Ornament, his Eloquence would have been despised, or at least but poorly rewarded. And some had carried their Delicacy this Way to so monstrous Excess, that they changed their Rings as they did their Clothes, and had proper ones for every Season. Which extravagant Affectation gave rise to the following satyrical Reflections on *Crispinus*, by *Juvenal*.

Ventilet æstivum digitis sudantibus aurum,

Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera Gemmae.

We have still preserved several Sorts of Rings of the Ancients, of different Materials, as Gold, Silver, Enamel, precious Stones, Crystal, Glass, Amber, Ivory, Copper, Iron, &c.

²⁸ This Account, says *Plutarch*, is agreeable to those of *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Valerius Maximus*. But according to *Livy*, and *Cæsar Augustus*, adds the Greek Historian, the Urn was carried, and safely delivered, to the Son of *Marcellus*; and the generous Son shewed these precious Remains all those Marks of Distinction which the illustrious Father deserved. But *Livy* does not in any wise say this. He only says, That *Hannibal* went and encamped on the Hill, where the Battel was fought which had proved so fatal to *Marcellus*, and his Attendants; and That the Body of the Deceased was carefully buried by the *Carthaginian* General. *Gastra in tumulum, in quo pugnatum est, ex templo transfert. Ibi inventum Marcelli corpus sepelit.* As for *Cæsar Augustus*, it is impossible to determine what he said of it, his Writings being now lost. Add to this, that according to *Livy*, the old *Roman* Annalists gave different Accounts of the Circumstances of the Death of the *Roman* General. Among others, he quotes one *Lucius Cælius*, or as some Criticks correct the Name, *Caius Lælius*, who had written some historical Memoirs, as may appear by the tenth Book of *Polybius*; and this Author, whoever he was, gave three different Accounts of the Death of *Marcellus*. The first was built only on a popular Tradition. The second had been taken from the Funeral Panegyrick which young *Marcellus*, an Eye-Witness of this unfortunate Expedition, had pronounced, in Honour to his Father's Memory. And the third was thought by *Lælius* himself to be built on incontestable Proofs. As for *Livy*, he does not say where in they differed; but only mentions that Opinion which he thought best founded.

²⁹ On the ninth Day after the Funeral Procession, the *Greeks* and *Romans* always gathered up the Ashes of those who had been burnt on the Pile. This Office belonged to the nearest Relations of the Deceased. The Men and Women, dressed in Mourning, gathered up the Remains of the Body, sprinkled them with Milk and Wine, and then put them in

Year of of Fate. *Heaven*, said he, when the Matter was related to him, *has decreed, that*
 R O M E Marcellus *shall not have the Benefit of Burial; and the Will of the Gods ought*
 DXLV. *not to be resisted.* And he contented himself with only punishing the sacrilegious

T. QUINCTIUS
 CRISPINUS,
 Consul.
 Zonaras, B. 9.
 Livy, B. 27.
 c. 28.

Numidians; and left the Bones of the Deceased exposed.

§. VII. AND now, *Hannibal* had already decamped, and posted himself on the
 Hill which proved so fatal to the *Consuls*; whilst *Quinctius*, sole General of the
 two Armies, was suffering a great deal from his Wounds. Nevertheless, he had Pre-
 sence of Mind enough to think of these two important Things. 1st. He decamped
 the Night following the Fight, and posted himself between inaccessible Mountains,
 thereby to secure the Troops of the Republick. And, 2^{dly}. As soon as informed that
Hannibal had seized his Collegue's 3^o Ring, he was apprehensive that an ill Use
 might be made of it, in order to surprize Towns; and therefore dispatched Cou-
 riers to all the neighbouring Cities in the Interest of *Rome*, to prevent their be-
 ing deceived by any Letters that might be sent them in *Marcellus's* Name, and

sealed

a Vase or Urn made for that Purpose; often mix-
 ing Flowers and Perfumes with them. Sometimes
 these Offices were confined to the *Pontifices*, and
 the most distinguished of the Senators and Magi-
 strates; who, after they had washed their Hands,
 discharged this last Duty in *Tunicks* only, and bare-
 foot. But this Distinction was paid only to the
 Ashes of illustrious Men. The Priest who presided
 at the Ceremony, held a Branch of Olive in his
 Hand, with which he sprinkled the whole Assembly
 with Water, three times.

The Design of this sprinkling was to purify those
 present from the Pollutions they had, according to
 the Principles of Paganism, contracted, by perform-
 ing the Funeral Ceremonies to a dead Body.

The *Sepulchral* Urns were more or less valuable,
 according to the Rank of the Person deceased.
 Some of these Urns are daily discovered. The most
 common ones are made of baked Earth; and these
 were used by the lower Sort. The Grandees and
 rich Men of *Rome* inclosed the Ashes of their An-
 cestors, in Urns of Gold, Silver, Marble, Porphyry,
 &c. and the Carvings and Relievo's upon them ge-
 nerally cost as much as the Materials. And some-
 times Inscriptions and Epitaphs were also engraved
 upon them.

And among the many antique Vases which have
 escaped the Shipwreck of Time, we find some Urns
 of Glass. Such, according to *Strabo*, was that in
 which the Citizens of *Alexandria* shewed the Re-
 mains of *Alexander the Great*; tho' we are told
 elsewhere, that *Ptolomy* had put this Conqueror's
 Ashes in a Golden Urn. *Marcus Varro*, according
 to *Pliny*, B. 35. ordered that his Ashes should be
 put in an Earthen Urn, with some Leaves of Myr-
 tle, Olive, and Poplar. And in this, says that Au-
 thor, he followed the Customs of the *Pythagoreans*,
 who banished all State and Pomp from Funeral Ce-
 remonies.

The Earthen Urns were generally larger than those
 of great Value; whether because the Ashes of several
 Persons, as of a Husband and Wife, for instance,
 were put into one, agreeably to this ancient Inscrip-
 tion,

Urna brevis geminum quamvis tenet ista cadaver;

Or whether the Bones of common Persons, which
 were but half burnt, were put into these Urns with
 their Ashes. For as to the Bones of Persons of
 Quality, such of them as were not entirely consumed
 by the Fire, were put into another sort of Vase,
 which the Ancients call *Offuarium*.

The better to preserve these cinerary Urns, some
 of the Ancients used to place them under Stones,
 which had Epitaphs upon them; or in Burial-Vaults.
 But others made it Matter of Merit to keep them
 by them in their Houses.

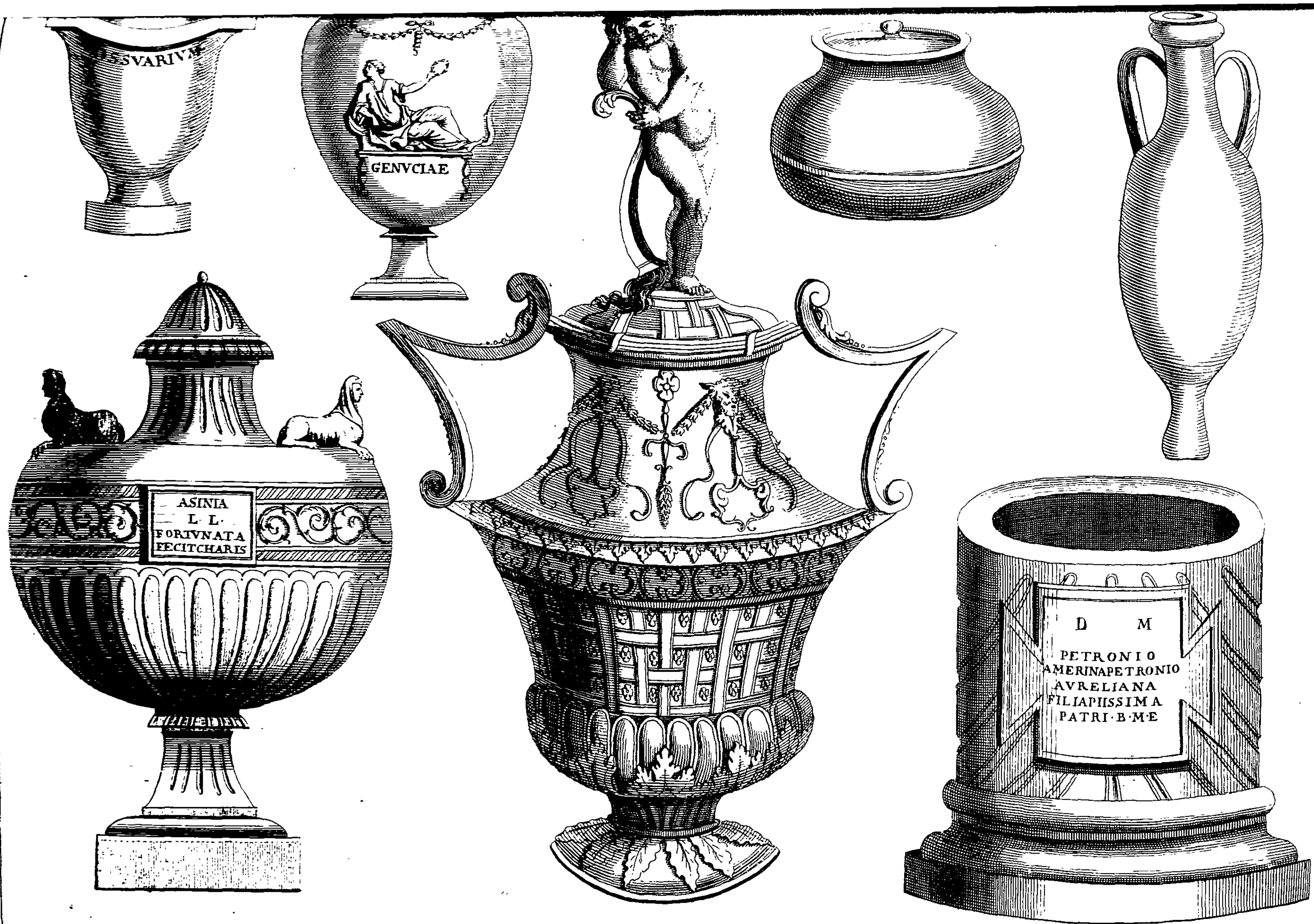
We here present the Reader with the Figures of
 a few only of that prodigious Number of Urns,

which are daily dug up, and which enrich the Cabi-
 nets of the Curious; but enough, to shew him the
 Taste of the Ancients with regard to them.

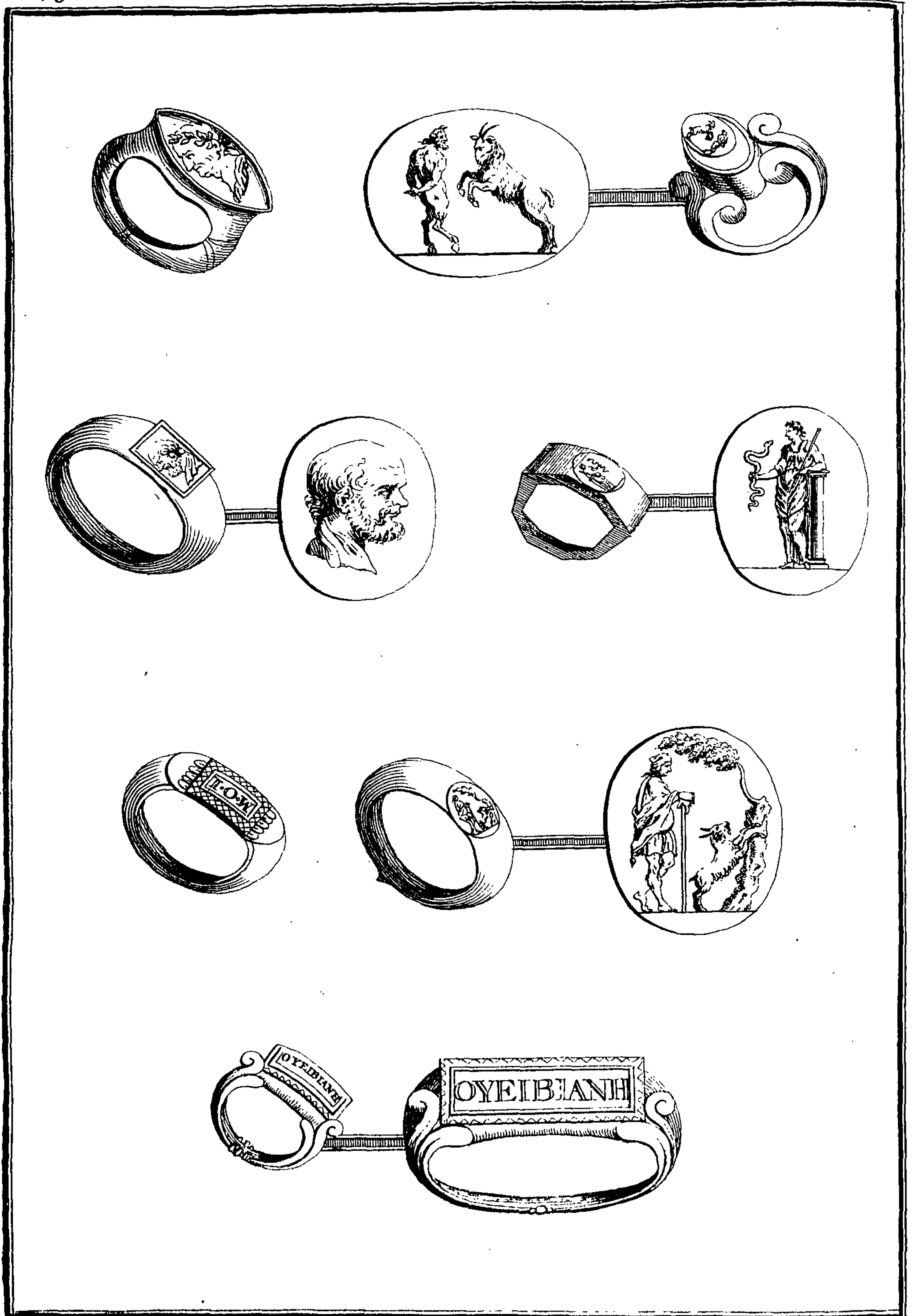
3^o The Invention of Seals set in Collets in Rings,
 is almost as old as the World itself. The sacred
 Historians carry up the Use of them as high as to
Juda, who left his Ring, or Seal, with *Thamar*, as
 a Pledge for the Performance of his Promise. After
 this, we find them mentioning the Royal Ring of
Abah, which *Jezebel* made use of, to carry on her
 pernicious Designs against *Naboth*; and that of the
 King of *Babylon*, with which he sealed the Stone
 over the Lion's Den, into which the Prophet *Daniel*
 was thrown. The Rise of *Joseph*, as related in
Genesis, shews that they were used among the *Egyp-
 tians* from time immemorial. Nor were they un-
 known to the People of the East. *Thucydides* tells
 us, that the Kings of *Persia* made use of a Ring,
 on which were the Figures of *Darius* and *Cyrus*.
 But the *Greeks* don't seem to have known the Art of
 sealing up Letters and Dispatches, till some time af-
 ter the *Trojan War*. At least *Homer* does not men-
 tion it. Nevertheless, some Authors think they find
 some Traces of it, before the Destruction of that
 City. But these are Matters of very little Import-
 tance; and besides that they are of no Consequence,
 they are buried in the Obscurity of the first Ages.

However, it is certain that Rings were not used
 at first, so much by Way of Ornament, as Conve-
 nience; as being an useful Instrument to seal up,
 and keep secret, Letters, or publick Acts. This *Ma-
 crobis* observes; *Veteres non ornatus, sed signandi
 causa, annulum secum ferebant.* And from that time
 it has been thought, that the surest means to secure
 the Faith of Contracts, and the Validity of Wills,
 is, for the Parties, and the Testator, to put their
 Seals to them.

The *Romans* did not fasten their Letters exactly
 as we do; they first folded them up, then tied them
 with a String, and secured the Knot, by covering it with
 Wax, or a sort of soft and bituminous Earth like Chalk;
 which the Ancients call *Creta*. This Chalk was so
 soft, as easily to receive the Impression of the Seal,
 and afterwards growing hard, thereby preserved it. The
Asiatick Chalk was most famous. *Cicero* explains
 this way of sealing with *Asiatick* Chalk, or Wax, in
 his Oration for *Flaccus*; and yet more particularly in
 his third Oration against *Catiline*. We produced the
 Letters, says the Orator, and shewed them to *Cethe-
 gus*, who knew the Seal. Then we cut the Thread,
 and read them. His Words are these. *Tabellas pro-
 ferre jussimus, quæ a quoque dicebantur data. Pri-
 mum ostendimus Cethego. Signum cognovit. No-
 linum incidimus, legimus.* And what *Plautus* makes
 one of his Persons say, in the Comedy entitled *Bac-
 chides*, is yet more express. *Cedo tu ceram & li-
 num. Actutum age. Obliga, Obliga cito.* That is,
 Give me some Wax and Thread. Make haste. Tie
 up the Letter, and seal it. This was the Custom
 when



Different Sorts of ancient Urns



Antique Rings or Seals

sealed with his Seal. Which Advices came soon enough to *Salapia* ³¹ to save it from the Snares of the *Carthaginian*, by putting the Inhabitants on their Guard. Indeed a few Minutes after the Courier from *Quinctius*, another arrived there from *Hannibal*, with fictitious Letters from *Marcellus*. These brought the *Roman* Garrison of *Salapia* Advice, as from the deceased *Consul*, that he would be there the next Night, and that they should prepare to meet him. But the Inhabitants of *Salapia* were forewarned; and concluding, that *Hannibal's* only Design was to revenge their former Revolt, and the Massacre of his Cavalry, they resolved to turn the Deceit upon the Enemy himself, who wanted to oppress them.

THE Courier who came from the *Carthaginians*, was a *Roman* Deserter; and the *Salapians* sent him back to the fictitious *Marcellus*, with Orders to tell his Master, that all things should be ready to receive him. And accordingly, the *Salapians* made Preparations to draw *Hannibal* himself, or at least a Part of his Army, into the Snare. Some Citizens armed with Darts, posted themselves on the Ramparts, and lined the Walls. The Guard was doubled, and Watch kept with more Vigilance than ever. Bodies of Men were lodged in several Parts of the City, and the best Soldiers were placed near the Gates which the Enemy was to enter. And above all, particular Care was taken that the Port-Cullises under the Gates should be in good Order. The whole Day was spent in these Preparations.

At Three in the Morning *Hannibal* appeared before the Place, his Advance-Guard consisting only of *Roman* Deserters, and *Carthaginians* dressed after the *Roman* Manner, who might well have passed, by their Language and Cloaths, for the Advance-Guard of a *Roman* Army, had not the Cheat been discovered. Upon the first Summons which was given in *Latin*, the Gate was opened, and the Port-Cullis drawn up.

BUT at the same time, all things were ready in the Heart of the City, and on the Ramparts, to fall on the Enemy, within and without the Walls; and no more of the Troops of the pretended *Marcellus* were suffered to enter, than might be slaughtered without much Hazard. As soon as about six hundred were through the Gate, the Portcullis was let down with a great Noise, and a Shower of Darts and Stones were thrown at the Enemy from the Ramparts, to drive them back. The Streets of the City swam with Blood, and were strewed with dead Bodies. The *Carthaginians* under the Ramparts and Towers retreated in Disorder; and

when publick Acts, Contracts, and Wills, were sealed up. They were first read aloud, in the Presence of the Witnesses, then tied up, and to make them the more authentick, every Person present set his Seal to them. And it was necessary that these Witnesses should be present at the opening of them, that every one might own his own Seal.

BUT the Use of Rings was not only confined to sealing Letters, Wills, and other things of this Nature, the *Romans* sealed up the Doors of their Store-houses, Vaults, Cellars, and all other Places where they kept their Provisions. We have a Proof of this in the *Casina* of *Plautus*. We there see the Mistress of a Family calling for her Seal to be delivered her again, after her Servants had sealed the Cellar. *Obsignate cellas, referte annulum ad me.* The same Poet also introduces a Slave on the Stage, who is exceeding angry at the Distrusts of a sordid Master, who even locked up the Salt. *Isti parci-promi qui salinum servis obsignant, cum sale.*

Rings had also their Marks, which distinguished them from one another. There were all Sorts of Figures represented upon them, according to every Man's Inclination, Interest, Profession, or Honour. Conquerors, to perpetuate the Memory of their Conquests, sometimes caused the Pictures of the Kings they had conquered, to be cut on the Metals or precious Stones of their Rings. *Scipio* had the Picture of *Syphax* on his Seal; and *Scylla* that of *Agurtha*. The Citizens often chose the Figure of the Founder of their City, or of the most famous Legislators. Such were, *Solon*, at *Athens*; *Lycurgus*, at *Lacedæmon*; *Alexander*, at *Alexandria*; and *Hermes*, at *Heraclea*.

The Courtiers affected to engrave on their Rings the Pictures of their Prince or his favourite Minister; the Philosophers, those of the Founders of their Sect; and the Orators and Poets, the Heads of those who had most distinguished themselves for Eloquence and Poetry. The Pagan Priests distinguished their Rings by the Figures of the Divinities they served, or the Badges of their own Offices. Some of the Emperors chose the Names and Figures of Heroes whom they proposed as their Patterns. Thus *Augustus* had on his Ring the Head of *Alexander the Great*. The Freed-men used the Pictures of their Masters. In a word, there were engraven on Rings, Hieroglyphicks, Devices, Animals of all Sorts, fictitious Creatures, fabulous Gods, Temples, and Buildings. Every Person's Name was generally engraved upon them, either abbreviated, or entire; to which some added the Names of their Countries, and their Titles. *Pliny* says the latter Sort of Rings was pretty common in *Egypt*, in his time. Sometimes Emblems, and enigmatical Figures, were made on them. Sometimes they had the Figures of the God of *Silence*, and the Goddess *Faith*; alluding to the Secrets concealed under the Seals. The Figures on some of these Seals were in *relievo*, or projecting; others were hollow, and cut into the Metal. We here give the Reader the Figures of several of these Seals, taken from *Antiques*.

³¹ Nothing is now left of old *Salapia*, but Ruins. It stood in *Apulia*, near the Place which the *Italians* now call *Salpi*. See B. 29. p. 222. of this Volume, Note 30.

Year of
R O M E
DXLV.
T. QUINCTIUS
CRISPINUS,
Consul.

Appian in
Hannibalicis.
Liv. B. 27.
c. 28.

Year of then *Hannibal* perceived that all his Artifices were not equally successful. But
 R O M E he was far from falling imprudently into the Snare himself, as *Marcellus* had done.
 DXLV. He took Care of his Person, and would not rashly expose himself to the Dangers
 T. QUINCTIUS of an hazardous Attempt. He was convinced of the Truth of this wise Maxim,
 CRISPINUS, which is so often repeated by the Ancients, That if a General dies in an Engage-
 Consul. ment, he ought to take great care that true Valour only, and not Rashness, be the
 Euripides ap. Cause of it.
 Plutarch.

§. VIII. HOWEVER, the ill Success of his Expedition did not discourage *Hannibal*. The City of *Locri* was still invested by Sea and Land; and he was nearly concerned in Interest to save it, since he had lost *Tarentum*. *Cincius* pursued the Siege with Vigour, doubtless with a Reinforcement from the great Army which *Quinctius* alone commanded, since the Death of his Colleague; and *Mago*, who was Governour of *Locri*, had for some time despaired of being able to preserve it. But the Death of the famous *Marcellus* raised his Courage; and his Hopes increased, upon the News that *Hannibal* was coming in Person to relieve the City, and had sent a considerable Body of Horse before him, which were to be followed by the rest of his Army. As soon as *Mago* saw the *Carthaginian* Horse from the Top of the Towers, he made a sudden and furious Sally on the Besiegers, who sustained the first Onset with Courage. They were *Romans*, and superior in Number; and they had driven back the Enemy behind the Walls, when they were seized with a sudden Fright, upon the unexpected Arrival of the *Carthaginian* Cavalry. And indeed, their Fears were not groundless; they were ready to be surrounded; and the *Numidian* Cavalry was formidable. It was therefore necessary to retire, and abandon the Machines of War to the Besieged; and *Cincius* founded a Retreat, embarked the Land-Forces on board his Fleet, disappeared, and returned to *Rome*. *Hannibal* soon came up, kept Possession of *Locri*, which was now to supply the Place of *Tarentum*; and for the future, he carried on his Correspondence with *Carthage*, from thence.

In the mean time, *Quinctius*, who was mortally wounded, conducted the *Roman* Armies with more Prudence than he had shewn in following the rash Counsels of *Marcellus*. He withdrew all his Forces from the Mountains where he had first posted them; sent those *Marcellus* had commanded to *Venusia*, under the Conduct of a Lieutenant-General; and marched with his own Army to *Capua*, there to be cured of his Wounds. And from thence he sent the *Conscript Fathers* an Account of the present melancholy Situation of the publick Affairs. His Letter informed them, That his Colleague was dead, and himself near his End; and That it was necessary to chuse new Consuls to govern the Republick in their room. *Tarentum*, said he, is in Danger; *Hannibal* may fall upon it, from the Country of the *Bruttii*, where he has by his Presence raised the Siege of *Locri*. I want Advice in the present Emergencies, and think myself obliged to inform the Senate of it. Send me therefore, from your own Body, three prudent and faithful Deputies whom I may entrust with the Secrets of the Republick. The Letter was received with all the Sorrow that the Loss of two supreme Magistrates could occasion there being great Reason to fear that *Hannibal* would recover great Advantage over the Republick, notwithstanding the low Condition to which the preceding Campaigns had reduced him. But *Hannibal* better understood how to conquer than how to make a proper Use of his Victories. All military Talents were united in this Great General.

As for the Senate, they at all Events immediately dispatched away *Q. Fabius*, the Son of the Great *Fabius*, with an extraordinary Commission to command the Army of *Marcellus*, which lay encamped near *Venusia*; and deputed three Senators to receive the last Advices of the Consul *Quinctius*; and, perhaps, to see him breathe his last. The *Cincius* who had just attempted the Siege of *Locri*, was of this Number; and his Associates were *Sex. Julius Caesar*, and *L. Licinius Pollio*. Their Orders were, pray the Consul, in case he could not come to *Rome*, and preside in the Comitium to nominate a Dictator for that purpose; and to desire him, if for the sake of Health he went with his Army to *Tarentum*, to send the *Prætor Q. Claudius* from thence, with Detachments, to cover the Cities of the Allies, against the Invasions of *Hannibal*. But whether the Consul left *Capua*, and was carried to *Tarentum* notwithstanding the Pain his Litter put him to upon his first Removal, or not

uncert

uncertain. It is to this day disputed whether he died at *Capua*, or *Tarentum*. But Year of
be that as it will, he nominated *T. Manlius Torquatus*, Dictator, before he died; R O M E
and the Dictator chose C. ³² *Servilius*, his General of Horse. A fatal Campaign, DXLV.
which reduced *Rome* to a Condition she never was in before! She had never yet
been deprived of both her Consuls at once; or in such imminent Danger, without
having lost a Battel. But the Negligence of *Hannibal*, and the wise Dispositions of
the Senate, preserved her. T. MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
Dictator.

§. IX. The good News received from *Sicily*, comforted the *Romans* a little, after the Loss of their Consuls. *Valerius Lævinus*, Admiral of a *Roman* Fleet of an hundred Sail, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*, had had Leave to ravage the Coasts of *Africa*, if an Opportunity offered itself; and he had pitched on the Time when the *Carthaginian* Fleet was at a little Distance, had sailed from *Sicily* to *Africa*, and had made a Descent in the Territory of ³³ *Clypea*. All this fine Country was laid waste, and the Troops of *Carthage* scarce stirred; the *Carthaginians* had Recourse to their Fleet; and upon the Rumour of it, *Lævinus* re-imbarked his Troops, loaded his Ships with the Booty, weighed Anchor, came to an Engagement with the *Carthaginian* Fleet off *Clypea*, and gained all the Advantage. He dispersed the eighty three Ships of the Enemy, took eighteen of them, and returned to *Lilybæum*, rich with the Spoils he had taken, both by Sea and Land. So that this Action served, at least, to raise the Courage of the *Romans*, who were intimidated by the Report spread, That the *Carthaginians* would fit out a Fleet of two hundred Sail the next Spring.

§. X. OTHER Advices from *Greece*, also fortified the *Romans* against the Fear of *Hannibal's* Machinations. This artful Enemy had some Years since stirred up young King *Philip* of *Macedon*, against *Rome*; but the Republick had hitherto found the *Macedonian* so much Business in his own Country, that he had not yet been able to join his Forces with those of the *Carthaginian*, in *Italy*. The *Romans* had indeed been annually at the Expence of maintaining a Fleet, to cruise on the Coasts of *Greece*, and of supporting the League they had formed against *Philip*. The ³⁵ *Ætolians*, *Lacedæmonians*, *Attalus* King of ³⁶ *Pergamus* in ³⁷ *Mysia*, together with

³² This *Caius Servilius*, was then *Curule Ædile*. After this new Promotion, the Senate ordered the new Dictator to preside at the Celebration of *The Great Games*, in Discharge of the Vow made to celebrate them, by *Marcus Æmilius*, Prætor of *Rome*, at the Battel of the *Thrasymenus*, in the Consulship of *Caius Flaminius*, and *Cneius Servilius*. Accordingly, these Games were celebrated with the usual Solemnity, and the Dictator promised, in the Name of the Republick, to renew them every five Years.

³³ Modern Geographers place *Clypea*, an ancient City of *Africa*, between *The Promontory of Mercury*, (now *Cape Bon*), and *Adrumetum*. They think it stood near *Quipia*, which belongs to the Kingdom of *Tunis*. See B. 24. Vol. 2.

³⁴ *Lilybæum*, was both the Name of a City, and a neighbouring Cape. In that Neighbourhood, at present, stands the City of *Marsala* in *Sicily*. See Vol. 2.

³⁵ The *Ætolians*, says *Livy*, were then at War with the *Acheans*. The latter inhabited that Part of *Peloponnesus*, which is now called *Clarence*. Their Territory contained the North Part of the *Morea*, towards *The Isthmus of Corinth*. These People, adds *Livy*, were then molested by *Machabidas*, who had usurped the Government of *Lacedæmon*, after the Death of *Cleo*, the Son of *Leonides*, the last King of the Race of the *Euristhenide*. Besides, a Naval Army of *Ætolians* had passed that Arm of the Sea which divides the Cities of *Patra* and *Naupactum*, and which is now called *The Gulph of Lepanto*. From thence it had gone and laid waste the Fields of *Achaia*. And lastly, News was brought from all Parts, that King *Attalus* was preparing to go into Europe, to join the *Ætolians*, who had conferred on him the supreme Magistracy in their Republick.

³⁶ We have already spoken of *Pergamus*, in *West Mysia*, above, p. 314. of this Volume, Note 8.

It is now called *Pergamo*, or *Bergamo*. We have observed that this City, one of the most considerable of *Asia Minor*, was the Country of the famous *Galenus*; and *Lucian* tells us that *Æsculapius* had practised Physick there. For this Reason he was sometimes stiled *Deus Pergameus*, or *The Pergamean God*.

Pergameo posuit dona sacrata Deo.

Mart. B. 9. Epig. 17.

That the *Pergamians* worshiped this fabulous God, appears by the Reverse of a Medal struck at *Pergamus*, as the Greek Inscription ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ, imports. We there see the Figure of an *Æsculapius*, as he is represented on the ancient Monuments. Plate 12. Medal 7.

³⁷ *Ptolomy* divides *Mysia*, a Western Country of *Asia Minor*, into the Upper, and Lower; or Great, and Little, *Mysia*. The former was bounded by *Phrygia*, *Bythia*, *The Ægean Sea*, and *Little Mysia*. Its chief Cities were *Pergamus*, *Trajanopolis*, *Antandros*, and *Adramyttium*. Its Mountains, *Olympus* and *Cimo*. The River *Rhindacus*, which runs into the *Propontis*, waters Part of it. *Niger* calls this River *Lartucho*; *Castaldus* gives it the Name of *Lupidi*; the *Turks* that of *Ulabat*; and *Leunclavius* that of *Lepidio*. *Little Mysia* lay between *Troas* and the *Hellepont*. It was watered by the *Simois*, and the *Granicus*; one of which discharges itself into the *Scamander*, a little above the Ruins of *Troy*; the other into the *Hellepont*. This Province contained the Cities of *Cyzicus* and *Lampsacus*, and a Part of Mount *Ida*. These two Provinces now make a Part of *Natolia*. The People of this Country were so contemptible, that it gave Rise to the Latin Proverb *Mysorum Ultimus*, used by *Tully*, in his *Oration for Flaccus*. A Man who had no Honour, was called *The vilest of the Mysians*.

Pleuratus

Year of 38 *Pleuratus* and *Scherdilædus*, two sovereign Princes in 39 *Illyricum*, and
 R O M E 40 *Thrace*, had, pursuant to a Treaty, brought their Troops into the Service of
 DXLV. *Rome*; so that the *Macedonian* being surrounded with so many Enemies, had not
 yet ventured to cross the Sea, and infest the *Roman* Territories. *Sulpicius*, former-
 1. MANLIUS ly *Consul*, now commanded the *Roman* Fleet, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*, and
 TORQUATUS, kept *Greece* in Awe; and the Letter he wrote to the Senate, concerning the Af-
 Dictator. fairs committed to him, lessened the publick Terrors. His Advices seemed to be
 of Importance; and they shew us the Dispositions of the East, with respect to the
 Republick.

ALL *Greece* was divided between King *Philip* and the *Romans*. *Achaia* ad-
 hered to the *Macedonian*; and therefore the *Lacedæmonians* made Incursions into
 that Province: whilst King *Attalus*, and the *Pro-Consul Sulpicius*, each with his
 Fleet, filled all the Allies of King *Philip* with Terror. 41 *Bæotia*, and above all,
Eubæa and *Acarnania*, which continued attached to him, were terrified at the
 near Approach of the Enemy, who threatened those Countries, and seemed to
 design to make Descents there. Nor was *Epirus* less terrified at the flying Reports
 that *Scherdilædus* and *Pleuratus* had already taken the Field. So that 42 the Con-
 sternation spread among all the *Greeks*, who thought their whole Country alrea-
 dy in a Flame, with the War between the *Romans* and *Philip*. This valiant
 Prince was still very impatient to pass over into *Italy*; but he was detained by
 the Importunities of all these Allies, who demanded his Assistance in this perillous
 Conjuncture. He gave many Proofs both of his Valour and Foresight; dismissed
 all the Deputies from the Provinces of his Party, with good Words; and indeed
 intended actually to assist them; resolving to appear in Person, wherever his Pre-
 sence should be most wanted. Upon Information that *Attalus* had landed in the
 Island of 43 *Peparethus*, and was Master there, he sent some Troops thither to

* Plate 12.
 Medal 8.

38 See p. 314. of this Volume, Note 9.

39 See our Remarks on the Bounds of *Illyricum*,
 Vol. 2.

40 *Thrace* is that great Province in *Europe*, which
 is now called *Rumelia*, or *Romania*. See p. 318. of
 this Volume, Note 29.

41 *Bæotia* was formerly a Province of *Achaia*,
 or *Hellas*, in the Neighbourhood of *Attica*, and *Eu-
 bœa*. It was indifferently called either *Aonia*, *Ogy-
 gia*, or *Messapia*. And it was also called *Cadmeis*,
 because *Cadmus* had made himself Master of it, after
 he had subdued, or driven out the Natives. The Name
 of *Bæotia*, was taken either from the Ox, *Bos*, which
 was said to have been *Cadmus's* Guide; or from
 one *Bæotus*, whom some call the Son of *Neptune*
 and *Arne*; others, the Son of *Æolus*. This Pro-
 vince, which the ancient Geographers divide into
 the *Upper* and *Lower*, is the same that the Natives
 of the Country now call *Stramulipa*. It was bound-
 ed to the North, by the *Ægean* Sea, and the *Euri-
 pus*; to the West, by *Phocis*; to the East, by *Attica*;
 and to the South, by the Territory of *Megara*, and
The Gulph of Corinth. It now belongs to the Go-
 vernment of *Livadia*; and is subject to the *Turks*.
 The savage Barbarity of its Inhabitants favoured of
 the thick Air which they breathed. Their Stupidity
 became proverbial. Nothing was more common
 among the *Greeks*, than such Expressions as these.
*He is a Bæotian Pig. He has a Bæotian Ear, Wit,
 or Taste.* That is, he is a very stupid, senseless Fel-
 low.

The *Bæotians* were remarkable for being stupid,
 as early as in *Homer's* Days. He represents them
 as such, in the fifth Book of the *Iliad*. *Plutarch*
 and *Pindar*, tho' *Bæotians* themselves, honestly con-
 fess the Heaviness of their Countrymen. Nor were
 the *Romans* more complaisant to them. *Horace*
 says, that *Alexander* had so sad a Taste for Poetry,
 that you would have taken him for a *Bæotian*.

Bæotum in crasso jurares aere natum. B. 2. Ep. 1.

But to make amends for this, *Bæotia* was more
 fruitful than any other Part of *Greece*. The great
 Quantity of Corn it produced is represented on a

* Medal, which bears the Name of the *Bæotians*,
 ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ. The Face of it is the Head of a *Ceres*,
 crowned with two Ears of Corn; the Symbol of a
 plentiful Harvest. The Reverse is a *Neptune*, hold-
 ing a Trident in one Hand, and a Dolphin in the
 other. Perhaps the Medallist alluded thereby to the
 Worship the *Bæotians* paid this God. Or perhaps
 he intended to paint out the advantageous Situation
 of this Territory. We have elsewhere observed,
 that maritime Countries generally put the God of
 the Sea on their Medals; and *Bæotia* might therefore
 do the same. *Strabo* gives it the Epithet of τριτάλαστος,
 from the three Seas of *Sicily*, *Cyprus*, and *Macedon*,
 that surround it. The Buckler on the Medal paints
 out the warlike Genius of this People.

42 *Polybius* adds, that the Nations of this Part of
Thrace, which is near *Macedon*, and particularly the
Medi, took up Arms against *Philip*; and waited
 for an Opportunity to make an Incursion into his
 Dominion, when he was elsewhere engaged. In or-
 der to prevent his going into *Greece*, the *Ætolians*
 had already seized the Pass of *Thermopylae*, guarded
 the Avenues of it with good Trenches, and put a
 strong Garrison in them.

43 *Peparethus* is one of the Islands of the *Ægean*
 Sea, or *Archipelago*. *Stephens* places it among the
Cyclades, and in the Neighbourhood of *Eubœa*. But
 in this he disagrees with the Ancients. They all
 place it between the Islands of *Scyathus*, and *Sciros*,
 thirty Leagues, or thereabouts, from Mount *Athos*,
 and seven or eight Leagues from the Coast of *Mag-
 nesia*. In the Island was a City of the same Name,
 which is now buried in its Ruins.

Some of the modern Geographers, particularly
Benjamin, give the Island of *Peparethus* the Name of
Opula; others, as *Niger*, that of *Léménè*; and *Cas-
 talus* calls it *Saraqino*. But it is most known by
 the Name of *Piperi*: which is the Name given it
 in the Sea-Charts. It is about twenty thousand geo-
 metrical Paces in Circumference, and abounds with
 Olives; according to *Ovid*, *Metamorph.* B. 7. *Nisi-
 daque ferax Peparethos Olive.* *Pliny* boasts of the
 Excellency of its Wines; and says, that it was from
 thence called *Evœnos*, in the most early Ages.

strengthen

strengthen the Garrison in the City; and then dispatched away *Polyphas*, one of his Generals, to cover 44 *Phocis* and *Bæotia*. He also sent fifteen hundred Men into *Eubœa*, under the Command of *Menippus*; and went himself to 45 *Scotussa*, the Rendezvous of his Army. But he soon left that Place, upon Advice that *Attalus* was at 46 *Nicæa*, and would immediately go from thence to 47 *Heraclea*, where there was a Diet to be held, of all the Confederates against him, to deliberate about their common Interests. *Philip* had formed a Design to interrupt the Assemblies of the Diet, and break it up; but he came a little too late. However, he at least ravaged a 48 District of the Enemy's Country, and returned to *Scotussa*, where he left his Army, and removed himself, with only some light-armed Troops, and some of his Horse-guards, to 49 *Demetrias*, there to wait for Information, in what Country his Presence would be most necessary. In order to gain this Intelligence the more readily, he had given Orders to his Troops to give him Notice of the Motions of the Enemy, by lighting Fires. It was a common thing in Greece, to give Generals these Signals; and this Art, which was called *Pyrseia*, had been considerably improved at different times.

Year of
ROM E
DXLV.
T. MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
Dictator.

§. XI. At length, the Ravages the *Ætoliens* committed in *Achaia*, obliged King *Philip* to leave *Demetrias*, and draw near to Greece. In his March, he met the *Ætolian* Army, commanded by *Pyrrhias*, the 50 *Prætor* for the Year, who had ventured to penetrate as far as *Thessaly*, to give the *Macedonian* Battel. The Enemies met near 51 *Lamia*, a City in the Interest of the *Ætoliens*. *Philip* was unquestionably brave. Tho' *Pyrrhias* had in his Army some of *Attalus's* Troops, and about a thousand *Romans*, which *Sulpicius* had landed; yet he was twice beaten, and was forced to retire into *Lamia*, and there secure himself till the *Macedonian* was gone. The latter turned about, and came and encamped in the

Livy, B. 27.
c. 32.

44 *Phocis* was that Province of Greece, which formerly had *Bæotia* to the East; the Country of the *Locri Ozolæ*, to the West; The Gulph of *Corinth*, to the South; and a Part of *Locris*, to the North. In it were the Mounts *Parnassus* and *Helicon*; and *Delphi*, formerly so famous for the Oracle of *Apollo*, was one of its most considerable Cities. It is now a Part of the Government of *Livadia*, and is subject to the *Turks*.

45 Both ancient and modern Geographers mention two Cities which formerly had the Name of *Scotussa*. The first stood in *Macedon*, near the River *Strymon*. The second, which is here spoken of, belonged to *Thessaly*. The Rivers *Pharibus* and *Peneus* watered it. And *Suidas* says, that the famous Oracle of *Jupiter*, which was at *Dodona*, was carried thither from this City. Near *Scotussa* there was a Lake, the Waters of which would heal Wounds. Scarce any thing now remains of *Scotussa*, but its Name.

46 *Nicæa* was a Greek City, situated near The *Galliac Gulph*, in the District of the *Locri Epicnemidii*, so called from Mount *Cnemis*. We shall have occasion to speak of several other Cities of this Name in another Place.

47 There were several Cities in *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Greece*, and the neighbouring Countries, which were called *Heraclea*. The City here spoken of, is plainly that which the ancient Geographers place in *Phthiotis*, almost at the Foot of Mount *Oeta*, between the Rivers *Sperchius* and *Asopus*, near The *Maliac Gulph*, *Thermopylae*, and the ancient City of *Trachyna*; from whence it was called *Heraclea Trachynia*. Nevertheless, it is certain that some, and particularly *Stephens the Geographer*, have made both these Cities but one. But *Strabo* distinguishes them from one another, when he says, that there were but six *Stadia* between them. However, it is certain, that it was to this City, and no other, that King *Attalus* was to come with the Deputies of the Provinces in Confederacy against *Philip*. This appears by *Polybius*; who says, That the King of *Macedon* being informed of the Place where the Assembly was to be held, marched that Way, with full Resolution to discon-

cert the Projects of the League; That the Diet was broke up when that Prince arrived; and That as *Philip* passed by, he ravaged the Country of the *Enians*, or as *Livy* calls them, B. 28. the *Enianes*. Now these People dwelt near *Heraclea* surnamed *Trachynia*, near The *Maliac Gulph*, and near Mount *Oeta*. Add to this, that this last City gloried in *Hercules* as her tutelary God. It was not far from this City, that this fabulous Hero ended his Days, since he burnt himself on Mount *Geta*: and *Pausanias* says, that his Tomb was remaining there in his time. The Reverse of a Medal * struck by the *Heracleans*, shews that they worshipped *Hercules*. The Face of it is an *Hercules* with his Club in his Hand, and sitting on the *Nemæan Lion*. *Pinetus* thinks the ancient City of *Heraclea* was the present *Conaro*.

* Plate 15.
Medal 1.

48 The Canton which was laid waste by King *Philip*, was, according to *Polybius*, called the Territory of the *Enians*, the Inhabitants of *Enia*. This City, which bordered upon *Locris*, stood at a little distance from Mount *Oeta*, *Thermopylae*, and The *Maliac Gulph*. It was at first Part of a Canton called *Perrhebia* in *Pelagiotis*, a Country of *Thessaly*. Afterwards it became subject to the *Ætoliens*.

49 The City of *Demetrias* still retains its old Name in that of *Dimitriada*. *Demetrius Poliorcetes* caused it to be built on the Sea-Coast of *Thessaly*, near the Territory of the *Magnesiens*. *Pliny* makes it to be the same City as *Pagassæ*. But *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* distinguish them from one another, and place them both at the Entrance of The Gulph of *Armiro*, which the Ancients called *Pagassæus Sinus*. *Demetrias* was for some time the Seat of the Kings of *Macedon*, and the Arsenal of that Kingdom.

50 According to *Livy*, the *Prætorship* had been divided between *Pyrrhias* and King *Attalus*. The assembled *Ætoliens* had just given this Prince the Title of *Prætor*, tho' then absent. This Magistrate had the greatest Authority of any among the *Greeks*; but his Office was annual only.

51 Seven Miles from *Heraclea*, to the North, stood *Lamia*, one of the most considerable Cities of *Phthiotis*, a Canton of *Thessaly*.

Year of
ROM E
DXLV.
T. MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
Dictator.

Neighbourhood of ⁵² *Phalara*, near the Mouth of the *Sperchius*; and whilst he continued there on the Sea-shore, near the ⁵³ *Streights of Maliac*, which divide *Eubœa* from the Continent, Ambassadors arrived in his Camp from *Ptolomy* ⁵⁴ *Philopator*, King of *Egypt*, accompanied with a great Number of Envoys from the Islands of ⁵⁵ *Chios* and ⁵⁶ *Rhodes*, and the City of *Athens*. Their Design was to prevail on *Philip* and the *Ætolians* to put an End to the War; and for this Purpose, they had chosen *Aminander*, King of the ⁵⁷ *Athamanes*, for a Mediator. Not that these Peace-makers had the Interest of the *Ætolians* much at heart; their Motive to put a Stop to Hostilities, was their Fear of seeing *Philip* concern himself too much with the Affairs of *Greece*, and destroy its Liberties, under Pretence of defending them. However, they delayed to treat of an Accommodation, till the next Diet of ⁵⁸ *Achaia* was held. But the Time and ⁵⁹ Place for it were fixed, and a Suspension of Arms was agreed on, till all things were settled. During this Interval, before the Congress met, *Philip* thought it necessary to remove all the Obstacles that *Attalus* and the *Romans* might raise, against the Conclusion of the Peace he desired for *Hannibal's* sake; and having learnt that the King of *Per-*

⁵² *Phalara* was a City of *Thessaly*, at the Mouth of the River *Sperchius*, near *The Maliac Gulph*.

⁵³ *The Maliac Gulph* has different Names among the Ancients. *Herodotus* calls it *Melis*; and *Pausanias*, *Lamiacus*; because the City of *Lamia* was in its Neighbourhood. This Gulph washes a Part of *Thessaly*, *Locris Opuntia*, and the Coasts of *Eubœa*. Hence it is called *Sinus Euboicus*, and *Sinus Opuntius*.

⁵⁴ This *Ptolomy*, surnamed *Philopator*, was the fourth of the Name from *Ptolomy Lagns*. We have already spoken of this King, B. 22. p. 356 of this Volume, Note 77.

⁵⁵ *Chios*, anciently called *Macris*, *Ethalia*, and *Pitiusa*, is an Island in the *Ægean Sea*, or *Archipelago*, between *Samos* and *Lesbos*. It is divided from *Ionia* only by a Canal of three Leagues broad; and it is thought to have been originally a Colony of *Ionians*. It to this Day retains the Name of *Scio*, a Term borrowed from the *Syriac*, as *Isidorus* observes, and which signifies the *Mastick* and *Turpentine* with which this Island abounds. *Pliny* makes it to have been an hundred and twenty five thousand Paces in Circumference. *Strabo* reckons it to be but nine hundred *Stadia*, or an hundred and twelve thousand five hundred geometrical Paces, that is, about thirty seven Leagues, at the rate of three Miles per League. The *Sciotæ* had established a kind of Republick in their Island, on the Model of that of *Athens*, and under the Direction of *Isocrates*. Nevertheless, they were successively subject to the *Athenians*, *Macedonians*, and *Romans*. *Chios* boasted of its being the Birth-place of *Homer*; which was so much believed in this Island, that, according to *Julius Pollux*, these Islanders stamped the Figure of this Poet on their Money. An old Medal, which *Joseph Scaliger* says he had, preserved some * Traces of this Tradition. Its Inscription was OMHPOΣ. On the Face of that which we have engraven after *Beger*, we see this Prince of Poets sitting in a Chair, and holding the *Iliad* in his Hand; and on the Reverse an Harp, the Symbol of Poetry. And the *Sphinx* on the Reverse agrees very well with what is commonly said of *Homer*: That he knew how to inculcate the finest Maxims of Morality, under beautiful Allegories and Allusions; and That his Fables are so many mystical Vells, which conceal under them the most important Truths, and most profound Knowledge. The Bunch of Raisins, and the Vase, on another * Medal, shew the Nature of the Soil of *Scio*. It is well known, that it produced most excellent Wines, which the Ancients highly valued; and it is likewise as famous for its Marble Quarries.

⁵⁶ The Conquests of *Rhodes* and *Athens* by the *Romans*, will give us occasion to speak of these two Cities, and the Form of their Government, hereafter. At present, it is sufficient to observe, that *Rhodes* is an Island of the *Mediterranean Sea*; to

which the Ancients give several Names, the Origin of which they carry up to the fabulous Times. This Island is said to be an hundred and twenty Miles in Circumference. The Weather is so fair here, that the Sun shines every Day in the Year; and on this is said to be founded the Worship the *Rhodians* paid this Planet. They consecrated their Island to him, and erected in Honour to him the famous *Colossus*, which the Ancients extol, as one of the Wonders of the World. In like manner, most of their Medals had the Figure of the Sun upon them, as appears by *Medal 4*, in *Plate 15*. The Rose and Bunch of Grapes on *Medal 5*, in that Plate, point out the many Rose-trees and Vineyards, with which the Island abounds. Its Inhabitants were well skilled in Astronomy and Navigation; and established in their capital City a School of Eloquence, which the Ancients highly commend. As for *Athens*, we know that it was formerly the Seat of Learning and Politeness, as well as the Capital of *Attica*. The *Greeks* call it *Acra*, that is *The City*, by way of Eminence. *Cecrops*, who founded it above eight hundred Years before *Romulus's* Time, called it *Cecropia*. Afterwards the *Athenians* gave it the Name of *Minerva*, called in *Greek* ΑΘΗΝΑ, *Athens*. *Amphytrion*, the third King of *Athens*, put it under the Protection of this fabulous Goddess. Many Temples were erected to her; and the † Medals which have been conveyed down to us, are a Proof of the Worship that was paid her. They bear the Figure of a *Minerva* with an Owl, the Bird which was dedicated to her, as the Symbol of Wisdom. This City is now called *Athine*, or *Setina*. But it retains nothing of its ancient Splendor.

⁵⁷ The *Athamanes* inhabited that Canton of *Epirus*, to which the Ancients gave the Name of *Athamania*. It bordered on *Acarmania*, *Ætolia*, and *Thessaly*. *Stephens* makes it a Province of *Illyria*; perhaps because it bordered on that Country. Its chief City was *Argithea*.

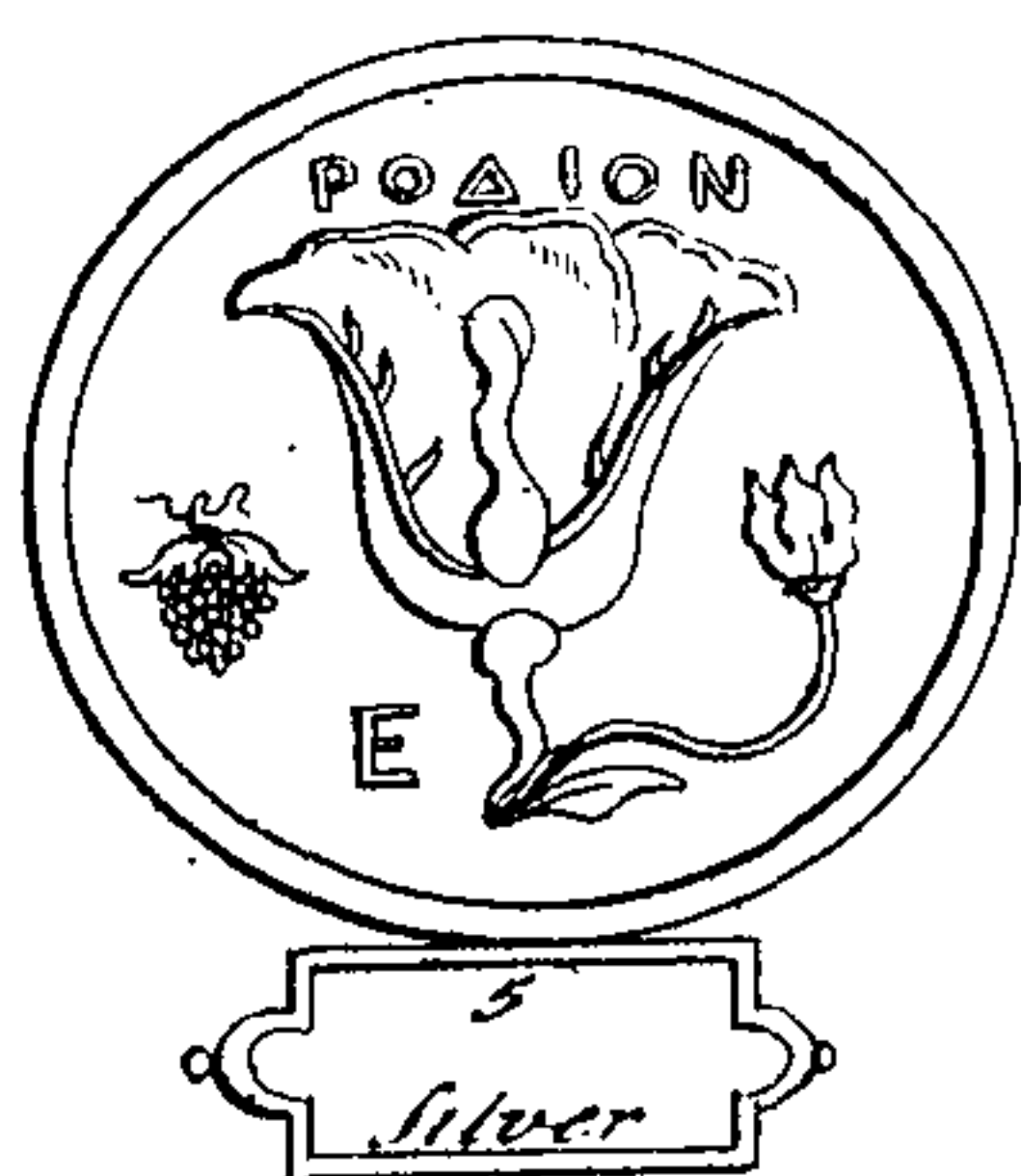
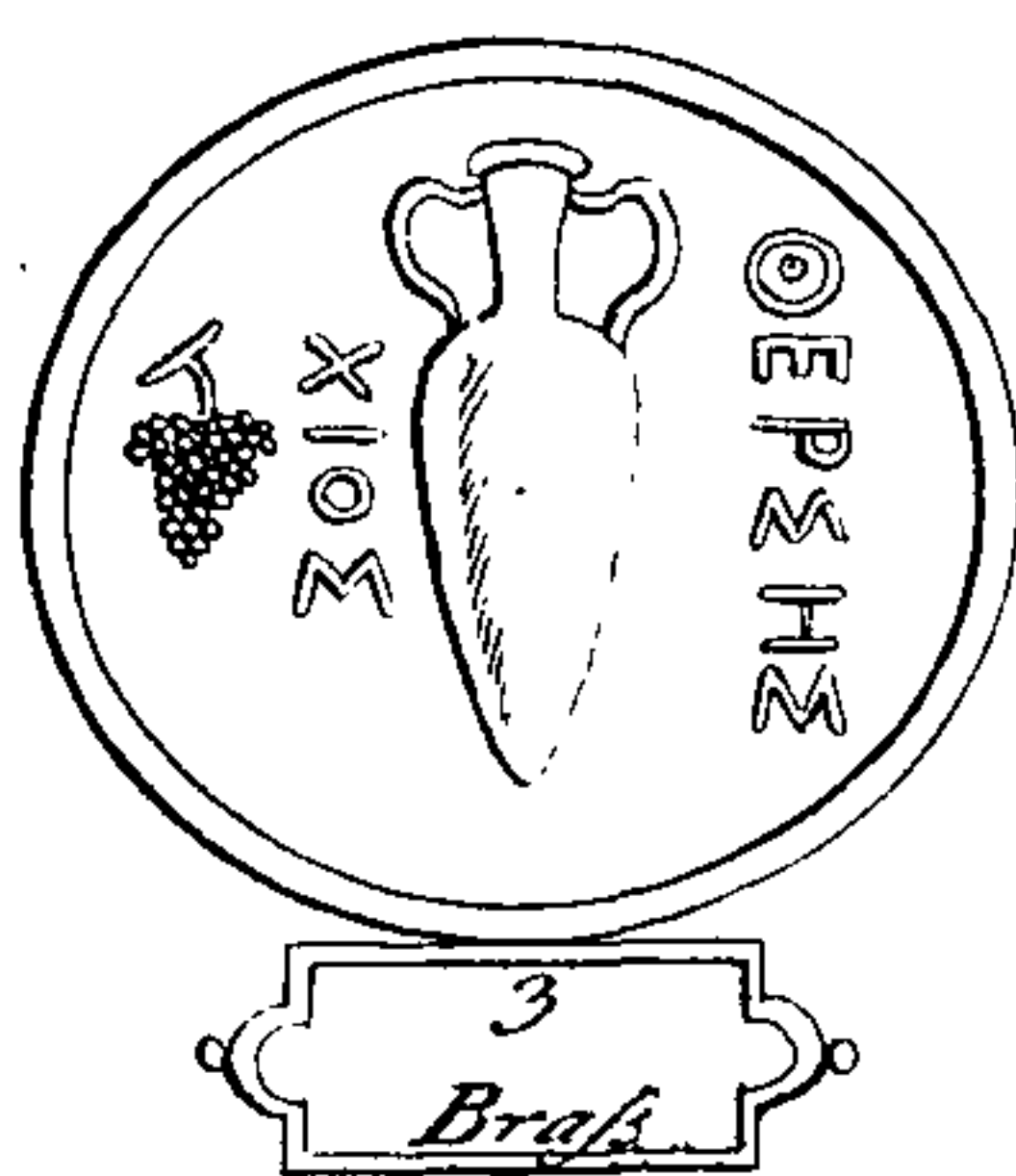
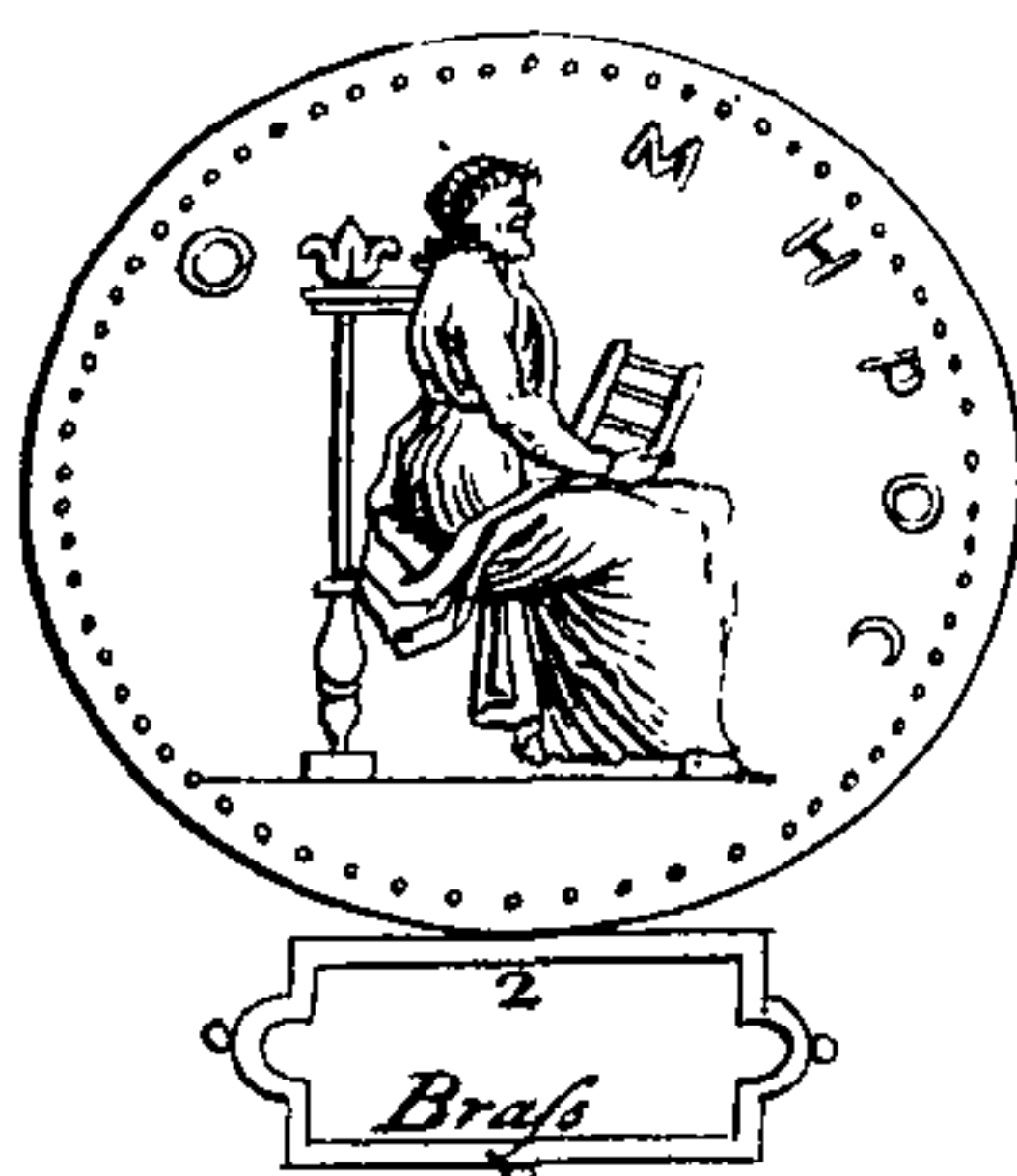
⁵⁸ By *Achaia* we don't here understand that vast Country which comprehended *Attica*, the Country of the *Megarenses* and *Locri*; *Phocis*, *Bœotia*, *Ætolia*, and *Doris*. Nor is *Peloponnesus* here meant, which the *Romans* called *Achaia*, after they had conquered this Country, and reduced it to the Form of a Province, under the Government of a *Pro-Consul*. The *Achaia* here [spoken of, is *Achaia Propria*, or the Country possessed by the Republick of the *Acheans*. This Canton extended itself from the *Isthmus of Corinth*, between the Territories of *Sicyon* and *Elis*. It was sometimes of more, sometimes of less Extent, in the several Revolutions in *Greece*.

⁵⁹ *Strabo* says, B. 8. that the *Achaians*, or *Acheans*, usually convened their general Assemblies in a Wood consecrated to *Jupiter*, and called *Æmarium*. There they deliberated about the Interests of their Nation, under the *Auspices* of this God.

† *Plate 15.*
Medal 6.

* *Plate 15.*
Medal 2.

* *Plate 15.*
Medal 3.



gamus had Thoughts of making a Descent in *Eubæa*, he hastened thither, ravaged *Thessaly* and *Bæotia*, and strengthened the Ports of *Eubæa* against *Attalus*, with good Troops.

§. XII. As passionate a Love as *Philip* had for military Glory, he was still more devoted to Voluptuousness. He gave himself up to it without Restraint; sought all Opportunities of indulging himself in Pleasures; and now found ⁶⁰ one, in the Honour which was bestowed upon him, of presiding at the ⁶¹ *Herean* and *Nemean Games*. This was a Distinction which the *Greeks* had shewn him, and confirmed

Year of
R O M E
DXLV.

T. MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
Dictator.

⁶⁰ This Honour was conferred on *Philip* by the Citizens of *Argos*. The King came thither, according to *Livy*, at the Head of a small Body of Troops, partly Cavalry, and partly light-armed Infantry.

⁶¹ The *Argians* celebrated the *Herean Games*, or *Herean Festivals*, with much Pomp. This Solemnity was so called from the Word *Ἡρᾶ*, *Here*, the Name the *Greeks* gave *Juno*. The Nations of *Argolis* had made her their tutelary Goddess; and to do her Honour was indeed the chief Design of celebrating this Festival. *Pausanias* says, the Inhabitants of the Country had built a stately Temple to her; which, says he, was an ancient Structure venerable for the Presence of *Juno*, and the Beauty of the Architecture. It stood, according to him, fifteen *Stadia* from *Mycene*, and consequently at a little Distance from *Argos*: and he adds, that there was in it a Statue of *Juno*, of Ivory and Gold, of an uncommon Size. It was thought one of the most finished Pieces of the famous *Polycletes*. The Statue was placed on a fine Throne, and wore a Crown, on which the *Graces* and *Hours* were finely represented in *Relievo*, and attracted the Eyes, and raised the Admiration, of all Spectators. It held a Pomegranate finely wrought, in its Right Hand, and in the Left, one of those inauspicious Birds which the *Latins* call *Cucullus*. *Jupiter*, according to the Fictions of the Pagans, had assumed the Form of this Bird, thereby to deceive *Juno*, and get the better of her Vigilance and Modesty. The Temple was built in a Valley, overlooked by a Mountain, which *Pausanias* calls *Eubæa*. At some Distance from it was a Spring, or Rivulet, which the *Greeks* call *Eleuteros*. The Priestesses of the Goddess, and those who assisted at her Sacrifices, drew their Water there for Purifications; and it was there that the *Argians* generally celebrated *The Herean Festival*. The Ceremony consisted in a pompous Procession made by all the *Argian* Youth under Arms. The Statue of *Juno* was carried in a Chariot drawn by two white Oxen. The Image of *Trochilus* was put in the Coachman's Seat, either because he was the first who introduced the Custom of fastning Horses to a Chariot; or in respect to his Mother *Callithea*, who was the first Priestess of *Juno Argiva*. This Ministry was granted to none but Women of great Distinction. It was held in such Honour by the *Argians*, that they dated their publick AOs by the Priesthoods of their Priestesses, as we do, by the Reigns of our Kings.

The Company of young armed *Greeks* was the finest Sight at the Festival. Before them marched an hundred Oxen, designed for the Sacrifice then called an *Ilecatomb*. All marched in good Order from *Argos*, to the Temple without the City. The Ceremony ended with offering up these Victims, and distributing their Flesh among all present except the Slaves. These were forbidden by the Laws to enter into the Temple of the Goddess. After these religious Offices, followed a kind of *Just*, or Tournament. The Competitors entered the Lists, and disputed the Honour of carrying away a Buckler affixed to one of the Walls of the City. The Reward of the Victor was indeed only a Crown of Myrtle. But the Conqueror walked through the City, for a certain Number of Days, amidst the Acclamations of all the Citizens, and made a Shew of the Armour he had gained. Some ascribe the Institution of these

Games to *Archinus* Tyrant of *Argos*; and others to *Lyncæus*, who reigned in *Argolis*, in the Year of the World 2558, about six hundred and seventy three Years before the first Year of *Romulus's* Reign.

The *Herean Games* were common to some other Nations of *Greece*, especially the People of *Samos*. This Island gloried, as well as *Argos*, in having been the Residence of *Juno*, from her earliest Infancy, till she became marriageable. This fabulous Tradition was much credited by these Islanders; who also contended, that *Samos* was the Place where *Jupiter* married *Juno*. And this chimerical Opinion gave Rise to the Solemnity which they annually celebrated, after the Example of the *Argians*, in Honour to *Juno Herea*. The *Samians* then renewed the nuptial Rejoicings and Ceremonies used by the *Greeks*. To this end they assembled in the fine Temple they had dedicated to her, as their Tutelary Goddess; where was a Statue of *Juno*, under the Figure of a new married Woman, to perpetuate the Memory of her Marriage with *Jupiter*. We have yet remaining several Traces of the zealous Attachment of the *Samians* to the Worship of *Juno*, in the ancient Monuments. The Figure of this Goddess, and her Symbols, are yet to be seen on most of the *Samian* Medals; as particularly on Medal 7. of Plate 15. the Face of which is the Head of a *Juno*, and the Reverse a Peacock, the Bird consecrated to this Goddess. Her Dominion over the Island is pointed out by the Scepter, the Badge of Sovereign Power. This agrees with the Accounts of *Athenæus*, and *Julius Pollux*; who say that the *Samian* Money had all the same Stamp.

The Inhabitants of the Island of *Ægina*, originally a Colony of *Argians*, had also adopted this Festival as well as the *Eleans*. Among the latter, the Women acted the chief Parts in the Celebration of *The Herean Games*. All the young Women of the Nation were distributed in different Classes, and all ran Races. That they might be the more free for the Course, they wore only a single Tunick, which reached no lower than their Knees. Their right Shoulders were bare to their Breasts, their Heads uncovered, and their Hair dishevelled. In regard to the Weakness of their Sex, the Race was but the sixth Part of a *Stadium*, or an hundred and twenty five geometrical Paces. Sixteen Matrons presided at these Sports, and distributed the Prizes to the Conquerors. Besides the Crowns of Olive which the Judges gave them, they partook of the Flesh of the Ox which had been offered to *Juno*. And that the Memory of their Victory might be transmitted to Posterity, they had a singular Privilege of hanging up each of their Pictures in the Temple of the Goddess. The sixteen Matrons who presided were likewise required by the Nation to change *Juno's* Robe every five Years, and give her a new one wrought with their own Hands. The People of *Elis* carried up the Institution of this Festival as high as to *Hippodamia*, when she married *Pelops*. They said, that this Heroine of the fabulous Ages, so famous for her Activity, first introduced female Races. This Diversion, which she instituted at the Celebration of her Marriage, suited the Taste of the Bride.

The Island of *Cos* had also its *Herean Festivals*. The Inhabitants of this Island celebrated them in the same manner as the *Argians* did. At least they, like the

Year of confirmed by their Suffrages, under Pretence, that the first King of *Macedon* was a
 R O M E Native of their Country. *Philip* behaved himself in this Station like a voluptuous
 DXLV. Prince, who loved Pleasure, and pursued Debauchery, to Excess. But at length, the
 T. MANLIUS Diet was held, and drew the King from his Delights. He left ⁶² *Argos*, and came
 TORQUATUS, to ⁶³ *Rhium*, the Place appointed for the Assembly. The Negotiations about a
 Dictator.

the *Argians*, would not suffer the Slaves, either to enter into *Juno's* Temple, or to taste of the Sacrifices offered to the Goddess. At *Corinth* this Ceremony had the Air of a mournful Solemnity. The *Corinthians* ascribed the Institution of it to *Medea*, when she killed her own Children. It was a received Tradition among them, that she established *The Heraean Games* by Way of Atonement for her Crime. The Citizens therefore renewed the Remembrance of this Cruelty, and sacrificed a Goat to *Juno Acrea*; a Name which in the Greek signifies, that her Temple was built on an Eminence.

As to the *Nemean Games*, we can give no exact Account of their Origin. But most of the Ancients agree, that they were instituted in Honour to *Archemorus*; the Son of *Lycus*, according to some; or, according to others, of *Lycurgus*, King of *Thrace*. They say, That an Army of *Argians*, commanded by *Adrastes* King of *Argos*, were extremely streightened with Thirst, as they were marching towards *Thebes*, to assist *Polynices*; That in this Extremity, they addressed themselves to the Nurse of the young Prince *Archemorus*, whom they accidentally met; and That she, out of Compassion, led the thirsty Soldiers to a Fountain, after she had laid down the Child she had in her Arms, under a Branch of Smal-lage. But it unfortunately happened, that a Snake attacked the Child. At this Sight, *Adrastes*, and his *Greeks*, ran to it, but came a little too late; the Child was dead. Then in order to abate the Grief of *Lycurgus*, at the Death of his Son, they honoured the Memory of the Deceased, with instituting so-lemn Games to his Honour, which were first celebrated near *Nemæa*, a City of *Argolis*. Some say, they were renewed annually; others, every five Years; others, every three Years; and others, every tenth Year; and it must be freely owned, that the Ancients are very dark, and very far from being clear in this Matter. As for *Ælian*, he gives us as uncertain an Account of the Origin of the *Nemean Games*, as that just mentioned. And some Writers have taken a great deal of pains to tire their Readers with the useless Researches they have made, to prove that the *Nemean Games* were instituted before the *Theban* War. But be that as it will, it is probable that *Hercules* either established, or renewed this Solemnity, and consecrated these Games to *Jupiter*, in Gratitude for his Victory over the *Nemean* Lion. *Ensebius*, in his *Chronicon*, allows the *Argians* to have been the first Institutors of them; and places their Institution in the fifty first *Olympiad*. If so, they were not instituted till several Ages after the Reign of *Adrastes*, or the Expedition of the Seven before *Thebes*, and even after the time of *Hercules*. Unless it be said, that they were renewed after a long Interrup-tion, or that little was known of what was done at them before the fifty first *Olympiad*. This Festival was celebrated with Sports of all sorts, as Chariot-Races, Foot and Horse-Races, Jufts, Tournaments, Boxing, Wrestling, and in short all the Exercises of the *Pagiles*. The Conqueror in any of these re-ceived for his Reward a Crown of Olive. But af-terwards this Crown was made of *Smallage*, a Wa-ter-Plant, and appropriated to Funeral Ceremonies, according to *Pliny*. *Defunctorum Epulis dicatum Apium*. This Herb called to mind the Remembrance of the melancholy Adventure of *Archemorus*, and was agreeable to *Funeral Games*, at least to their Ori-gin. *Clemens Alexandrinus* says, that on this Occa-sion an Orator was ordered to pronounce a Funeral Oration on the young Prince, in the Presence of all the *Greeks* assembled. And the Judges, appointed

by the Cities of *Greece* to distribute the Rewards, were dressed in Mourning. This Festival was com-mon to the *Argians*, *Corinthians*, and the Inhabitants of *Cleonæ*; who had a Right to chuse the Presidents for it, by Turns.

Thus, in order to give a just Idea of the *Heraean* and *Nemean* Festivals, we have collected, out of numberless Contradictions and Fables, the most ra-tional Accounts the *Greek* Authors give us of them; and *Thucydides*, *Athenæus*, *Palephatus*, *Hesychius*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Eustathius*, *Pausanias*, *Su-das*, *Polianus*, *Lactantius*, *St. Austin* in his Book *De Civitate Dei*, and the ancient Scholiasts of *Pin-dar*, *Aratus*, &c. are the Authors which have been of most Service to us in it.

As to the City of *Nemæa*, which gave its Name to the Games last described, *Pliny* places it in *Arca-dia*; and *Stephens* in *Elis*. But most ancient Geo-graphers, particularly *Ptolomy*, *Pausanias*, and *Strabo*, agree, that it was in *Argolis*, between *Cleonæ* and *Phlius*. Nevertheless, the latter leaves it in doubt, whether *Nemæa* was a City, or a little Canton be-longing to the *Argians*. It is certain that *Pliny* speaks of it as a little Country. The Country of *Nemæa*, says he, B. 4. is the same that is called *Bembina*, from the Town of *Bembina*, which *Strabo* says stood in the Neighbourhood of *Nemæa*. The Author of the third Prologue, at the Head of the *Nemeonikai* of *Pindar*, divides *Argolis* into three Parts, the third of which was called *Nemæa*, probably from the Name of the chief City in it. According to *Pausanias*, it was in his time a small Town, remarkable for no-thing but a fine Temple dedicated to *Jupiter Ne-mæus*. Fifteen *Stadia* from it, he says, was shewn the Den of the famous Lion, which was killed by *Hercules* in the neighbouring Forest. The Name of *Nemæa* was common not only to the City and Fo-rest, but also to a River now called *Langia*, accor-ding to *Niger*. It rose about the Borders of *Argo-lis*, ran into *Achaia*, divided the Territory of *Sicyon* from that of *Corinth*, and emptied itself into the *Ægean* Sea. Modern Geographers conjecture, that old *Nemæa* was near the Place which the Natives now call *Tristina*.

62 The Geographers reckon up eleven Cities, which all bore the Name of *Argos*. That here men-tioned was the Capital of *Argolis*, an ancient King-dom, which had a long Succession of Kings, before it was reduced to the Form of a Republick, and be-came subject sometimes to *Lacedæmon*, and some-times to *Athens*. It was distinguished from other Cities of the same Name by the Surname of *Hip-pium*, taken from the excellent Studs of Horses bred there. It lay between the Rivers *Inachus*, now *Pla-mizza*, and the *Erazinus*, now the *Rasino*.

63 We dare not affirm, that *Livy* means a City, by the Term *Rhium*. At least it's certain the An-cients gave this Name to a famous Promontory of *Achæia*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Drepanum*; and which is the same that *Strabo* calls *The Promontory Moly-crion*. It lay at the Entrance into *The Gulph of Co-rinth*, over-against another Promontory, which for that reason was called *Antirrhium*. They are divi-ded from one another by *The Streights of Lepanto*, and are called the *Dardanelles*, as well as the two Ports, erected on the two opposite Shores of *The Streights of Gallipoli*. The first of these two Pro-montories is now called *Cape Trapani*, or *Cape de Patras*, or *The Cape of St. Andrew*. The second, according to *Pinct*, is the same which is now na-med *Galata*, or *Capo Scandreri*.

peace between *Ætolia* and *Achaia*, were begun, and many Nations inclined to a Reconciliation, for fear *Attalus* and the *Romans* should take Occasion from the War, to get Footing in *Greece*. The *Ætolians* were at the Congress, and were hesitating between Peace and War; when one of the Orators of the Assembly addressed himself to them in an Harangue, in which there was more Reasoning than Art. It is preserved to this day, and is full of the good Sense and Wisdom of the *Greeks*, joined with a noble and manly Eloquence.

Year of
R O M E
DXLV.
T. MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
Dictator.

ÆTOLIANS, said the Orator, *the earnest Desires of King Ptolomy, and many other Nations, to bring you to a Peace, cannot be unknown to you. How often, and how earnestly, have we solicited you to be reconciled to the King of Macedon? Our Design in it is to prevent the Ruin of both, and to procure the common Good of Greece. You have kindled a Fire, which will not be easily extinguished, if the Flame be agitated by the least Breath of Wind. Alas! he who first kindled it, will perhaps first be destroyed by it: And then it will spread over the Neighbourhood, and the whole Region will be consumed. Our Apprehensions therefore of this Misfortune, make us repeat our Sollicitations. Will you have no Regard either to our Intreaties, or the Instances of a venerable King, or the Voices of so many Islanders, which are heard to this Continent? If the War could prove prejudicial only to yourselves, ought you not to consider well, before you run the Hazards of it? Nay, if Glory were to be the sure Reward of this Enterprize, ought you to purchase it at our Peril? How infamous is the League you have entered into with a Foreigner? What an indelible Stain on the Ætolian Name? For, let me speak freely to you. In vain do you pretend, that your only Design in making War on the Macedonian, is to prevent his lording it over Greece. You yourselves distress and oppress her. What are the Conditions of your Treaty with Rome, but such as I am going to mention? It is shameful for you to have signed them, and it would be now very odious for you, to put them in Execution. How was it possible for you to make an Agreement with the Romans, That you should continue Masters of the Cities you should subdue by their Assistance; and, That you should give up to them all the Spoils they should take? What! are the Cities of Greece to lie at the Mercy of a greedy Stranger? But what am I saying? The tragical Scenes you have shewed us, were only the Prelude to your unjust Treaty. What will be the Catastrophe? Your own particular Happiness? Pardon me; I doubt it. And after all, do you look on the enslaving of all Greece, as nothing? Believe me, the Time approaches for it. Hannibal is now but a weak Barrier against these insatiable Conquerors. Rome has driven him to a Corner of Italy; where he is scarce able to defend himself. The Torrent will soon overflow, and drown all our Countries. Our mutual good Understanding is our only Defence; and our dis-union will certainly ruin us. What then will you be better than Slaves, subject to the Wills of others? These Evils ought to have been foreseen and considered, before you engaged. But it is still time enough to prevent them. Since then you were surprized into these Measures, by a Prospect of an imaginary Advantage; now alter your Conduct. Restore Peace to Greece; and don't involve her, and yourselves with her, in certain Ruin.*

THIS Discourse, so full of Truth, as afterwards appeared by the Event, moved all the Assembly; and it was scarce finished, before *Philip's* Envoys were introduced. As this King was not of the *Grecian* Body, he treated with the Diet by Deputies only; who declared, That if the *Ætolians* would consent to a Peace, their Master was ready to sign the Treaty; and if they refused it, he charged all the Curses which should be the Consequences of a War, upon them. The *Ætolians* however came to no Resolution at this Meeting; and soon after, News was brought, that *Attalus* was entered with his Fleet, into the Harbours of the Island of *Ægina*⁶⁴; and *Sulpicius* with his, into ⁶⁵ *Naupactus*: which was enough to make the *Ætolians* put an End to all the Schemes for a Peace, and raise their Pretensions.

⁶⁴ *Ægina*, now *Engia* and *Legina*, and more commonly *Lalona*, is an Island in the *Ægean* Sea. It lay between the Territory of *Athens*, and that of *Epidauros*, in *The Saronic Gulph*, to which it gives its present Name. This Island is said to be about thirty six Miles in Circumference. It was formerly famous for the Skill of its Inhabitants in marine Affairs.

airs, and for its *Athletæ*. *Stephens* and *Tzetzes* are both mistaken; one in having taken it for one of the *Cyclades*; and the other in making it one of the *Sporades*.

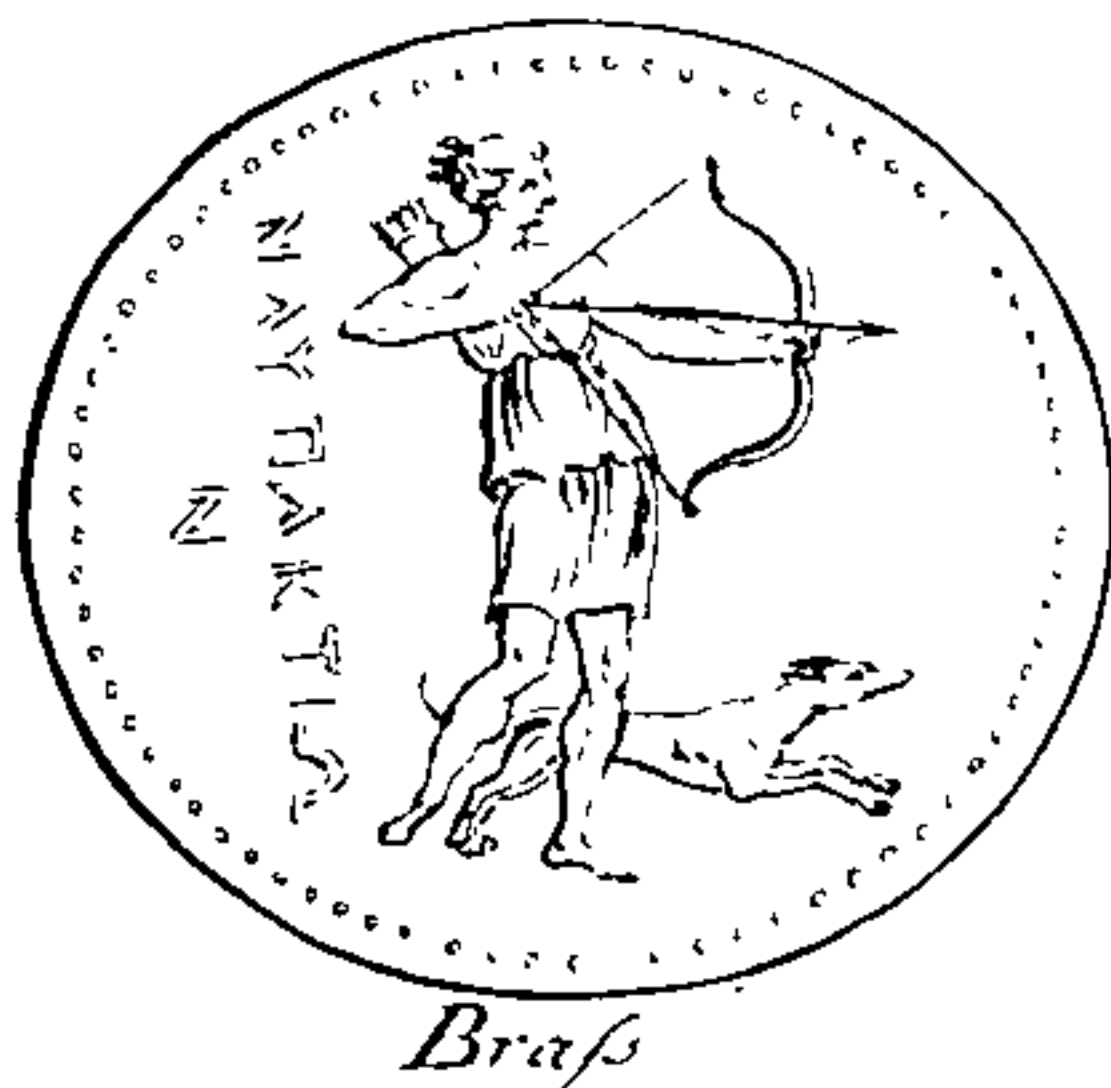
⁶⁵ *Naupactus*, or *Naupactum*, formerly one of the most considerable Cities in *Ætolia*, stood where *Lepanto* now does. See p. 314. of this Vol. Note 4. *Pausanias*

Year of
R O M E
DXLV.

T. MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
Dictator.

sions. *We will consent to no Peace*, said they, *unless* ⁶⁶ *Pylos be restored to the* Messenians; *Atintania* ⁶⁷ *to the Romans; and the Country of the* Ardians ⁶⁸ *to* Pleuratus and Scherdilædus. This was giving Law to all Greece; and particularly to the King of *Macedon*. Philip was therefore enraged at it, and could ill brook Insults from those he had conquered. *I never could hope*, said he, *to bring the Ætolians to Reason. All my Aim was, to satisfy my Allies that I am desirous of Peace; and that it is my Enemies who are bent on War.* Thus spake Philip; and the Diet was dismissed. The *Macedonian* now repented of a Fault he had committed. Prusias, King of ⁶⁹ *Bithynia*, had sent him a Fleet, to which the *Carthaginians* might have joined theirs; and with these joint Forces Philip might have scoured the Seas, and cleared them of these Western Republicans, who had long infested them. But the Opportunity was now lost; and he had nothing to do, but to retire to *Argos*; leaving four thousand of his Troops, and five of his Galleys, to guard *Achaia*.

§. XIII. THE *Heræan Games* were succeeded by the *Nemæan*; and Philip was to preside in the latter, as he had in the former. An Office he undertook with great Joy; and gave himself up, without Restraint, to a full Enjoyment of such Diversions as were not very seasonable in Times of Trouble and Alarms. In the mean while, the *Pro Consul* took Advantage of this Remissness, and ravaged the fertile Fields which reach from *Sicyon* ⁷⁰ to ⁷¹ *Corinth*. This News a little interrupted the Pleasures and Tranquillity of the King of *Macedon*. He was brave, and thought himself concerned to revenge the Cause of his suffering Allies; and he instantly



nias highly commends the Temple which the *Nau-pactians* erected to *Diana*. They had consecrated to her a Statue of white Marble, in the Habit and Posture of an Huntress, drawing a Bow; as she is represented in the Medal above, on which is inscribed the Name of these People.

⁶⁶ We must take care not to confound the City of *Pylos*, which *Livy* mentions in this Place, with two other *Greek* Cities of the same Name. The first stood towards the Western Coast of *Messenia*, above Cape *Coryphasius*, which *Niger* calls *Capo Zunchi*, and over against *Sphagia*, or *Spacteria*, now *Sapienza*, a little Island in the *Ionian* Sea. According to *Thucydides*, B. 4. the *Lacedæmonians* gave this City the Surname of *Coryphasium*. At least it is certain that *Minerva* had a Temple there, and was worshiped by the Inhabitants under the Title of *Coryphasia*. But *Ptolomy* does not distinguish this City, from another which he calls *Abarinus*; now *Navarino*, in the Country of *Belvedere*, one of the Cantons of the *Morea*. The second stood a little more to the North, in *Tryphilia*, a little Country of *Greece*, which was a Part of *Elis*, or at least bordered upon it. The third was more Northern than the other two, and stood almost at the Mouth of the River *Peneus*, and still retains its ancient Name. These three Cities all disputed the Honour of having been governed by the famous *Nestor*, the Son of *Neleus*. But it is evident, that the City of *Pylos* in *Messenia*, was the Subject of the Dispute between Philip of *Macedon* and the *Ætolians*. It belonged to the *Messenians*, in whose Territory it stood; but it does not appear, that they had any Pretensions to the two latter Cities, which belonged to *Elis*. *Polybius* tells us, in another Place, that the *Messenians* themselves demanded of the *Achaians* the Re-

stitution of a City which they had usurped from them.

⁶⁷ The Country of the *Atintanes* was a Part of that of the *Molossi*; and afterwards it was annexed to *Macedon*. See above, p. 22. of this Volume, Note 48.

⁶⁸ The *Ardyæans*, or *Ardians*, inhabited the Eastern Part of *Illyricum*. Philip, after he had conquered it, had united it to *Macedon*. They are thought to have inhabited the Country which is now the most Northern Part of *Servia*. See above, p. 22. of this Volume, Note 48.

⁶⁹ *Bithynia*, which had formerly the Title of a Kingdom, is now a Part of *Natolia*. It is the most Northern, and the nearest to the *Propontis*, and the *Euxine* Sea, of all the Provinces of *Asia Minor*. It anciently bore the Name of *Bebrycia*.

⁷⁰ *Sicyon* was one of the most powerful and most considerable Cities in *Greece*. According to the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, it boasted of having given Birth to one of the most ancient Monarchies in the World. From *Ægialeus*, who first assumed the Title of King, it was successively governed by twenty seven Sovereigns, during the Space of nine hundred and sixty seven Years, to the time of *Agamemnon*, who joined this City and its Territory to the Kingdom of *Mycene*. So that, according to *Petau's* Chronology, the first Year of *Ægialeus* coincided with the Year of the World 1820. But indeed, the Antiquity of this Monarchy does not appear to be founded on very certain Proofs. See the *Fathers Petau and Salian*, and *Emmius*, and *Usher*. *Sicyon* stood on a Hill consecrated to *Ceres*. We find some Traces of it to this Day, near *Basilica*.

⁷¹ The Conquest of *Corinth* by the *Romans*, will give us Occasion to describe it hereafter.

put himself at the Head of his Cavalry, and ordered his Infantry to follow. The *Romans* did not expect him; but were dispersed about the Fields in small Companies, wholly intent on Booty. So that the Arrival of the Enemy surprized them. They instantly rallied, returned to their Ships, and reembarked for *Naupactus*; and this Flight of the *Romans* augmented the Glory of the King, at the Celebration of *The Nemean Games*. The *Circus* and Theatre rung with his Name; and he gained still more on the Affections of the *Greeks*, by the affable and popular Airs he put on, among this People, who were so very zealous Republicans. He appeared at the Shews without his Diadem, Purple Robe, or any other Ornaments of Regal Dignity; and thereby insensibly captivated their Affections, and disposed them to chuse him for their Master. It was in some Sort to promise the *Greeks* the Preservation of their Liberties, under his Dominion. But his furious Bent to the most impious Pleasures, lost him as much Esteem, as his Condescensions gained him. The whole City of *Argos* was full of his infamous Debaucheries. He entered into the private Apartments of the Women, by Day, as well as by Night, without any Modesty, or Regard for their Husbands. If Caresses and Persuasions were ineffectual, he made use of Force; and chose to extort by Violence, what he might have purchased with Money. So that the Liberty he seemed to promise the *Greeks*, was no more than that Licentiousness in which he indulged himself. He was accused of having robbed a considerable Man of the Country of his Wife, and sent her to *Macedon*, with hopes of becoming a Queen there. In short, Women were not safe under the Protection of their Husbands; nor Children in their Father's Houses.

Year of
R O M E
DXLV.
T. MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
Dictator.

§.XIV. THIS Licentiousness of Life deserved Chastisement; and *Philip* was much humbled with the Mortifications he met with during the rest of the Campaign. *Dyme* ⁷², a City on the Confines of *Elis* ⁷³, adhered to the *Ætolians*, tho' it stood in *Peloponnesus*. It had just received an *Ætolian* Garrison; and *Philip* resolved to drive it thence; designing to punish the *Elians* for their Attachment to *Ætolia* and the *Romans*. To this End, he joined his Troops with those of *Cycliades*, General of the Armies of *Achaia*, passed the ⁷⁴ *Larissus*, entered the Territory of *Elis*, committed some Ravages, and then fell on the Capital, intending to surprize or besiege it. But *Elis* ⁷⁵ was better provided than the *Macedonian* expected. The *Pro-Consul Sulpicius* had, unknown to the King, sailed from *Naupactus* to the Port of *Cyllene* ⁷⁶; had landed four thousand of his Troops there; and had, by favour of the Night, brought this Reinforcement into *Elis*, to strengthen her Garrison. *Philip*, who was ignorant of this Step, and did not expect to have *Romans* to oppose him, ordered his Cavalry to advance before him, and followed himself with his Infantry. As soon as he was within reach of the Enemy, and had encamped without the Walls of *Elis*, he, to his great Surprize, saw the *Roman* Standards mixed with the *Ætolian* and *Elia*n; and he would then have retired, but it was too late. An Engagement was begun between his *Illyricans*, and the *Ætolians*; and the King himself faced a Band of *Romans*, whom he would have broken with his Cavalry; but he was made sensible, for the first time, of the Strength of a *Roman* Arm. A *Legionary* threw one of the Darts, which were like Halberts, (and used only by the *Romans* in Battel,) at the King's Horse; which, after violent Plunges, fell; threw the King, and forced him to fight on Foot, in the midst of his Cavalry. Then the Onset was vigorous, between the *Macedonian* Cavalry, and *Roman* Infantry; but the King was at length convinced, that his Troops were unequally matched. He was remounted; and, after he had left many dead on the Field of Battel, fled; and he came and encamped five Miles

⁷² *Dyme* was a maritime City of *Achaia Propria*. It is now called *Clarenza*.

⁷³ *Elis* is now a Part of the Province of *Belvedere*. See Vol. 2.

⁷⁴ The *Larissus*, now the *Riso*, divided *Elis* from the Country of the *Achaians*. This River watered the Territory of *Dyme*, and discharged itself into the *Ionian* Sea.

⁷⁵ Old *Elis* is now called *Belvedere*, or *Jalea*,

according to *Niger*. It stood on the Banks of the River *Peneus*. See above. p. 314. of this Volume, Note 5.

⁷⁶ The City of *Cyllene* stood near the Mouth of the *Peneus*, above Cape *Chelonates*, which the *Italians* call *Capo Torinese*. *Niger* gives this maritime City of old *Elis*, the Name of *Atravida*. *Sophian* thinks it was the same City as *Gbiarenza*.

Year of from the City of *Elis*, which he expected to have reduced. However, he comfort-
 R O M E ed himself at least with taking a Castle, or Tower, to which the Peasants of the
 DXLV. Country had fled for Refuge, with their Flocks.

T. MANLIUS
 TORQUATUS,
 Dictator.

§. XV. WHILEST the King was here, dividing the Prey ⁷⁷ among his Soldiers, a Courier arrived from his own Country, with Advice, That one *Eropus* had corrupted the Governour of *Lychnidus* ⁷⁸; That the Revolt spread far in the Country of the *Dassaretæ*; That some Citics had gone over to the Rebels; and, That Pains were taken to stir up the ⁷⁹ *Dardani*, the old Enemies of the Kings of *Macedon*. And this Intelligence made the King drop his Designs on *Achaia*. He made long Marches from thence, after he had left two thousand five hundred Men there, under the Command of *Menippus* and *Polyphas*, to defend his Allies; crossed *Achaia*, *Boeotia*, and *Eubæa* ⁸⁰; and at length reached *Theffaly*. But he was scarce arrived at *Demetrias*, before he received more afflicting News. He heard, with great Concern, that the *Dardani* had entered *Macedon*; had already possessed themselves of a small District called *Orestida* ⁸¹; and had fallen on the Territory of *Æstrea* ⁸². The Boldness of the Barbarian had been increased by a Report, that *Philip* was dead. And indeed, in the Battel which had been fought between *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, the King had struck his Head against a Tree, with such Violence, that his Helmet ⁸³ had been broken with the Blow ⁸⁴, and had fallen to the Ground

in

⁷⁷ According to *Livy*, the King of *Macedon* took, in the Castle he had forced, four thousand Men, and twenty thousand Head of Cattle.

⁷⁸ *Lychnidus*, now *Ocrida*, or as others *Alchria*, was a City in the Country of the *Dassaretæ*, a People who inhabited the Western Part of *Macedon*, and joining to *Illyricum*. There was a Lake near it of the same Name; which *Sophian* calls *Lago dell' Ocrida*. This City now belongs to the Government of *Albania*.

⁷⁹ The *Dardani* anciently possessed that Canton of *Upper Mœsia*, which is divided from *Macedon* by Mount *Orbelus*, now Mount *Karopnitze*. This Country is now the South Part of *Servia*, and a Part of *Bulgaria*.

⁸⁰ In some MSS. we read *Bæobam*: and *Sabellicus* not being able to find any such City in *Old Greece*, as *Bæoba*, therefore made it *Beboïdam*. But the Misfortune is, that we can find no Traces in Antiquity, of any Country or City called *Bebois*. Only we are told by *Strabo* and *Stephens*, that *Bæbeis*, or, as the latter, *Bæbe*, was the Name of a Lake in *Theffaly*. It reached near the Mounts *Pelion*, *Olympus*, and *Ossa*, towards the Mouth of the *Peneus*, a different River from that *Peneus* which runs in *Elis*. This Lake took its Name from a neighbouring City, which *Homer* calls *Bæbē*, and the present Natives of the Country, *Jensufar*. *Sophian* gives it the Name of *Efero*. Nevertheless, it must be confessed, that the Situation of the Territory of *Boebe*, does not agree with the Rout which *Livy* makes the King of *Macedon* take. According to this Historian, *Philip* passed through *Achaia*, *Boeotia*, and the Countries on this Side *Demetrias* in *Theffaly*, which was the Place for which he was bound. But this Lake, and the City of the same Name, were beyond it. It is therefore more natural to adhere to the Text of the two MSS. one of *Monsieur Colbert*, and the other in the *French King's Library*, which both have *Eubæam*, instead of *Beboïdem*. *Eubæa* was indeed directly in his Way from *Boeotia*, back to *Theffaly*.

⁸¹ *Orestida* was formerly the Name of a little Country in the South West Part of *Macedon*. *Orestes*, who had fled into this Province, after the Murder of his Mother *Clytemnestra*, built a City of *Argos* there, and gave his own Name to this Province, which has since been vulgarly called *Orestis*. It bordered upon *Epirus*, the Country of the *Atintanes*, and the *Adriatic Sea*; and it now belongs to the Province of *Albania*.

⁸² In *Livy* we read *Argestatum Campum*; (the Territory of *Argestatæ*) but the Difficulty is to discover its exact Situation; and we unluckily find the ancient Geographers silent on this Head. They don't seem to have known so much as the Name of this Territory. *Sigonius* therefore concludes that the Text has been altered by the *Latin Copyists*; and guesses, that instead of *Argestatum Campum*, it ought to be *Ægestæum Campum*, the Territory of *Ægestæa*. In Proof of this Conjecture, he quotes *Stephens the Geographer*, who says that the Inhabitants of *Thesprotia* were anciently called *Ægestæans*, from one *Egestus*, who governed this Southern Province of *Epirus*. But *Sigonius* did not consider, that *Thesprotia* did not then belong to the Kingdom of *Macedon*; and consequently, the *Dardani*, who proposed to ravage the Territories of King *Philip*, had no Reason to turn their Arms this way. Besides, is it probable that *Livy* should, the first time he speaks of them, make use of an obsolete Term, to express a Nation which the *Romans* knew by no other Name than that of *Thesprotians*? At least it has not been observed, that this Historian calls them by any other Name, throughout the whole Course of his History, than that of *Thesprotii*. *Glarean* seems to have made a more probable Conjecture, when he guesses that *Livy* meant *Æstreum Campum*, or the Territory of *Æstrea*. It is certain that *Ptolomy* says there was in *Macedon* a Canton and City of this Name, which joined to the Country of the *Dassaretæ*, to the East, and lay between the two Rivers *Axius* and *Drilo*. One of these Rivers is now called the *Vardari*, and the other the *Drino*, or, according to *Sophian*, the *Boiana*, which divides *Illyricum* from *Macedon*. The Territory of *Æstrea* is now a Part of North *Albania*.

⁸³ According to *Livy*, one of the Horns of *Philip's* Helmet was broken with the Violence of the Blow. *Cornu alterum galea præfregit*; and this calls to our Remembrance what *Plutarch* says of *Pyrrhus*, in his Life of this Prince. He had, says he, a very fine Tuft of Feathers on his Helmet, the Crest of which was made of two Goats Horns. And by the Medals it appears that the Kings of *Macedon* reserved to themselves this odd kind of Ornament, either to strike the more Terror, or in Imitation of their Predecessor *Alexander the Great*. The Historians tell us, that this Conqueror carried his Extravagance so far, as to require the People to acknowledge him to be the Son of *Jupiter Ammon*. And we know that the Fables and ancient Monuments

in pieces; an *Ætolian* had gathered up these Pieces, and brought them to *Scherdiledus*, who was then in *Ætolia*, and who knew it to be *Philip's* Helmet by its Garniture; and from thence arose the Report, which reached the *Dardani* in *Mæsia*⁸⁴, that *Philip* had been killed in a Battel in which he had gained the Advantage. The King's Presence was therefore necessary in his own Dominions, to put a stop to Factions, and popular Rumours. These at least retarded the Prosecution of *Philip's* chief Design; and *Rome* had no longer any reason to fear, that the *Macedonian* would come into *Italy*, and join his Forces to those of *Hannibal*⁸⁵.

Year of
R O M E
DXLV.
T. MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
Dictator.

§. XVI. THIS Detail of the Affairs of *Greece* was the more agreeable to the Senate, in that *Asdrubal* was gone from *Spain*, was advancing through *Transalpine Gaul*, and ready to pass the *Alpes*, and come to the Assistance of his Brother with a great Army. The two *Consuls* of the Year were dead; and *Marcellus* was no more. The *Comitia by Centuries* were therefore hastily assembled, and probably before the *Consular* Year was ended. *Manlius Torquatus*, nominated *Dictator* by the last *Consul*, was the supreme Governor of the Republick; and during the Interim between his Nomination, and the *Comitia*, he, by Order of the Senate, presided in *The*⁸⁶ *Great Games*. He was also permitted to make a Vow to celebrate them in the fifth Year of the ensuing *Lustrum*.

In the mean time, the Senators made it their whole Business to find out such Persons for *Consuls*, as were capable of recovering the Republick out of that bad State, in which *Marcellus* and *Quinctius* had left her. *If the proud Hannibal*, said the *Romans*, *did not take Advantage of our Losses; and if our two Armies were not destroyed upon the Death of their Generals; we are wholly indebted to the Protection of the Gods for it.* *Marcellus, and his Colleague, were too rash and inconsiderate; but it has pleased Heaven, that they themselves only have suffered by it. However, it is our Business to take care, that the Command of our Armies be given to Men both brave and circumspect.* The great *Fabius* was indeed yet alive; but his Age now rendered him little able to endure the Fatigue of military Services. He was above fourscore, and it was natural for him to confine himself to the Business of the Senate.

ROME therefore cast her Eyes on *Claudius Nero*, whose Bravery was unquestionable. He had given such convincing Proofs of it, that he seemed to have the Ascendant over all his Competitors. But after all, he was very hasty and enterprising; and a Man of his Character was not a proper Person to be sent against so subtle an Adversary as *Hannibal*. It was therefore thought necessary to chuse him such a Colleague, as should be sedate and calm enough to conduct the *Roman* Armies, without exposing them too much; and an Accident recovered the Republick out of the present Difficulty.

Pliny, B. 7.
c. 48.
Val. Max. B. 3.
c. 14.



Silver.



Brass

ments represent this King with Horns on his Head. *Alexander* therefore, prepossessed with this foolish Notion, appropriated this Symbol to himself, and would have divine Honours paid him under this Mark. Hence the Name of *Corniger* and *Bicornis*, which some Authors give him. We to this Day find him represented with this Ornament on some of his Medals; and we have the Head of a *Jupiter Ammon* on a Medal of the *Lollian* Family. It is not improbable that *Philip* wore such a Helmet, in Imitation of *Alexander the Great*, since he gloried in being his Successor, and descended from the same Stock.

⁸⁴ Old *Mæsia* comprehended that great Country,

which reached from the Conflux of the *Danube* and the *Save*, to *The Black Sea*. It was divided into the *Upper* and *Lower*. It comprehended the present *Servia*, and Kingdom of *Bulgaria*.

⁸⁵ *Livy* adds, That *Sulpicius*, taking Advantage of the Absence of the King of *Macedon*, sailed over to the Island of *Aegina* with his Fleet; That he had a good Passage, and there joined his Troops to those of *Attalus*; and That both Armies wintered there. In the mean time, the *Achæans* continued their Hostilities, and with Advantage attacked an Army of *Ælians* and *Ætolians*, almost in Sight of *Messene*.

⁸⁶ See our Account of the Origin and Pomp of *The Great Games*, in the preceding Volumes.

Year of
R O M E
DXLV.
T. MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
Dictator.

M. LIVIUS, who had discharged the Office of *Consul* with great Prudence about twelve Years since, was returned to the City from his little Farm in the Country, to which he had confined himself. This great Man⁸⁷ had been unjustly condemned by the People, for having made an unequal Distribution of the Spoils of *Illyricum*. He had therefore withdrawn himself from the Publick out of Chagrin, and had been buried in Oblivion in his Country-House for some Years. *Marcellus* and *Lævinus* had forced him from thence, contrary to his Inclination, eight Years since, and had obliged him to live in the City; but he had lived there like a Man in Disgrace. He always appeared in publick with a long Beard, neglected Hair, and a slovenly Dress, shewing in his Air and Countenance his Resentment for the Affront he had received. Till at length the *Censors* obliged him to get himself shaved, and to take his Place in the Senate-House. Nevertheless, *Livius*, even in this August Assembly, still discovered Signs of the Impressions his Disgrace had made upon him. He barely gave his Opinion by a *Yes*, or a *No*; or else silently went over to the Place where the Senator sat, whose Opinion he embraced. But at length an Affair of Honour forced him to break the Silence, in which he had so long obstinately persevered.

LIVIVS MACATUS, his Relation, as is probable from his Name, was accused before the Senate; doubtless for his Conduct at *Tarentum*, which he had suffered to be surprized by *Hannibal*: and *M. Livius* spoke in his Favour, with an Eloquence that drew all the Attention of the *Conscript Fathers*. They were pleased to hear the Voice of a Man, who had so long imposed Silence on himself; and his Merit caused them to make Reflections, which they had not made before. *How could we possibly, said they, so long neglect this Man, who was condemned on very slight Grounds, and whose Valour and Counsels may be of great Service to his Country? We might indeed join Tattius, or Lævinus, with Nero, in the Consulate; but they are both Patricians; and the Laws require, that we should chuse one Plebeian. And that is also the Case of Manlius; who besides would refuse the Consulship if it were offered him. What then can we do better than chuse Livius? His Prudence, joined with Nero's Valour, will make a happy Mixture.* These were the prevailing Sentiments of *The Fathers*, when the *Comitia* were held; the *Pro-Consul* entered into the same Measures, and all things were preparing for making the Choice the Senators had concerted; when *Livius* alone opposed his own Promotion. *How fickle are the People, said he? They shewed no regard to my Supplications, but neglected the mortified Condition in which I appeared, to avert their Anger; but now they force me to whiten my Robe, and appear among the Candidates for the Consulship. If I am a proper Person to be chosen Consul a second time, why was I condemned? Or if my Condemnation was just, why would they again place me at the Helm?* These Complaints he uttered in all Places, but an Answer was ready. *It is with the Subjects of a State, as with the Children of a Family. The transient Severities of a Father ought not to make the Son withdraw from his Duty. And thus the great Camillus forgot his Banishment, and was ready to assist the Republick, when on the Brink of Ruin.* In short, so many Engines were set at work, that *Livius* was prevailed on to accept the *Consulate* a second time; with *Nero*, who was now promoted to it, the first time.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.
M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

§. XVII. ~~THREE~~ Days after the Election of the two chief Magistrates, the same *Comitia* were again held, four *Prætors* elected as usual, and the several *Pro-Consuls* and *Pro-Prætors* assigned their respective Commands. The *Prætors* were *C. Hostilius*, to whose Lot it fell to continue in the City; *L. Porcius*, whose Command happened to be in *Cisalpine Gaul*; *C. Mamilius*, to whom *Sicily* fell; and *A. Hostilius*, whose Lot was *Sardinia*. Each of these had two *Legions* under his Command; and the Republick had this Year twenty three *Legions* on Foot. The *Pro-Consuls* were the same almost in all Places, as the last Year. *Fulvius Flaccus* was to command the Army in *Bruttium*, which the *Consul Quinctius* had commanded there the last Year. *Valerius Lævinus* was continued in the Command of the *Roman Fleet* in *Sicily*. *Subpicius* had the same Orders as before, to guard the Coasts of *Greece* with his Fleet and Land-Forces. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, with the

87 See above, p. 44. of this Volume.

Title of *Pro-Consul*, still continued General in *Spain* jointly with his Brother *Lucius*; and they had the *Pro-Prætor Silanus* under them. *Hostilius Tubulus* commanded a *Legion* in *Campania*, in Quality of *Pro-Prætor*; *Claudius Flaminius*, two *Legions* at *Tarentum*, with Orders to cover the Country of the *Salentini*; and lastly, *Terentius Varro*, two *Legions* in *Hetruria*.

ALL that now remained, was to assign the two *Consuls*, *Livius* and *Claudius Nero*, their Provinces for the ensuing Campaign; and tho' it had been for some time customary to send both the Collegues against *Hannibal*, that Method was now changed, for two Reasons. The chief was, that there was not so good an Understanding between *Livius* and *Nero*, as was necessary for those who were to be joined together in one Expedition. Their Enmities had been open; *Livius* could not forgive *Nero* for having neglected, nay despised him, in his Adversity. *Q. Fabius* indeed, at the Head of the Senate, endeavoured to compass a Reconciliation; but *Livius* was not easily persuaded. *What Occasion is there*, said he, *to join two Hearts which were not made for each other? Our Enmities will increase our Emulation; and we shall mutually take pains not to be excelled.* Nay, all the Authority of the Senate was little enough to bring them to promise, that they would act with the same Views, when the Good of the Publick was concerned. And indeed, the Misunderstandings between them related only to trivial things, in which *Livius* had some reason to complain of the brisk Sallies of *Nero's* Temper. The second Reason the Republick had to separate the two Collegues, was, that it seemed necessary for the publick Service. News was brought, by Way of *Marseilles* ⁸⁸, That *Asdrubal* was ready to pass the *Alpes*; That he had assembled a great Body of Troops in *Transalpine Gaul*; That nothing stopped him but the Snows and Cold of the Mountains; and That he would enter *Italy*, as soon as the Season would permit. It was therefore necessary to send a General of Reputation, to oppose this new Inundation of Barbarians, which threatened *Rome*; and on these Accounts the *Consuls* were sent to different Places. One was to command in *Cisalpine Gaul*; the other, in *Bruttium* and *Lucania*; the latter, against *Hannibal*; the former, against his Brother; and *Gaul* fell by Lot to *Livius*, *Bruttium* to *Nero*.

BUT before the Collegues drew Lots, it had been determined, That he, to whose Lot *Gaul* fell, should chuse either the Army in *Hetruria*, or that appointed to restrain the *Gauls*, and should add to the Army he chose, the Troops then in Garrison at *Rome*; and That the *Consul* who was to march against *Hannibal*, should have his Choice of the Armies *Quinctius* and *Marcellus* had commanded, and should raise new Levies to guard the City. Accordingly, *Nero* preferred the Army which had fought under *Marcellus*, and *Livius* that which was encamped in *Hetruria*. Thus *Rome* prepared to sustain the Efforts of the two *Carthaginian* Brothers in *Italy*, *Hannibal* in the East, and *Asdrubal* in the West; and it must be owned, that this was as critical a Year as any the Republick (now attacked in the Center of her Dominions) had known; especially, if we consider the Misfortunes of the last Campaign ⁸⁹.

§. XVIII. THE rest of the Winter was spent at *Rome*, in Festivals, Games, and religious Ceremonies. The two *Censors*, *P. Sempronius*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, made a *Census* of the People, which was followed by a *Lustrum*, and they found only an hundred and thirty seven thousand an hundred and eight *Citizens*, fit to bear Arms, which was a somewhat smaller Number than had appeared in the preceding *Lustra*. The *Curule Ædiles* presented the People with *The Great Games*; and the *Plebeian Ædiles* entertained them two Days with *The Plebeian Games* ⁹⁰. Three new Statues were set up in the Temple of *Ceres*; a sacred Feast ⁹¹ was made in Honour to *Jupiter*, on occasion of the *Games*; and *Rome* was at the Expence of covering the Place where the *Comitia by Curie* assembled. It is surprizing, that

⁸⁸ Some Deputies who came from *Marseilles*, had themselves brought this News; and it had been confirmed by the two Ambassadors, *Sextus Antistius*, and *Marcus Restius*, whom *Rome* had sent to the *Marseillois*, to watch *Asdrubal's* Motions.

⁸⁹ After these Dispositions, the Republick raised *Publius Ælius Patus* to the Dignity of *Augur*, in the room of *Marcellus* deceased. *Cneius Cornelius*

Dolabella was elected *King of the Sacrifices*, in the room of *Marcus Marcius*, who died two Years before.

⁹⁰ See our Account of *The Plebeian, or Popular Games*, p. 269 of this Volume, Note 7.

⁹¹ We have already spoken of these sacred Repasts, under the Name of *Lectisternia*, in the first and second Volumes.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.

M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

Livy, B. 27.
c. 35.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.

M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

The Roman People should have so long assembled in the open Air, without any Shelter from Rain or Sun. And lastly, the Prodigies which were talked of, raised the Superstition of the People. It was said, That it had rained Stones at *Vcii*; and That at ⁹² *Minturnæ* the Temple of *Jupiter*, and the Wood consecrated to *Marica* ⁹³, had been struck with Thunder ⁹⁴. Sacrifices were deemed necessary to avert the impending Evils, and were offered up for nine Days together, to prevent those that were threatened by Hail ⁹⁵, which fell in a sacred Place on the Hill *Aventinus*. And lastly, the Terror of the People in the City was much increased, by the Stories which were continually brought, whether true or false, of certain strange Events which had happened. It was pretended, that at *Frusino* ⁹⁶ a Child had been born, as strong and as large as an Infant of four Years old; and this Prodigy was thought equal to that which had been seen at *Sinnessa*, two Years before. Another Child had been born, the Sex of which could not be discerned. Diviners were brought from *Hetruria*, to discover what this odd Event foreboded. They declared it was a fatal Prefage; judged it necessary, that the unfortunate Child should be carried out of the *Roman* Territory, in order thereby to preserve *Rome*; and it was shut up in a wooden Box, and exposed to the Mercy of the Waves. And lastly, a more common Prefage was expiated in a less cruel manner. A certain Poet had then composed some Verses, most probably in Honour of *Juno*. The Poetry of the *Latins* was yet, if I may so speak, in its Infancy; and the Author of the Piece, *Livius Andronicus*, was then in Favour with the Consul *Livius*, whose Freedman he was, as well as *Præceptor* to his Children. By his Surname, it is easy to perceive, that he was originally a *Greek*; and he had taken his Name of *Livius*, as the *Freedmen* generally did, in Gratitude to his old Master. Three times nine young Girls, doubtless as three times representing the Choir of the nine Muses, had been chosen to sing *Andronicus's* Song; and whilst they were at a

⁹² *Minturnæ* was a City in the Country of the *Aurunci*, or in *Terra di Lavoro*, in *Italy*, a little above the *Liris*. See Vol. 2.

⁹³ In the Times of Paganism, every City had its Tutelary God. The Inhabitants of *Minturnæ* paid this Honour to a Nymph whom they called *Marica*. Some of the Mythologists make her the Wife of *Faunus*, who is reputed one of the antient Kings of *Latium*. Others, according to *Servius*, make her the same Person as *Venus*. Some, as *Hesiod* in his *Theogonia*, seem to confound her with *Circe*; and *Lactantius* makes them to have been the same Person. So much Uncertainty and Confusion is there in these fabulous Genealogies, which are built on no better Foundation, than the Caprice or Superstition of the People. *Marica* had a Temple at *Minturnæ*; and near it was one of those sacred Groves, which were deemed Sanctuaries by the Pagans. According to *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Marius*, the Inhabitants had made a Law, not to suffer any thing to go out of the Wood that once entered into it. Upon what religious Motive they could subject themselves to so unreasonable an Obligation, is hard to say.

⁹⁴ To this it was added, That one of the Walls, and a Gate of *Atella*, a City of *Campania*, had been damaged by Thunder; That a Stream of Blood had been seen running in that City; and That a Wolf had entered one of the Gates of *Capua* in the Night, and torn the Centinel upon Guard there in pieces.

⁹⁵ As the Fears of the People increased, the Prodigies multiplied. They fancied it had rained Stones in one of the Quarters of *Rome*, which *Varro*, *Festus*, and the other *Latin* Authors call *Armi-lustrum*. It was a Place on the Hill *Aventinus*, near the Sepulchre of *Titus Tatius* King of the *Sabines*, according to *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Romulus*. *Volateranus* is therefore mistaken in thinking it on the Hill called *Testaceus*. And *Marlian* mistaking *Varro's* Words, thought *Armi-lustrum* signified the Great Circus. The Words of this ancient Writer are these. *Armi-lustrum ab ambitu lustris locus. Item Circus Maximus dictus quod Circum, spectaculis ibi edificatis,*

ludi fiunt. Where the Meaning of *Varro* is very obvious. He compares the Etymology of the Word *Armi-lustrum* with that of the Word *Circus*; but does not pretend to say, that they were only two different Words for the same thing. All that he means, is, that the one took its Name from the Solemnity celebrated there; and the other from the Games represented in it. It is therefore past doubt, that *Armi-lustrum* was a Place on the Hill *Aventinus*. We have a fresh Proof of it in an ancient Marble dug up near that Place. Its Inscription is this; SACRUM MAGNI VICI ARMI-LUSTRI. The Festival which gave this Place its Name, was called *Armi-lustrum*. It seems to have been celebrated only with a solemn Sacrifice. The *Roman* Youth appeared under Arms, and ranged themselves round *Tatius's* Tomb, and the Victim was sacrificed, by Sound of Trumpet; as we learn from *Festus*. *Armi-lustrum*, says he, *Festum erat apud Romanos, quæ res divinas armati faciebant, ac dum sacrificarent tibi caneant*. It was probably a kind of anniversary Commemoration of *Titus Tatius's* Death. At least *Dion. Hal.* says, that the Citizens annually commemorated his Funeral. Some Moderns have been mistaken, in taking *Armi-lustrum* for the Festival, in which the *Salii*, armed with their Bucklers, Helms, and Swords, danced about, and made many circular Motions, to Musick. It is evident, that these were two different Festivals. In the one, the *Salii* danced to Flutes; in the other, the *Romans* marched by Sound of Trumpet. The first was fixed to the second Day of *March*; that here spoken of, to *The Fourteenth of the Calends of November*, that is, the nineteenth Day of *October*. Nor was the *Armi-lustrum* only a Review of the *Roman* Troops, accompanied with a Sacrifice, offered up by all the Soldiers, with Crowns on their Heads, and Trumpets sounding. We know this Review was made in the *Campus Martius*, and not on the Hill *Aventinus*.

⁹⁶ *Frusino* was anciently a City of the *Volscii*. It is now called *Frazelone*. See Vol. 2.

Rehearsal in the Temple of *Jupiter* ⁹⁷ *Stator*, the Lightning fell upon the Temple of Queen *Juno* ⁹⁸, on the Hill *Aventinus*; and this gave the Alarm, in this superstitious City. The *Aruspices* were consulted; and they answered, That it was necessary to appease the Goddess; and, That the *Roman* Ladies were chiefly concerned in the Event. By a Decree of the *Curule Ediles*, all the Ladies in *Rome*, and within ten Miles of it, were assembled on the *Capitol*; and there they chose out among themselves five and twenty, to collect a Contribution, which every one obliged herself to make out of her Dowry, with the Consent of her Husband. With the Money arising from this voluntary Tax, they purchased a Basin of Gold, presented it to *Juno*; and at the same time offered up a Sacrifice with great Modesty and Devotion. Nor was this all. The *Decemviri* ordered a sacred Procession to be made, from the Temple of *Apollo* ⁹⁹ without the Walls, to the Temple of *Juno* which had been struck with Thunder. This Procession was made thro' the Gate *Carmentalis* ¹⁰⁰, and in the following Order. First came two white Cows, which were for Victims; after them were carried two Statues of the Goddess, made of Cypress-Wood. Then the twenty seven Girls followed, in long Robes dragging on the Ground, and making the Air resound with their Songs. And lastly, the *Decemviri* crowned with Lawrel, and wearing the *Pratexta*, closed the Procession. When they came into the *Forum*, the young Girls held together in a String, and danced in a Circle, to singing. Such was the Simplicity of the present Age, that what afterwards would not have been born with, was now deemed a tolerable Sight.

§. XIX. THESE Amusements kept the *Romans* employed till Spring; and then the *Consuls* made their Levies with more Rigour than ever. A War to be maintained in so many Places, together with the Expectation of a new Enemy, were sufficient to authorize this Severity; and Soldiers were sent for from the maritime Colonies. Hitherto the Republick had, by Treaty confirmed by Oath, excused them from furnishing their Contingents of Troops, because they had been obliged to guard the Sea-Coasts against the Incursions of Pyrates; but now, they were obliged to send Deputies to the Senate, to shew their Title to their Privileges. Of the seven ¹⁰¹ maritime Colonies, only the Immunities of the Cities of *Ostia* and *Antium*, were confirmed; and even their Youth were obliged to swear that not ¹⁰² above forty of them at a time would ever sleep without their Walls. In the other five Colonies, Levies were made, as at *Rome*; and even this was not thought sufficient, considering the Greatness of the Danger. It was deemed necessary to oblige those *Volones* ¹⁰³ to take up Arms again, whom *Sempronius* had formerly instructed in

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.
M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

⁹⁷ See what we have said of the Temple dedicated to *Jupiter Stator*, Vol. I.

⁹⁸ See our Account of the Temple on the Hill *Aventinus*, dedicated to Queen *Juno*. Vol. I.

⁹⁹ It is probable, from *Livy's* Account, that the Procession began at the Temple of *Apollo*, without the Walls, near the *Flaminian Circus*, passed thro' the Gate *Carmentalis*, to the *Forum Romanum*; from thence to the Ox-Market and *Velabrum*, and from thence to the Hill *Aventinus*, on which stood the Temple dedicated to Queen *Juno*.

¹⁰⁰ According to *Livy*, the Procession came to the *Forum Romanum*, thro' a Street which reached from thence to the Foot of the *Capitol*; which was called *Jugarius Vicus*, either because there was a Temple in it erected to *Juno*, surnamed *Juga*, of whom we have spoken above, p. 245. of this Volume, Note 6. or because it was inhabited by Cartwrights.

¹⁰¹ These seven maritime Colonies, as mentioned by *Livy*, were *Ostia*, *Antium*, *Anxur*, *Minturnæ*, *Ardea*, *Sena Gallica*, and *Albium*. Of the six first we have already spoken; and as to the City of *Albium*, it is now only a Village, called *Palo*. It stood on the Coasts of the *Tyrrhenian Sea*, eighteen Miles, or thereabouts, from the Mouth of the *Tiber*, Westward. *Dion. Hal. Antiq. B. 1.* ranks among those ancient Cities of *Italy*, which were first founded, or inhabited, by the *Pelagii* and *Aborigines*. According to *Velleius Paterculus*, it became a *Roman Colony* in the Year of *Rome* 506. Vol. I., III.

during the Consulship of *Lucius Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Numerius Fabius Butco*, seventeen Years after the Beginning of the first *Punic War*.

¹⁰² *Livy's* Words, in the common Editions, are, *supra dies triginta*; which must import, That the Youth of the maritime Colonies could not be absent from home above one Month. But it is probable that the *Roman Senate* would not suffer them to be absent so long at a time, when every Day produced fresh Alarms, with respect to *Asdrubal's* coming into *Italy*. The Cowards would not have failed to have taken hold of such a Condescension, and deserted; and the Coasts would perhaps have been left defenceless, in case of an Attack. Certainly, a Month's Absence must have been fatal, in a time of continual Alarms. Prudence made it necessary for the *Romans* to be doubly cautious and vigilant, to prevent a Surprise. We therefore think it better to explain the Historian in a different Manner, upon the Authority of the old Editions. The Words are very different in them. They there run thus. *Juniores furejurando adacti ultra quadraginta non pernocturos extra moenia colonie sue*. Where we may observe, that the Word *Triginta* is changed into *Quadraginta*; and the Word *Dies* suppressed; and we judge, with *Sigonius*, that this latter Reading is most coherent, and best agrees with the Sense of the Place.

¹⁰³ See above, p. 169. of this Volume, Note 138. and B. 29. §. 12.

Year of
ROME
DXLVI.
M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

military Duty, and who now enjoyed the Rights of *Roman Citizens* in Tranquillity. Nay, the *Consuls* had leave to chuse as many Troops as they pleased, out of the several Camps in their Provinces, and enlarge their Armies with them. And on the other hand, *Scipio*, who had not been able to prevent *Asdrubal's* Departure from *Spain*, took care at least to send the *Consul Livius* from thence, two thousand *Legionaries*, eight thousand *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, and near two thousand Horse, partly *Numidian*, and partly *Spanish*. *M. Lucretius* had time to bring this Reinforcement into *Italy* by Sea, before *Asdrubal* had got through *Transalpine Gaul*, and reached the *Alpes*: And the *Prætor Mamilius* sent four thousand Bowmen and Slingers from *Sicily*.

THESE vast Preparations were necessary against two such formidable Enemies as the *Carthaginian* Brothers. It is surprizing that so great an Officer as *Hannibal* should not have taken more Care to advance into the Heart of *Italy*, before the *Consuls* were in Motion; he might by that means have put it out of their Power to prevent his joining his Brother. But he continued in his Camp at the Extremity of the Eastern Parts of *Italy*, and did not take the Field till it was too late. He did not imagine that *Asdrubal* could so soon pass the *Alpes*. He judged of his Passage by his own; and remembered the Obstacles he had met with on the Banks of the *Rhone*, the Delays the Mountaineers had occasioned, and the Difficulty of the Passes. In the mean time, a Report was spread at *Rome*, and from thence all over *Italy*, That *Asdrubal* already appeared upon the *Alpes*; That he would soon come down from thence; That eight thousand *Ligures*, whom the *Carthaginians* had engaged to take Arms, would go to meet him, and receive him; and That this fierce Nation would all follow his Standards, if Employment was not found for them at home. This was the Advice the *Prætor of Cisalpine Gaul, L. Porcius*, had sent to the Senate, and the *Romans* were surprized at it: But their Surprise ceased, upon Information, That *Asdrubal* had found Means to gain over to him the Affections of the *Gauls* beyond the *Alpes*; That a good Number of ¹⁰¹ *Arverni* were in his Army; That the Mountaineers, now grown less savage, were so far from opposing his March, as to join him and follow him; and That *Asdrubal* had found the *Alpes* more passable, since they had been crossed by his Brother, and the Roads worn by the many others, who had gone over them, for these last twelve Years.

THIS News obliged the *Consuls* to hasten their Departure; which they did so much, as to leave the Levies imperfect. *Livius* and *Nero* agreed together to hinder the two Brothers from joining; they looked on the Execution of this Scheme, as the only Refuge of the Republick; and there was a very good Understanding between them. Such Power had the Love of the Publick over Minds which were alienated by personal Distates! But whilst the two Collegues were getting ready to set out, the whole City was in a Consternation. The *Romans* remembered the Desolations *Hannibal* alone had caused by his coming into *Italy*, and said: *Will the Gods be so propitious to us, as to preserve us both against the Attacks made upon us in the East, and those in the West? Who knows whether Heaven has not hitherto made the Advantages equal between Rome and Carthage, that we may receive the last Stroke from the Hands of the two Brothers, who have sworn our Ruin? It is true, the Losses of the Lake Thrasimenus, and at Cannæ, have been sufficiently recompensed by the Victories of the Scipio's in Spain, the Conquest of Sicily, and the many Battels gained over Hannibal in Italy. But the Scene will be changed. Two Armies of the Enemy will soon be in the Neighbourhood of Rome, and distress it on both Sides. The Gods have only given us a little time to breathe. Our Consuls act separately, and when one of them is overcome, his Defeat will facilitate the Union of the two Brothers; and then what will become of unhappy Rome! Nor were these vain Apprehensions: But Heaven watched over a Republick, which was not yet excessively corrupted.*

It is easy to judge what the Wishes of the *Romans* were, when they saw the *Consuls* march; and it is said, that *Fabius*, presuming on the Authority he had acquired by being *Prince of the Senate*, and by his long Experience, had the Boldness to advise *Livius* seriously, not to be in Haste to give Battel. *It is necessary*

101 The *Arverni* inhabited the Province of *Auvergne*; and are now called *Auvergnats*.

said he, *first to try the Enemy, and study their Dispositions and Strength, before you fight them.* To which the *Consul* is said to have replied, that he would enter upon Action, the Moment he came within Reach of the *Carthaginians*. By this means, said he, *I shall gain much Glory, if I conquer; or much Pleasure, if the Romans are vanquished.* Indeed it is not much to my Honour, to have these Sentiments; but it is no more, than their Injustice to me deserves at my Hands. But this was surely spoken by *Livius* only in Raillery; he shewed himself a more zealous Citizen, than he promised to be. We will now follow the Collegues into their respective Provinces; and, that we may not break the Thread of our Story, successively relate their different Exploits.

§. XX. *NERO* found the greatest Part of his Army cantoned in the Cities of the *Salentini*; and the *Prætor Hostilius* had already gained a considerable Advantage over *Hannibal*, before the *Consul* arrived. The *Carthaginian* led his Army towards ¹⁰⁵ *Salentum*, and was marching thro' the Territory of ¹⁰⁶ *Larinum*, when *Hostilius* suddenly attacked him in his March, put his Army into Disorder, killed about four thousand of his Men, and took from him nine Standards. This was beginning the Campaign happily; and from thence the *Prætor* went to meet the *Consul*, joined him near *Venusia*, resigned the Command of his Army to him; and after *Nero* had chosen himself forty thousand of the best Foot, and two thousand five hundred of the choicest of the Horse, he returned the rest to *Hostilius*, to lead them to *Capua*. In the mean time, *Hannibal* had left the Territory of *Tarentum*, and retired into ¹⁰⁷ *Bruttium*. There he assembled together all the Forces he had in Garrison, and in the Field; and thence came to ¹⁰⁸ *Grumentum*, in *Lucania*. His Intention was to recover the Cities which had submitted again to the *Romans*; and *Nero* also took the Road to *Grumentum*, leaving *Venusia* behind him. He caused the Roads to be narrowly searched, during his March, for fear of falling into an Ambuscade; and at length came and encamped within five hundred Paces of *Hannibal*, who was posted at the Foot of the Walls of *Grumentum*. Between him, and the *Roman* Camp, there was a long Plain, which was a very proper Place for a Battel, and surrounded with dry Hills, not covered with any Bushes or Briars, so that it did not seem possible to form an Ambuscade there. In this Plain, several little Skirmishes happened; and the *Romans* laboured to persuade *Hannibal*, that their only Design was to amuse him, and prevent his joining his Brother. As for him, he was wholly bent on a general Action, that he might the sooner go to meet *Asdrubal*. But it is probable, that he had by this time learnt, That his Brother was come into *Italy*, and had laid Siege to *Placentia*; and That, imagining the Reduction of this *Roman* Colony would long employ *Asdrubal's* Arms, he thought it was yet time enough to join him. He therefore formed his Army every Day, and bid the *Romans* Defiance.

NERO was warm, but prudent. He had learnt from the Enemy how to make War; and knew how to put *Hannibal's* own Artifices in Practice. He chose out about two thousand five hundred of the Auxiliaries, commanded by a *Præfect* of the Allies, and joined five *Manipuli* of *Legionaries* with them, commanded by one of his ¹⁰⁹ *Legionary Tribunes*. He gave the two Leaders their Orders, and commanded them to set out in the Night. They climbed up with their Detachment to the Top of the Hills, and concealed themselves behind the Eminencies, on the farthest Side from the Plain. And as soon as it was Day, the *Consul* marched his Infantry and Cavalry out of his Camp, and formed them. This seemed a new Resolution to *Hannibal*, the *Roman* having hitherto declined fighting; and in the *Carthaginian* Camp the Soldiers, with great Clamours, demanded a Battel; and the General was very ardently desirous of one. When he had given the Signal,

¹⁰⁵ The City of *Salentum*, which the *Latin* Authors call *Sallentia*, *Salantum*, and *Soletum*, stood in the Country of the *Salentini*; which is now a Part of the Territory of *Otranto*, on this Side the *Apennines*. Its Situation agrees with that of *Soletum*, or *Salanto*, which was the Name the *Greek* Inhabitants of *Calabria* gave it. See what we have said of the Territory of the *Salentini*, Vol. 2.

¹⁰⁶ The City of *Larinum*, is the same which the Natives now call *Larina*, in *Hither Abruzzo*.

See above, p. 100. of this Volume, Note 58.

¹⁰⁷ We have elsewhere spoken of the Country of the *Bruttii*, which is now a Part of *Calabria*.

¹⁰⁸ *Grumentum* was formerly a City of *Lucania*, or the *Basilicata*. See its Situation above, p. 178. of this Volume, Note 164.

¹⁰⁹ *Livy* calls the *Præfect* of the Allies *Publius Clandius*; and the *Legionary Tribune*, *Tiberius Clandius Afellus*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.
M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

all his Troops, Horse and Foot, marched out of his Entrenchments in Disorder; and that Moment the *Consul* began the Onset with his Horse. *Aurunculeius* gave the first Blow, with the Cavalry of his *Legion*. It was very unexpected; and *Hannibal*, who was not yet out of his Camp, learnt it only by the Shouts of the Combatants; whilst the *Consul* still improved his Advantage, and advanced his right Wing against the Enemy, yet in Disorder, and terrified with the first Attack. And then it appeared what Advantage veteran Troops, accustomed to fight under an old General, have, from their Experience, even in the Absence of their Commander. The *Carthaginian* Troops drew up in Order, and tho' not under their own respective Colours, they ranged themselves regularly as fast as they came out of the Camp, and made Head against the Enemy. And *Hannibal* would have gained his Point, of forming the rest of his Army regularly, notwithstanding this sudden Alarm, if he had not heard behind him the Shouts of the *Roman Manipuli*, which had been in Ambush on the Hills. This made him fear they would intercept him in his Return to his Camp; and he thought himself surrounded. His Troops were struck with a Pannick, and they returned to their Tents in Confusion. But it was not far thither, and the *Romans* therefore did not make so great a Slaughter of them, as in a general Rout. Besides, the *Carthaginian* Cavalry covered the Infantry in their Flight, and guarded them against the Attacks of the *Manipuli*, which came down with Fury from the Tops of the Hills. However, the *Romans* killed eight thousand *Carthaginians*, and four Elephants, on the Spot; made seven thousand Prisoners; and took nine Standards and two Elephants. These Animals were of no Use in this tumultuous Action. The *Consul* lost only five hundred Men; and two Days after, he appeared again in the Plain; but *Hannibal* would not accept the Challenge. Being therefore Master of the Field of Battel, *Nero* ordered the Conquered to be stripped, and the dead Bodies of his *Romans* to be thrown in Heaps, and burnt.

FROM that time, the *Consul* gained the Esteem and Confidence of his Troops. They thought him another *Marcellus*, who had Boldness enough to attack *Hannibal*, and Address enough to overcome him; and under his auspicious Guidance, the *Romans* feared nothing. They for several Days together went and insulted the *Carthaginians*, even at the Gates of their Camp; and *Hannibal* finding their Neighbourhood so troublesome, resolved to decamp silently in the Night. In order to deceive the Enemy, he made use of a Stratagem he had formerly practised; that is, he left Fires burning in the Camp he quitted, some Tents standing on the Side next the *Romans*, and a few *Numidians* to appear on the Ramparts; but he himself took the Road to *Apulia*. In the Morning the *Roman* Army came to brave the Enemy, and appear before their Camp as usual; and the *Numidians*, after they had shewn themselves for some little time on the Ramparts, mounted their Horses, and rode full speed to the main Body of their Army, which was gone before them. *Nero*, who saw the Entrenchments clear of Men, judged by the Silence in the Camp, that *Hannibal* had deserted it, and sending to reconnoitre it, was soon convinced of it. Then he gave it up to be plundered by his Soldiers; marched after the *Carthaginians* at break of Day the next Morning, and followed them with extreme Expedition; till he at length came up with them, near *Venusia*. There another tumultuous Battle was fought, in which *Hannibal* had the Disadvantage, and lost two thousand Men. Then wearied out with his Losses, he immediately made the best of his Way over the Rocks to *Metapontus*. There he recruited his Army with the Troops *Hanno* commanded; sent him to raise new Levies among the *Bruttii*; then returned to *Venusia*, and from thence advanced to *Canusium*. By these Marches *Hannibal* insensibly drew nearer to his Brother; but *Nero* did not lose sight of him. The *Consul* had followed him close to *Metapontus*; and had sent *Fulvius* to defend *Lucania*, in case it was attacked.

§. XXI. BUT whilst *Hannibal* was endeavouring, by artful Marches, to elude the Vigilance of the *Consul*, the good Genius of *Rome* was watching over her, for her Preservation. By some unknown Accident, some of the *Roman* Scouts fell in with four *Gallic*, and two *Numidian* Horse, which were strolling about the Territory of *Tarentum*, in Search of *Hannibal*, whom they thought yet at *Metapontus*; took them Prisoners; and carried them to the *Pro-Prætor Claudius*. Their Answers were at first confused and inconsistent; but afterwards, the Fear of Torture made

made them confess, That they were charged with Letters from *Asdrubal* to his Brother *Hannibal*. The Discovery appearing therefore of Importance, the *Pro-Prætor* thought it necessary to send the Packet unopened, and the six Prisoners, to the *Consul Nero*, under a strong Guard of *Samnites*, commanded by a *Tribune*. When they came to the *Roman* General's Camp, *Asdrubal's* Letter was translated by an Interpreter, and the *Consul* examined the *Gauls* and *Numidians* separately. He discovered, that *Asdrubal* had failed in his Attempt on *Placentia*, and was immediately repairing to *Umbria*, where he expected his Brother to join him; which Secret being once known, nothing remained but to make the best Use of it. To this end, *Nero* immediately formed that great Design which he afterwards put in Execution; but for the present discovered it to no body. He was of opinion, that in pressing Exigencies, a General ought to overlook common Rules, and take those Liberties for the Sake of the Publick Good, which at other times would be justly blamed. However, he kept his Design to himself, and did not even acquaint the Senate with it. He only sent them word, That the two *Carthaginian* Armies were to join in *Umbria*; That he had discovered this by some Letters of *Asdrubal* which he had intercepted; and That, to obviate this Evil, it was necessary to bring to *Rome* the *Legion* that covered *Capua*; to send the Army appointed to guard the City to *Normia*; and to raise new Levies. And his Advice was followed: but *Nero* had something more extraordinary in View, than what he had made known.

THE bold General was not ignorant, that the *Roman Pro-Consuls* were forbidden to make War out of their own Provinces, and above all to enter those of their Collegues. This in general was a wise Regulation; but it was unseasonable in such perillous times. To make a bold Attempt contrary to the Laws, was in a manner to save *Rome* in spite of herself. Upon these Considerations therefore, he determined to conduct in Person a large Reinforcement to his Colleague; to share the Danger with him; and to fight *Asdrubal* before his Brother could join him. It was a dangerous Scheme; but he executed it with all the Caution of a great Commander. In the first Place, *Nero* sent Orders to all the Places through which he was to pass, to prepare Provisions, Beasts of Burden, and Horses; and to be ready upon the first Notice. Then he spread a Report, that he would force the *Carthaginian* Garrison, in a neighbouring City in *Lucania*; and lastly, he gave the Command of the Army he left in his Camp, to *Q. Tadius*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, with Orders to attempt nothing during his Absence. After this, the chosen Troops which were to attend the *Consul*, set out with him in the Night, and instead of taking the Road to *Lucania*, turned towards *Picenum*.

THIS select Body marched with Expedition, and in a few Hours the *Consul* was far enough from his Camp to divulge his Secret to his Soldiers. *The Enterprize I am going upon*, said he to them, *may appear daring to many; but the present State of Affairs makes it necessary. I am leading you to Glory. Before my Colleague set out for his Province, he seemed to think he never could have Troops enough. He thought his Army could never be too strong to oppose Asdrubal. I therefore am carrying him the choicest of mine, and therewith a sure Pledge of Victory. You will not only share in defeating Hannibal's Brother, but reap the greatest Part of the Glory of it. To put the last Weight into the Scale, is in the common Opinion, to have the whole Merit of turning it. It will be universally said, that my Colleague could not have conquered, without us.*

AFTER this Discourse, *Nero* continued his March, amidst the good Wishes of all the Nations through which he passed. They gave his Soldiers the Title of Protectors and Avengers of their Countries. They made Vows to Heaven for their happy March, and quick Return. They amply furnished them with Provisions, and strove who should be the first to supply them with Horses and Carriages. The Soldiers, on the other hand, made a moderate Use of their Presents, and contented themselves with mere Necessaries. They advanced with surprizing Expedition; and that they might not lose time, ate as they walked; and after a short Sleep, continued their March, at a great rate, Day and Night. Nevertheless, *Nero's* Design, and his Departure from his Camp, were now grown too publick to be any longer a Secret at *Rome*; and there were various Speculations upon it. Some blamed, others applauded the *Consul*; and those who had least Equity, waited for the Success of the Affair, before they would pronounce upon it: as if the Prudence of

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.

M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.
M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

of an Enterprize was to be measured by mere Chance and Accidents. *After all, said some, is it not a rash thing in him to desert his Camp which is near Hannibal; to drain it of all its Strength; and to take it for granted, that so vigilant an Enemy will long continue ignorant of the Absence of the General, and of the choicest of his Troops? If Hannibal should discover this Stratagem, what would be the Consequence? If he follows the Consul, will six thousand Men be sufficient to withstand the Attacks of a great Army? Or if he could come and fall on the Camp, will he not find it deprived of its Head, its chief Strength, and the happy Auspices of the General?* The People at Rome called to mind the Misfortunes of the last Year; and were under greater Apprehensions of the Events of this. The Republick was now hard pressed by two Generals, famous, one for the Victory at *Cannæ*, and the other for the Defeat of the two *Scipio's* in *Spain*. Besides, added the People, *Nero* is not unknown to *Asdrubal*, who, tho' invested formerly by him in the *Spanish* Mountains, found means to escape him by his Artifices. In short the People magnified the Forces of the Enemy, and diminished those of the Republick; a very common Effect of Fear.

In the mean time, the brave *Nero* drew near his Colleague's Camp; and when he came within reach of it, gave him notice of his Arrival, and the Reinforcement he brought. The Courier was also ordered to enquire of the *Consul Livius*, whether it would be most proper for his Colleague to enter his Camp by Day or Night; or whether he should encamp separately. *Livius* thought it would be most convenient to conceal the Arrival of his Colleague from the Enemy, and therefore desired him to enter his Camp, with his Troops by Night, and to quarter them there, without enlarging it. Then he ordered the *Tribunes*, Horse, and Foot of his Army, to receive respectively the *Tribunes*, Horse, and Foot, which *Nero* had brought; and tho' the latter much exceeded six thousand Men, his little Army having been much augmented in the Way, by the great Number of Volunteers who joined him; yet as these new Guests had scarce any Baggage but their Arms, one Camp was sufficient to hold them all for a few Days. It seems probable, that the two Generals lodged in different Pavilions, in different Quarters; and That more than one Signal was given for the Night-Watches, by Sound of Trumpet; or at least *Asdrubal*, who heard them, suspected that the two Generals were joined.

*Appian. in
Hannib.*

§. XXII. He was indeed encamped only five hundred Paces from the *Romans*. He had been but two Months in gaining and passing the *Alpes* ¹¹⁰; tho' his Brother had been six in crossing *Gaul*, and getting into *Italy*. *Asdrubal's* Army had received a considerable Addition since its Arrival in *Italy*; the *Gauls* of *Insubria*, and the *Ligures*, whom he had hired into his Service, had much enlarged it. Indeed, when it came down from the *Alpes*, it amounted to no more than forty thousand Foot, eight thousand Horse, and fifteen Elephants; but it was now much increased. This was the formidable Enemy with which the *Consuls* were to engage; and *Nero* being of opinion, that it was necessary not to lose an Instant in giving Battel, after he had only taken some little Rest the same Night he arrived in the Camp; he, early in the Morning, called a Council of War. *L. Porcius* the *Prætor* assisted at it. He had posted himself before the *Consuls*, near the Place

*Livy, B. 27.
c. 46.*

¹¹⁰ *Livy* falsely supposed, as we have before observed, that *Hannibal* had come into *Italy*, over the *Alpes Cottie*, which reach from Mount *Viso*, to Mount *Cenis*: and upon this Supposition he had reason to say, that *Asdrubal* walked in the Steps of his Brother. And the Poet *Silius*, *Entropius*, and *Appian*, agree with *Livy*. But *Terentius Varro*, as quoted by *Servius*, *Comment. in Virg. Æneid* 10. reasoned otherwise. This Author, who is quoted by *Livy*, agrees with *Polybius*, in making *Hannibal* cross the *Alpes Pennine* near *Great St. Bernard*. And upon this Supposition, he ought therefore to have said, that *Asdrubal*, twelve Years after, took a different Rout. *Varro* expresses himself in such a manner, as leaves room to believe, That after the latter had crossed *The Valley of Merienne*, he passed the *Alpes Cottie* near Mount *Cenis*; and That from thence he advanced to *Susa*, and there descended into the Plains nearest to the Springs of the *Po*.

Nor must we forget the good Reception *Asdrubal* is said by *Livy* to have met with from the *Auvergnats*. He seems to imply thereby, that this General had passed through a Part of *Auvergne*. But we cannot conceive with what Design he could ramble so far from the strait Road to the *Alpes*. Probably, it might be to avoid meeting the People of *Provence*, who being Allies to the Republick, prepared to oppose his passing the *Rhone*. Or perhaps it was only a Feint of the *Carthaginian*, who was determined to fall down on that River, when his Enemies on that Side should be dispersed. Or lastly, *Livy* might perhaps mean only the extreme Parts of *Lower Auvergne*, which border on one Side on the *Vivarois*, and on the other, on *Dauphiné*, as you go up the *Rhone*, till you come beyond the Place where it joins with the *Isère*.

where

where *Livius's* Army was encamped; and got thither through mountainous Ways, thereby eluding the Vigilance of the Enemy; and had fortified himself a Camp joining to that of the *Consul*. In the Council, many were for giving *Nero's* Troops, which were fatigued with a long March, time to refresh themselves; but the brave *Consul* himself warmly opposed the Delay of a Battel. *What*, said he, *would you have us lose all the Advantage of this unexpected March by Delays? The longer I languish in Inaction, the more time Hannibal will have to discover my Absence. Let a Battel be fought the first Moment it is possible. We may have defeated Asdrubal, and I may be returning to my Camp at Canusium, before his Brother thinks of moving. How happy shall I be, if I am the first to give notice of Asdrubal's Defeat!* Then all came over to *Nero's* Opinion; and it was resolved to give Battel that very Day. The *Roman* Generals harangued their Troops without their Camp; and then *Asdrubal*, who likewise marched out of his Trenches, perceived two different Orators haranguing two different Corps. He saw a new sort of Bucklers in the Enemy's Army, and Horses which looked thinner, and more fatigued, than any he had seen before. He fancied likewise, that the *Roman* Army seemed more numerous than ordinary; and this awakened his Suspicions. He fancied, That his Brother had been beaten; and That *Nero*, after *Hannibal's* Defeat, had turned all his Forces against the only surviving General of the Enemy. These Thoughts gave him much Disturbance; and he instantly sounded a Retreat. His Troops returned to their Camp; but did not spend the whole Night there. *Asdrubal*, by favour of the Darkness, decamped, and took the Road to *Insubria*, expecting an Answer from his Brother, with more certain Intelligence of his Situation.

BOTH the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* Armies were then encamped near *Sena*¹¹¹, in *Umbria*; and it was natural to expect, that a Battel would be fought there, near the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea. But *Asdrubal* removed from thence in the Night, which caused his Ruin. One of the two Guides he had taken to conduct his Army in the dark, hid himself, and the other swam cross the River¹¹² *Metaurus*, and was seen no more. So that the *Carthaginian* Army marched a great while, cross Fields, and through numberless Turnings, they knew not whither; till at length they arrived on the Banks of the *Metaurus*. This River has a pretty large Bed at its Mouth, some Parts of which might be fordable; but how could this be discovered, or the Shallows be sounded, in a dark Night? *Asdrubal* therefore marched up the River; the farther he advanced, the narrower was its Channel, and the steeper its Banks; and he therefore postponed the passing it, till Break of Day; and in the mean time, continued marching by the winding Stream. Then Fatigue, and Want of Rest, robbed him of a great Number of his Soldiers; the *Gauls* especially refused to follow him, and laid down to sleep.

In the mean time, this tedious wandring through so many Turnings, gave the *Romans* time to come up with the Enemy; and the *Legionaries* were fresh, and ready to engage. *Nero* first appeared at the Head of his Cavalry, followed by *Porcius*, who commanded the light-armed Troops; and they immediately attacked the Rear-Guard of the *Carthaginian* Army. Upon this, they in a manner fled in Disorder, and ran to assist in pitching a Camp which *Asdrubal* was endeavouring to fortify on the Banks of the River. But the Arrival of *Livius*, with the rest of the *Roman* Army, interrupted the Work. The *Carthaginian* was forced to form his Army, and stand the Shock. In his Left Wing he placed the *Gauls*, in whom he had little Confidence. In his Right, *Asdrubal* posted his *Spaniards* and *Carthaginians*, on whose Valour and Fidelity he chiefly depended; and in the Center, his *Ligures*, in the midst of whom he took his own Post, and drew up his Elephants in a Line before them. In order to accommodate himself to his Ground, he formed his Troops so, that his Army had more Depth than Length. As to the *Romans*, *Nero* commanded the Right Wing, and drew it up against the *Gauls*, who were covered by an Hill; *Livius* commanded the Left Wing, over-against the *Spaniards* and *Carthaginians*; and in the Center, *Porcius* faced the Elephants

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.

M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

Zonar. B. 9.
Liv. B. 27.
c. 46.

Polyb. B. 11.
c. 1. and Liv.
B. 27. c. 48.

¹¹¹ We have shewn the Situation of *Sena*, Vol. 2. The Natives now call it *Senegaglia*. This City stood on the *Adriatick* Sea, at the Mouth of the River *Nigola*.

¹¹² The *Metaurus* waters the Duchy of *Urbino*,

formerly a Part of *Umbria*. It discharges itself into the *Adriatick* Sea. It became famous for the entire Defeat of *Asdrubal's* Army; and it, in a manner, still retains its ancient Name, in that of *Metaro*, or *Metro*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.
M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

Orosius, B. 4.

Livy, B. 27.
c. 48.

Orosius, *ibid.*
Polyb. B. 11.
c. 1.

and the *Ligures*. *Asdrubal's* Resolution was, to conquer, or die, if he did not succeed; and the first *Corps* that he ordered to move, was the *Spaniards* and *Carthaginians*. *Livius* marched against them his Left Wing, which advanced with a slow Pace, and good Appearance; and the Attack was furious. The Air resounded with Shouts, and the Earth was strewed with Dead. Both Cavalry and Infantry engaged at the same time. The *Roman Legions* kept their Ground round their Eagles; and the old *Spanish Corps*, which were used to stand the Shocks of the *Romans*, made head against them without giving way. The Victory did not yet declare itself for either Side, when the main Body of the *Carthaginian* Army, and the Elephants, advanced together against *Livius's* Wing, which was briskly attacked. And indeed it had been broken, if *Porcius* the *Prætor* had not likewise brought on to Action the main Body which he commanded. He made head against the *Ligures*, and endeavoured to disperse the Elephants, by a Stratagem lately invented. Each Horseman took a Foot-Soldier behind him, and so marched up to the Elephants; and when these Beasts were attacked both by Horse and Foot, at once, they turned their Rage against their own Army, and were like to put it into Disorder. But *Asdrubal* had foreseen this Inconvenience; and the better to guard against it, had found out an easy Way of killing these Beasts, as soon as they became prejudicial to their own Party. This was to thrust a Bodkin into their Ears; and in this manner six of his Elephants were dispatched. The rest grew mad, ran about without their Guides, and trod both *Carthaginian* and *Roman* Battalions under their Feet.

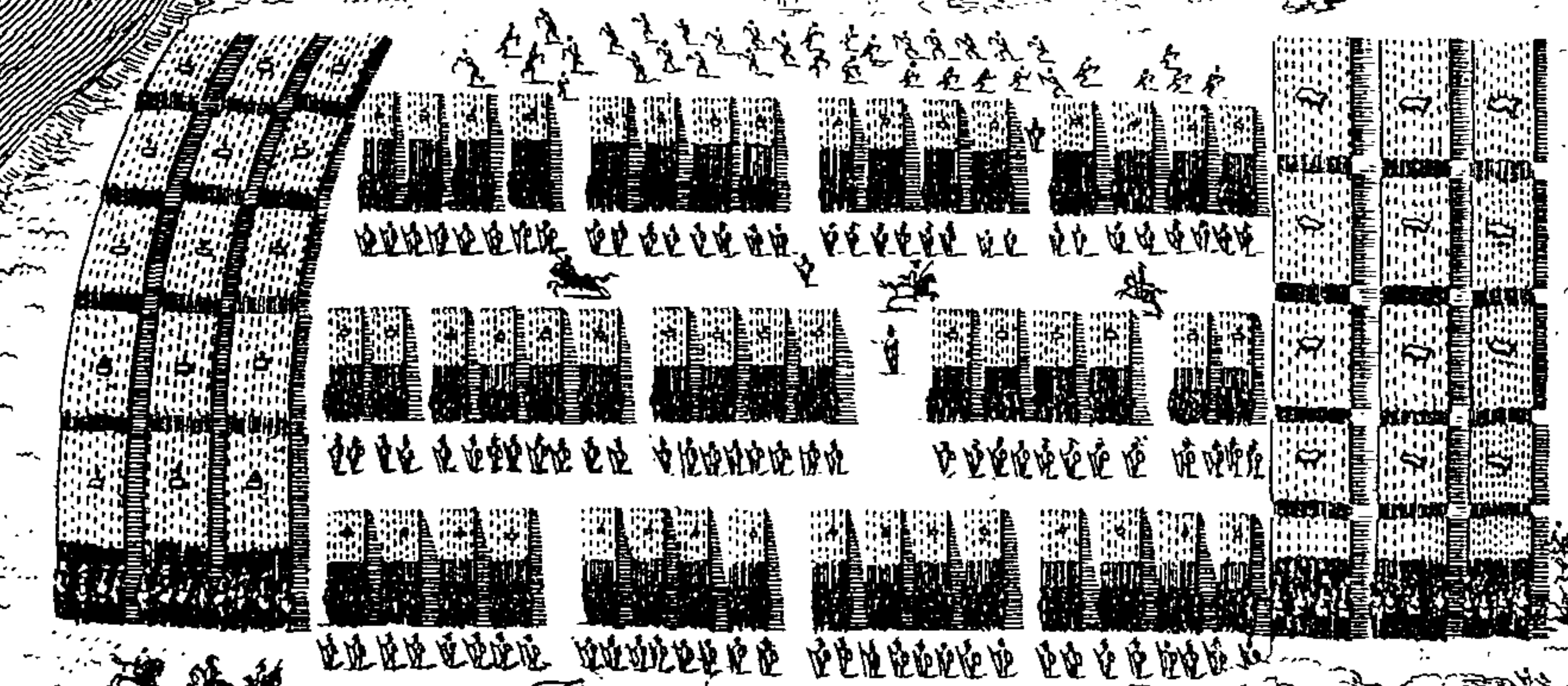
WHILST the Battel grew warm in the Left Wing, and in the Center, *Nero* alone was unactive in the Right Wing. He could not possibly get over the Hill which covered the *Gauls* in Front and Flank; and cried out, *Shall we then have come so far, only to be idle?* At these Words, which made the stronger Impressions for the Vehemence with which the brave General spoke them, his Soldiers made the utmost Efforts to gain the Eminence before them; but all was in vain. At last, he took a Step which determined the Victory, and caused the Ruin of *Asdrubal*. He sent a large Detachment from his Right Wing, and ordered it to steal round behind the *Carthaginian* Army, and attack it in the Rear, in the Place where the Battel was most furious. The Expedition of the Detachment was such, that they seemed to be almost in the same Instant attacking the *Gauls* in Front, and the *Spaniards* in the Rear: so that the Wing which *Asdrubal* commanded, being invested on both Sides, was soon broken. The *Romans* penetrated to the *Ligures*, who were put into Disorder; and at length the *Gauls* were broken, and made no long Resistance. Their *Corps* had been much diminished; Fatigue had made great Numbers of them desert; and those who were left, were so weakned with Hunger, Thirst, and Want of Sleep, that they could scarce carry their Arms. These unfortunate Wretches voluntarily offered themselves to Death or Slavery; and suffered themselves to be wounded, or tied, without making any Resistance. As for *Asdrubal*, he was still alive, covered with Blood, and distracted at the Slaughter of his Troops; but he had, before the Battel, determined what should be his Fate, in case he was overcome. Full of that Courage, which he had inherited from his Father *Hamilcar*, and in which he was not inferior to *Hannibal*, he threw himself into the midst of a *Roman* Battalion, and died fighting. After the Death of this great General, the Victory of the *Romans* was complete: and they, by this terrible Defeat, returned upon the *Carthaginians* the Misfortunes they had suffered near *Cannæ*. The *Carthaginian* General was now killed on the Spot, as the Consul *Æmilius* had been at *Cannæ*. The Enemy is said by some to have lost in this Battel fifty six thousand Men, which exceeds the Number the *Romans* lost in the other. And be that as it will, for others¹¹³ considerably diminish this Loss; it is at least certain, that the *Romans* now took from the *Carthaginians* five thousand four hundred Prisoners, and four Elephants, and recovered four thousand Citizens of *Rome*, whom *Asdrubal* had taken in his several Inroads. The Booty in the¹¹⁴ Camp, and the Spoils of the Baggage of the Enemy's Army, were also

¹¹³ According to *Polybius*, B. 11. the *Carthaginians* did not lose above ten thousand Men in the Battel of the *Metaurus*.

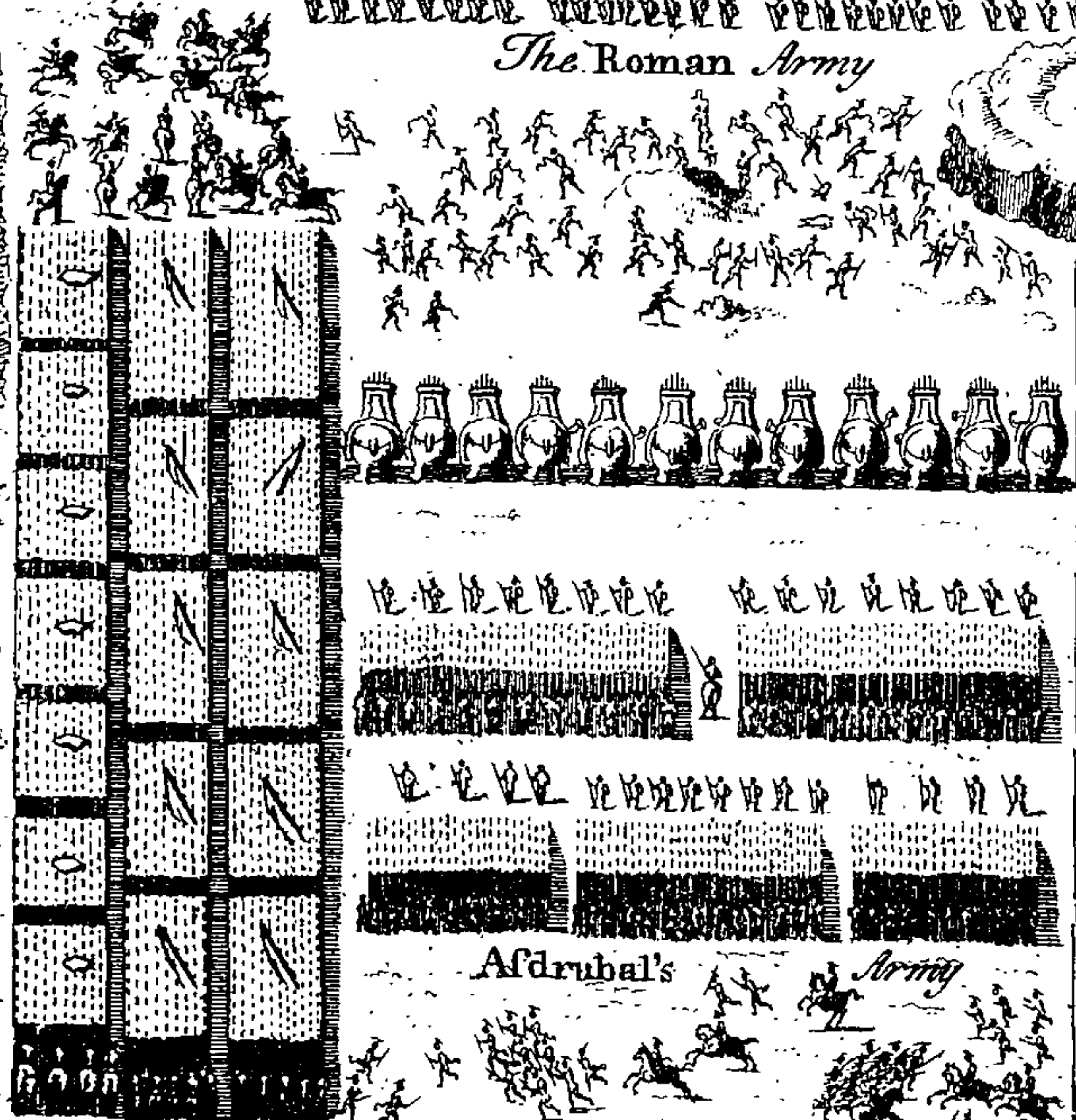
¹¹⁴ The *Greek* Historian also adds, that the *Gauls* whom *Asdrubal* had left to guard his Camp, were

lying on the Straw, and sleeping, being heavy with the Wine which they had drunk to Excess. In this Condition the *Romans* surprized these miserable Wretches, and cut them all in pieces.

*Metavrus, gained by the
Romans over Asdrubal's
army, in Year of Rome
546*



The Roman Army



Asdrubal's Army

A. An Eminence which Nero sent a Detachment to Seize, in order to attack the Carthaginian army in the rear.

considerable. Much ¹¹⁵ Gold and Silver was found there. But it is not to be imagined, that so decisive a Victory could be gained without costing the Conquerors a great deal of Blood; and some pretend they lost eight thousand *Legionaries* and *Auxiliaries*; whilst others reduce them to two thousand. The *Romans* were so tired with spilling Blood, that they let a Body of *Gauls* and *Ligures* escape, without pursuing them. *Let them go*, said the *Consul Livius*, and relate our Victories in their own Countries.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.
M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

As for *Nero*, who certainly had the greatest Share of the Glory of the Action, he did not continue so much as one whole Night in his Colleague's Camp. After he had cut off *Asdrubal's* Head, he took it with him, set out long before Sun-rising, and returned with more Expedition than he came. *Victory* lent him her Wings; and in six Days time, he was again at his Camp at *Canusium*. He did not meet as many People in his Return, as when he went. No Orders had been given for it. But those he met made the Air ring with their Acclamations.

Liv. B. 27.
c. 50.

§. XXIII. THE News of this great Action made a great Change in the Dispositions of the People at *Rome*. Their Consternation at *Nero's* Departure to join *Livius*, had been inexpressible. The Senate, continued assembled from Morning till Night; and the People assembled in *Comitia*, to deliberate about proper Precautions, in case of ill Success. The Women spent as much time in the Temples, as their Husbands in the *Forum*. They ran from Sanctuary to Sanctuary, and offered up their Vows to all the Divinities. Till at length a Report was brought to *Rome* from the Camp near *Narnia*, that two Horsemen of the victorious Army had there reported, that the *Carthaginians* were defeated; but this Account was disbelieved by many incredulous Persons, who found out various Reasons to disprove it. However, at last Letters came from an ¹¹⁶ Officer in the Camp at *Narnia*, which confirmed both the Arrival and Report of the two Horsemen; and the *Conscript Fathers* ordered the Letters to be brought into the Senate, before they were read in *Comitia*. But the People opposed it; and the Bearer had much Difficulty to get thro' the Crowd of Citizens who would have the Letters read in *Comitia*, before they were carried to the Senate. However, the Senators prevailed, and the News was brought to them, before the *Prætor* communicated it to the People. Nevertheless, many Persons still doubted of the Truth of it; and suspended their Assent, till a Courier arrived from the *Consuls*. At last a Report was spread, that there was one near *Rome*; and then, who can express the ¹¹⁷ Eagerness of the People, to run and meet the ¹¹⁸ Messenger? They were very anxious to learn the Particulars of the Victory. Every one strove to get the first Intelligence; They who were first informed, That the Victory was gained, That *Asdrubal* was killed in the Battel, and That neither of the *Consuls* was so much as wounded, carried the News from House to House; and upon reading the Letters in the Senate-house, all the *Fathers* were filled with Joy. Then the Letters were carried to the Assembly of the People; who were no longer Masters of themselves. Upon the Repetition of every Clause, they redoubled their Shouts, and the *Forum* rung with their Applauses. Some ran to the Temples, to return the Gods Thanks. Others returned home to carry the News to their Wives and Children. The *Conscript Fathers* immediately ordered Prayers for three Days, by way of Thanksgiving for the Victory, and the Preservation of the *Consuls*. The *Prætor* published the Edict for it; and from that time, the *Romans* were as confident, as if the War with *Hannibal* had been ended. They bought, and sold, and made their Payments, without Fear; they no longer hid their Money, as before; Trade flourished again, as much as ever.

¹¹⁵ Polybius likewise says, that out of this Booty were saved above three hundred *Talents*, which at least amount to the Value of three hundred thousand French Crowns, according to our former Valuations of the *Talent* and *Drachma*.

¹¹⁶ Livy gives this Officer the Name of *Lucius Manlius Acidinnus*.

¹¹⁷ Upon the first Report, says Livy, that the Messengers of the two *Consuls* drew near to *Rome*, with the News of the good Success of the Battel,

an innumerable Multitude of People ran out of the City to meet them, to the Place where the *Censor Æmilius Silanus* afterwards, in *Sylla's* time, built the Bridge *Milvius*, over the *Tyber*, a Mile from *Rome*. This Bridge is now called *Ponte Mole*.

¹¹⁸ Livy reckons up three Messengers, whom the *Consuls* sent with their Letter to the Senate, namely *Lucius Veturius Philo*, *Publius Licinius Varus*, and *Quintus Cecilius Metellus*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.
M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, CON-
suls.

Zonaras, B. 9.
c. 9,
Liv. B. 27.
c. 51.

§. XXIV. AND indeed, as soon as *Nero* came to his Camp, he took a very effectual Way to drive *Hannibal* farther from *Rome*. He ordered some Prisoners, Natives of *Carthage*, whom he had taken in the late Battel, to advance up to *Hannibal's* Entrenchments; and they appeared in his sight in Chains. Nay, the Consul gave two of these unfortunate Men their Liberty, upon Promise that they would go and publish the Victory of the *Romans* in the Enemy's Camp. Nor was this all. *Nero* had carefully preserved the Head of *Asdrubal*, whose Features were yet distinguishable; and some say, he ordered it to be thrown at the Feet of *Hannibal's* Trenches; others, that he fixed it on a Post struck into the Ground near the *Carthaginian* Camp. This Sight, and the Report of the Captives, filled *Hannibal* with Horror and Sadness. His natural Affection, and his Concern for his Glory, made strong Impressions on his Heart; and to this was added, the Mortification of having been so long the Dupe of the Enemy, and of not having discovered *Nero's* Absence. In the height of his Grief, he is said to have cried out, O *Carthage*! Unhappy *Carthage*! I am now sinking under the Pressure of thy Fate. And he that Instant resolved to leave a Place, which his Brother's Head rendered insupportable to him. He left a Camp where he could hope for no Succours from his Allies, and marched to *Bruttium*, where the People continued faithful to him. Then, shut up in this little Corner of *Italy*, he took all necessary Precautions to maintain himself in it. With a View to preserving *Metapontus*, and some other Cities of *Lucania*, he drew out of his other Cities all the Men who were fit to bear Arms, carried them into *Bruttium*, there fortified himself, and waited for some happy Turn of Fortune, and some Succours from *Carthage*, to recover his expiring Cause.

Livy, B. 28.
c. 1.

§. XXV. IN the mean time, the Glory of *Nero* daily increased, and began to eclipse that which *Marcellus* had acquired; but he was not yet equal in Reputation to young *Scipio*. This first Conqueror of *Asdrubal* in *Spain*, had not now for a whole Year sent *Rome* any Accounts of new Exploits; but at length, the Republick received such News, as confirmed all in the high Esteem they had entertained of him. The Detail of his new Successes, which gave the *Romans* almost as much Joy as the late Defeat and Death of *Asdrubal*, is as follows. After the Departure of this *Carthaginian* for *Italy*, his Republick had sent a new Army, and new General, from *Africa* to *Spain*, to supply his Place there. The Name of this General was *Hanno*; and he immediately joined *Mago*, an old *Carthaginian* Commander, and undertook to raise new Levies in ¹¹⁹ *Celtiberia*. He soon got together a Body of about nine thousand Men, which he encamped by themselves, at a little Distance from the *Carthaginian* Army. So that three Generals, *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisco*, *Mago*, and *Hanno*, with considerable Forces, were yet in Possession of the Western Part of *Spain*. All the Provinces that bordered on the Ocean, were subject to the *Carthaginians*. As for the *Romans*, *Scipio* had already made them Masters of the Eastern Parts of this vast Continent; and all the Coasts of the *Mediterranean* Sea, a great way up into the Country, had come over to him. The View of each of these enterprizing Republicks was, to invade this whole Country, and utterly expel her Enemies out of it, who now shared it with her; and this Great Design *Scipio* accomplished in a few Years, bringing all *Spain* into Subjection to the *Roman* People and Senate. He proceeded in this manner.

As soon as the Spring returned, he detached the *Pro-Prætor* *Silanus* from his Army, with only ten thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, to go and make War with *Hanno*, and his new Levies. Nor did the Badness of the Roads retard him; *Silanus* passed thro' narrow Ways which seemed unpassable, with surprizing Expedition. Some *Celtiberian* Deserters were his Guides; and at length he arrived within Reach of the two Armies *Hanno* commanded, before the latter had any Knowledge of the March of the *Romans*. When he came within a proper Distance of the Enemy, *Silanus* was informed by Deserters, That *Hanno* had formed two Camps, one of his *African* Troops, and the other of *Celtiberians*: and That the latter were posted to the left of the great Road, the former to the right; and as soon as his own Scouts had ascertained the Truth of this, he no longer delibe-

¹¹⁹ We have already observed, that the *Celtiberians* who descended from the ancient *Celtae*, settled in *Spain*, along the *Ebro*. They possessed Part of *Arragon*, *Valencia*, and *New Castile*. See above, p. 79. of this Volume, Note 48. *Florus* says these People were the chief Strength of *Spain*. rated.

rated. He resolved first to attack the *Celtiberian* Camp. These new Levies, thinking themselves safe in their own Country, observed no manner of Discipline. The *Roman Manipuli* filed off to the left, without Noise, to conceal their March from the *Carthaginian* Camp; and *Silanus's* Army came within two Miles of the Enemy, without being perceived. There the *Pro-Prætor* halted, in a Valley surrounded on all Sides with Woods and Hills; and after he had refreshed his Troops for some Hours, they advanced, and were not seen by the *Celtiberians*, till within a Mile of their Camp. Then the Enemy made such a Cry, at the Approach of an unexpected Army, as was heard in *Hanno's* Camp. He and his Colleague *Mago*, attended by some *Carthaginian* Battalions, made all Haste to the Assistance of their Allies; and found in the Camp which was attacked, only four thousand Men armed with Bucklers, and two hundred Horse, which were in a Condition to make Head against the *Romans*. The rest had scarce any Arms, and only served to encrease the Number. The *Carthaginian* Generals therefore placed their good Troops in the first Line, and kept the others for a *Corps de reserve*.

THE *Romans* began the Attack, with throwing their broad Javelins. The *Celtiberians* first stooped, to let them fly over their Heads, then stood up, and threw their own Darts. These the *Romans* warded off with their Bucklers, and drew near to the Enemy, Sword in hand, to engage Man to Man. The Field of Battel was a Sort of Copice newly cut; and the Stumps of the Trees and Bushes would not suffer the *Roman Manipuli* to close as much as usual. But this was a slight Inconvenience to Troops which were used to stand their Ground. The Nature of the Place was a much greater Obstacle to the *Celtiberians*, as it hindered their usual Evolutions. Their Way of fighting was to keep continually in Motion, retreat often, and as oft return to the Charge. And lastly, the Inconvenience of the Ground made their Flight the more difficult. Their first Line was soon broken; and then there was almost an universal Slaughter of them. The *Romans* penetrated to the second Line, consisting of a Reinforcement of *Carthaginians* and *Celtiberians* lightly armed; and then *Mago* fled, with all his Horse, and two thousand Foot. *Hanno* continued in the Battel to the last, and was made Prisoner of War, with some of the Troops that came last from the *Carthaginian* Camp. After this, *Mago* was under a Necessity of retiring to the great Army *Asdrubal* commanded, near *The Streights of Gades*; but did not arrive there till after ten Days March; and the Fate of *Spain* may be said to have depended on this Victory. If *Celtiberia* had been suffered to espouse the *Carthaginian* Interest with Impunity, many other Nations would have embraced it, and the War would have long continued. But *Silanus*, under the *Auspices* of *Scipio*, cut the Knot, and stopped the Progress of *Carthage*. And on this were founded the Praises the *Pro-Consul* gave *Silanus*. *Scipio* was now convinced that if he was not negligent, he might put an End to the Contest in *Spain*; and therefore resolved himself to follow *Asdrubal* to that Corner of the Country, to which he confined himself.

§.XXVI. *ASDRUBAL* had now changed his Camp, and was removed to *Bætica*, to keep the Nations there in Awe. But upon *Scipio's* Approach, he took a March which was more like a Flight than a Retreat, and came and posted himself on the Shore of the Ocean, in the narrow Passages of the Country of *Gades*. But he considered, that if he encamped his whole Army there, he should have all the *Roman* Forces upon him; and therefore resolved to divide his Forces, before he passed *The Streights*, and distribute them in the Cities of that Province, to amuse the Enemy. And the Design succeeded. *Scipio* seeing no longer any Enemy in the Field, retired, and left his Brother *Lucius* in this Country, with ten thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, to watch the Enemy, and take Cities. ¹²⁰ *Aurinx* was then an important Place on the Confines of *Lower Bætica*. Its great Riches made it considerable. Its Territory was, by a kind of Prodigy in Nature,

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.

M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

¹²⁰ The Name of the City here spoken of, is differently written in the MSS. and several Editions of *Livy*; and upon the whole, we believe that this important Place was *Aurinx*, of which we have already spoken, p. 239. of this Volume, Note 60. *Pliny* corruptly calls it *Oninx*; and places it near

the Territory of *Egya*, a City of *Andalusia*, on the River *Xenil*, anciently called *Syngilis*, which runs into the *Guadalquivir*. And this Situation agrees with that which *Livy* gives it, B. 24. According to this Historian, *Aurinx* was farther up in the Country, and bordered on the Canton of the *Mastians*,

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.
M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

Nature, both a fruitful Soil for Grain, and very rich in Silver-Mines: And young *Scipio* began his Exploits, with this Place. He had hitherto fought only under the Command and Direction of his Brother; but now he commanded in Chief for the first time, and ordered the whole Course of the Siege according to the Rules of Art. After he had fixed his Camp at a due Distance from the City, he sent to summon the Inhabitants to surrender, before he made his Line of Circumvallation. Upon their Refusal, he marked out his Lines, and divided his Army into three Parts, to carry on the Works successively. One third was employed in the Attacks, while the other two rested. The first Corps that made the Assault, by Day, suffered much by the Valour and Skill of the Besieged. They were yet fresh and vigorous, and threw such Showers of Darts and Stones, as made it difficult to approach their Walls. As soon as a Ladder was planted against them, they beat it down with Poles, or drew it up with iron Hooks, which the Ancients called *Lupi*, or *Wolves*. This made *Lucius* sensible, that one third Part of his little Army was not sufficient to go thro' with so difficult an Assault; and therefore he, the next Day, ordered the two other thirds to the Attack, one of which expected to have continued in Repose. Then this great Number of Assaultants terrified the Besiegers, and their first Fire was soon deadened. The Townsmen abandoned the Defence of their Ramparts; and the *Carthaginian* Garrison, who thought themselves betrayed, drew up in Battalia, in one Quarter of the City, to defend themselves. A Body of the *Spanish* Townsmen, for fear the Enemy should enter their City at once, and put all the Inhabitants and the Garrison to the Sword, opened one of the Gates, to escape. These unfortunate Men carried nothing with them but their Bucklers on their left Arms, to ward off Darts, and extended their right Hands to the Enemy, naked and disarmed. By this they intended to signify that they begged their Lives. But the *Romans* fell upon them as Enemies, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. Perhaps the General was at too great a Distance to see that these miserable People had thrown down their Arms: Or perhaps he suspected some secret Snare under this Appearance of Peace. But be that as it will, *Lucius* shewed less Humanity, than his Brother *Publius* would have done, on the like Occasion. *Aurinx* was taken by the same Gate that the Townsmen opened for their Escape. And soon after the *Roman* Army entered it, by all the Gates; but Quarter was given to those who laid down their Arms. The *Carthaginians*, and three hundred of the most obstinate *Spaniards* were made Prisoners of War; and Life and Liberty were given to the rest of the Inhabitants. *Lucius* reinstated them in the Possession of their City, and Estates, and preserved their Houses from being plundered. This great Clemency obliterated the Stain, that the Slaughter of those who asked Quarter had cast on the Reputation of *Lucius*. Then he rejoined his Brother, and led in Pomp to him the great Number of Captives he had made. The Action was bold, and well conducted. Above two thousand of the Enemy had been killed, and the *Romans* had lost but ninety Men. Thus *Lucius*, by his first Essay, shewed himself worthy of the Blood of the *Scipio's*: And his Brother was not sparing in his Encomiums. He compared the Siege of *Aurinx* with that of *New Carthage*; and, to give his Brother the greater Lustre, sent him to *Rome*; whither he carried with him *Hanno*, and the rest of the *Carthaginian* Nobility taken in War. This Present, and this News, which *Lucius* brought, were extremely agreeable to the *Roman* Senate and People. They were exceedingly rejoiced to

sians, and not the *Melessians*, as some modern Editions have it, *in Melessum finibus sita est*. We know no Province in *Spain*, which was called *Melessa*. At least, the ancient Geographers have not mentioned any such. Besides, we find in the MSS. sometimes the Word *Messessum*, and sometimes *Me-sensum*, instead of *Melessum*. The Resemblance of the Names therefore makes us conjecture, with *Rubinius*, that the Text has been altered by the Copyists, and that it ought to be *Messensum*. *Pliny* speaks of a City of *Messia*, B. 35. and relates a remarkable thing of it. He says, that there were a Sort of Bricks made here, which were so light and porous, after they had been dried in the Sun, that they would swim in Water. Some think that *Messia* was the same Place which *Ptolemy* calls *Maxilva*,

in the Country of the *Turdetani*, or *Messia*, as *Vitruvius* calls it. And here we cannot but take notice of *Gronovius's* Mistake, who confounds the Cities of *Messia* and *Tartessus* in *Spain*, with two other Cities, viz. *Messia* and *Tarsus*, which *Polybius* places in *Africa*. According to the latter, B. 3. they were not far from *The Fair Promontory*. By the second Treaty made between *Rome* and *Carthage*, the *Romans* were not to sail beyond these Cities. But to return to the City of *Aurinx*. Since that and the Territory of *Egya* made a particular Canton, their Situation cannot agree with that of *Arjona*, or *Jaen*, as some Moderns have imagined. We must look for it, in the Western Part of *Andalusia*, on the Side of *Coronil*, and *Moron*, towards the Kingdom of *Seville*.

hear

hear that the Son of *Gisco* was pent up in a Corner of *Spain*, as *Hannibal* was in a little Canton of *Italy*.

§. XXVI. Thus was the Prosperity of the *Romans* complete in this happy Year. They now had nothing to fear from abroad, but the King of *Macedon*, *Hannibal's* Ally; and the landing of Succours from *Carthage*. At home indeed, Corn was so scarce, that the People were fearful of a Famine. All the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and almost all the Lands in *Italy*, had been laid waste by the Inundations of the *Carthaginians*, to the East and West. But the two *Pro-Consuls*, *Sulpicius* in *Greece*, and *Lævinus* in *Sicily*, delivered *Rome* from all these Apprehensions. The former still kept King *Philip* in Awe. *Sulpicius* had gone from *Ægina*, in the Beginning of the Spring, with twenty five *Roman* Gallies, and joined them to those of *Attalus*, which were thirty five in Number: and when guarded by such a Fleet, the *Ætolians* no longer feared the Forces of *Macedon* and *Achaia*. With their Land-Forces, and those of the *Lacedæmonians* their Allies, the *Ætolians* made *Bæotia*, *Acarmania*¹²¹, and all *Peloponnesus*, tremble; whilst the *Pro-Consul*, with *Attalus*, spread Terror in the Islands, and on the Sea-Coasts. The Arrival of a¹²² *Roman* Fleet at *Lemnos*¹²³ obliged *Philip* to come and encamp at *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, that he might be within reach to assist his Allies both by Sea and Land, as there should be Occasion. Indeed Deputies came to his Camp from a great Number of these terrified Nations, to inform him, That the *Ætolians* stopped up the Pass at¹²⁴ *Thermopylæ*, to prevent the sending any Succours from *Macedon* to *Greece*; and they added, That *Scherdileus* and *Pleuratus*, with the

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.

M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.



¹²¹ *Acarmania* was a Southern Country of *Epirus*. *Niger* says it is now called *La Carnia*; and it also has the Name of *Despotat*. See above, p. 313 of this Vol. Note 2.

¹²² The *Roman* Fleet consisted of twenty five *Quinqueremes*; and had joined that of *Attalus*, which consisted of thirty five *Quinqueremes*.

¹²³ *Lemnos*, one of the Islands of the *Ægean* Sea, or *Archipelago*, is now known by the Name of *Limno*, or *Limni*. The *Turks* call it *Stalimene*. It lies between Mount *Athos*, and *The Thracian Chersonesus*. Its Inhabitants acknowledged *Vulcan* to be their tutelary God, and had consecrated their Island to him. Upon the Credit of an old Tradition, they were thought to have been the first Blacksmiths; and from thence the Poets feigned, that when *Vulcan* was thrown down from Heaven by *Jupiter*, he fell in the Island of *Lemnos*, where he built his Forge. And these fabulous Opinions were recorded on their Medals; of which that above is a plain Proof. It is stamped with the Head of a *Vulcan*, and his usual Symbols, that is, the Utensils of his Art, his Anvil, Pincers, and Hammer, which according to the Fictions of Paganism, he used in making new Thunderbolts for *Jupiter*. There were formerly two Cities in *Lemnos*, one called *Myrina*, and the other *Hephestias*. The latter took its ancient Name from *Hephaistos*, or *Vulcan*, the God whom the Inhabitants chiefly worshipped; but it is now called *Cochino*. The former is now called *Limno*, as the whole Island is. The Ancients boast much of the famous Labyrinth of *Lemnos*, and a sort of Chalk, which is said to have been an excellent Antidote against Poisons, the Stings of Serpents, essential Distempers, and bloody Fluxes. It is the one Earth which is now known by the Name of

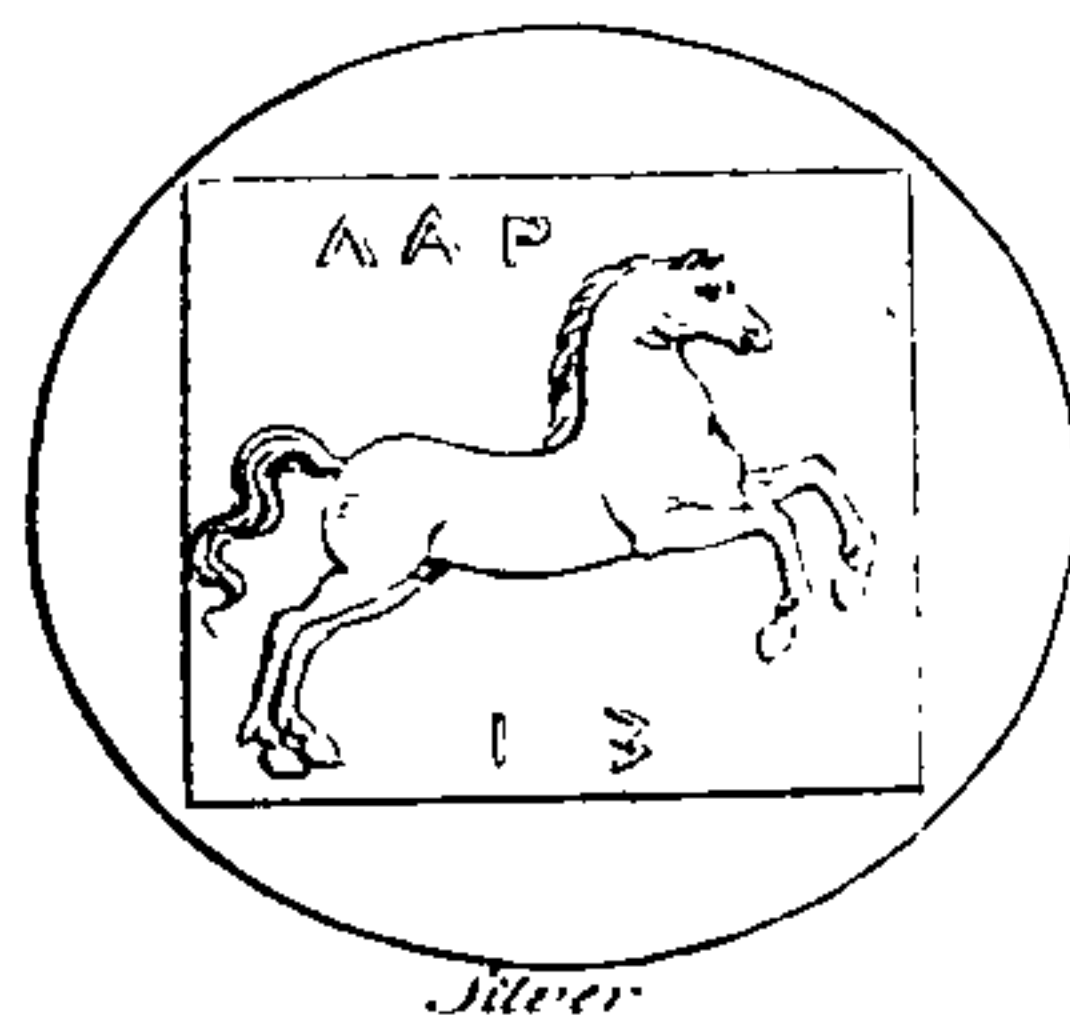
The Sealed Earth, because marked with the *Grand Seigneur's* Seal. *Pliny* makes the Island of *Lemnos* to be about twelve hundred Miles in Circumference.

¹²⁴ The Pass of *Pyle*, or *Thermopylæ*, between *Phocis* and *Thessaly*, was as it were a Key to all *Greece*. *Ulpian*, in his Commentary on *Demosthenes*, makes it no more than twenty five Foot broad; but others make it sixty. This Pass was so narrow in some Places, that there was scarce room for a Chariot to pass conveniently. On one Side were steep Mountains covered with inaccessible Forests; on the other, several Lakes, Mount *Oeta*, and the Sea of *Locris*: which made it an exceeding difficult Pass. It is at present called *Bocca di Lupo* by the *Italians*; and *Lycofoma* by the *Greeks*. The *Phocians* formerly built up a Wall at *Thermopylæ* to be an impenetrable Barrier to the *Thessalians*, their avowed Enemies; and from the Doors made in this Wall, and the hot Baths, in the Neighbourhood, came the Word *Thermopylæ*, a Compound of the *Greek* Terms *πύλαι* and *θερμαί*. This is the Pass which was so famous for the Valour of the three hundred brave *Lacedæmonians*, who under the Conduct of *Leonidas*, sacrificed their Lives to the Safety of their Country, and stopped the terrible Army of *Xerxes* King of *Persia*. Near it, the *Amphictiones*, or Deputies of the Nations and Cities of *Greece*, used to assemble in Autumn, to consult together, how to promote the Interests of the common Cause. They met in the Temple of *Ceres*, which was built in a great Plain. These States-General, who represented the Body of the Nation, were called *πύλαι* from the Name of *Thermopylæ*, to distinguish them from another general Assembly, which was held at Spring, in the Temple of *Delphi*.

Year of 125 *Mædians*, were already in Motion; and That the Moment he removed to a Distance from *Macedon*, he would see it all in a Flame. So that *Philip* was overwhelmed with Cares and Disquietudes. He was very sensible, that the *Romans* had politickly raised him all this Trouble, only to prevent his appearing in *Italy*, which they dreaded; and the King's Answer to the Deputies was, that he would send Succours to them all. Nevertheless, he knew very well, that it was not in his Power to perform his Promises. But it was necessary to appease them with good Words at least, for fear they should fall off from his Alliance; and in the mean time, he first applied his Care where the Want was greatest.

R O M E
DXLVI.
M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.
Justin, B. 29.

FROM *Lemnos Sulpicius* had carried his Fleet to the Island of *Peparethos*, made a Descent there, and ravaged all the Country round the chief City, which bore the same Name as the Island. *Philip* therefore sent Troops thither, to strengthen the Garrison; and he sent a Detachment from his Army, under the Command of *Polyphantes*, to assist the *Bæotians*. He likewise gave *Menippus*, a brave Officer of his Army, the Command of a thousand of his *Macedonian* Troops, armed with little concave Bucklers; ordered him to conduct them to ¹²⁶ *Chalcis* in *Eubæa*; and joined with them five hundred ¹²⁷ *Agrianes*, raised in *Thrace*, with Orders to defend *Eubæa* in all Emergencies. And then he set out himself for ¹²⁸ *Larissa*, and came from thence to *Heraclea*, to interrupt the Diet of the *Ætolians*, which was to be held there, and in which *Attalus* was to be present, to deliberate about the Operations of the Campaign. But the *Macedonian* came too late; the Diet was already broken up. He therefore first laid the Country waste, and then returned to *Demetrias*, where he extended his Care and Vigilance to all *Greece*. In order to his knowing from time to time where the Danger was most pressing, he sent out Engineers every Way, who placed Centinels on the Hills at certain Distances, and kindled Fires there, to inform him, by these Signals, of the Condition of the several Countries he was to defend. As for himself, he chose to be upon Mount



¹²⁵ The Canton of the *Mædi*, or *Mædians*, a People of *Thrace*, was the most Southern of the whole Country. It bordered to the North on Mount *Pangæus*, now called *Malaca*, and *Castagna*; and was bounded to the South, and West, by *Macedon*, and the River *Strymon*; and to the East, by the River *Nessus*, or *Nessus*. See above, p. 318 of this Volume, Note 29.

¹²⁶ The Description the ancient Geographers have given us of *Chalcis*, the Capital of *Eubæa*, as situated on the *Euripus*, agrees very well with the Situation of *Negropont*.

¹²⁷ In the Text of *Livy* we read *Ænianum*, instead of *Agrianum*; and therefore *Sigonius*, after *Polybius*, has put the latter instead of the former. The Persons here spoken of are then the *Agrianes*, and not the *Ænians*, of whom we shall speak a little lower. The former inhabited a Part of that Province of old *Thrace*, which lies between Mount *Rhodope* and Mount *Hemus*. This is the Situation *Stephens* the Geographer gives these People; and *Strabo* seems to agree with him, when he says, the *Triballi*, who inhabited the Countries near the *Danube*, were fifteen Days Journey from the *Agrianes*. *Herodotus*, *Ortelius*, and *Ferrari*, speak of a River, which they call *Agriane*, and from which these People took their Name. It rises in Mount *Hemus*, and runs into the *Hebrus*.

¹²⁸ The old Geographers mention two Cities in *Thessaly*, which bore the Name of *Larissa*. The

first, the Capital of the Province, and famous for having been the Residence of *Achilles*, stood on the Banks of the River *Peneus*. Excellent Horses were bred in this Country. The famous *Bucephalus* was bred in a Stud in *Thessaly*. And therefore the ancient Medals of this City symbolically represent it by a galloping or a feeding Horse. The second City of that Name stood on a Hill near Mount *Oeta*, between the Gulphs of *Zeiton* and *Armiro*. For this reason it was distinguished from the former by the Epithets of *Pensilis*, and *Pelagia*, alluding to its high Situation, or its Nearness to the *Ægean* Sea. From thence to *Demetrias* was reckoned twelve Leagues. These two Cities still preserve their ancient Names. It is most probable, that *Philip* set out for the second *Larissa*, (where *Livy* says, he fixed the general Rendezvous of his Troops) for this reason. He had resolved to come to *Heraclea*, to concert the Measures of the confederated *Ætolians* against him; and had left *Demetrias* with this Design. But the Capital of *Thessaly* was a quite contrary Road from that which led to *Heraclea* from *Demetrias*. This is very visible upon a View of the Maps of *Greece*. We there see, that the first *Larissa* stands to the North, and *Heraclea* to the South of *Demetrias*. Whereas the second *Larissa* is almost in the middle between those two Cities. We can not therefore suppose, that the King of *Macedon* went to the first *Larissa*, without supposing, that he went far out of his Way.

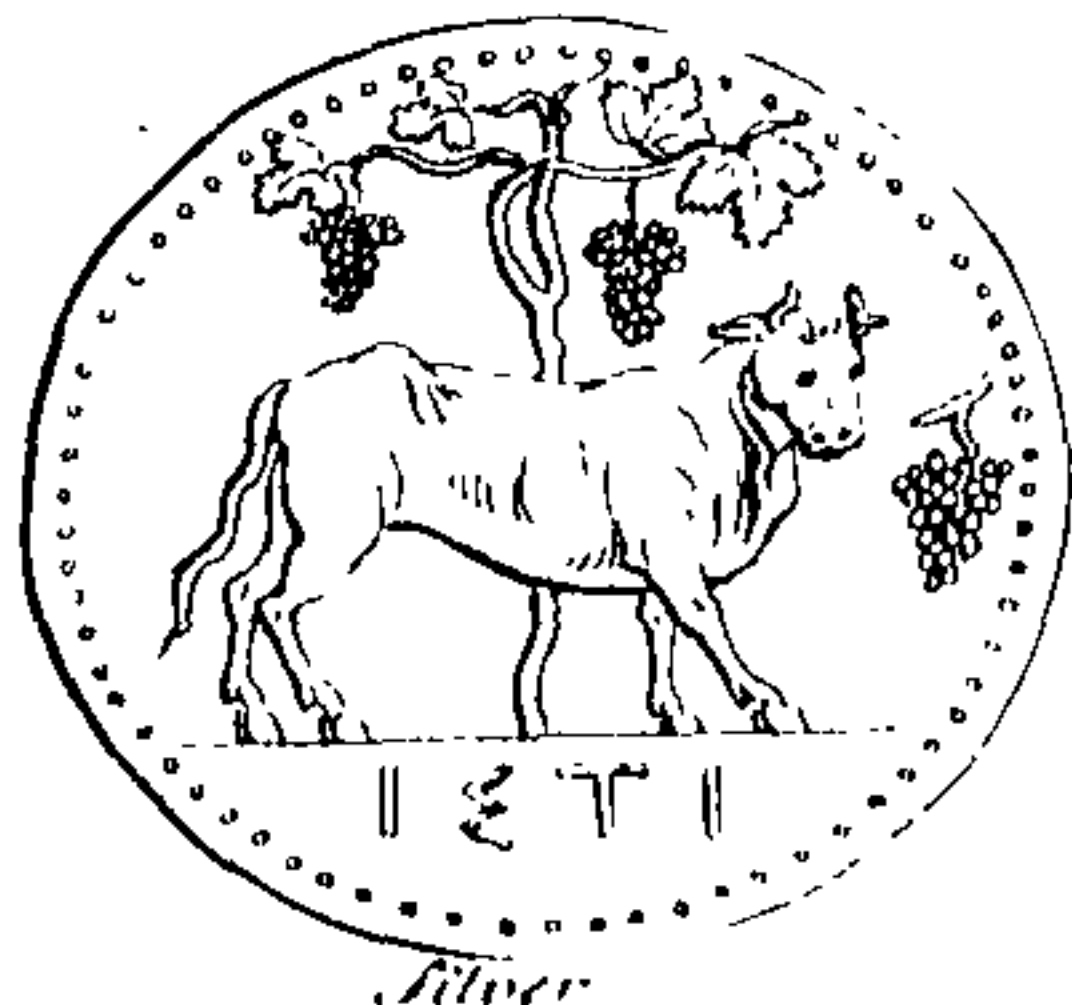
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Tifens ¹²⁹, which was exceeding high; and there ordered strict Watch to be made of the Signals that should be given him. These were all very prudent Precautions, and worthy of a vigilant General. But the *Romans* had taken their Measures too well in *Greece*, not to gain the Superiority there.

§. XXVII. *Oreos* ¹³⁰, a maritime City of *Eubœa* on the opposite Coast to *Chalcis*, and the *Euripus*, and situated in the Western Side of the Island, was firmly attached to King *Philip*; and therefore *Sulpicius* and *Attalus* resolved to lay Siege to it. The *Roman* undertook to carry on the Attacks by Sea, with his Fleet; and the King was to carry on his Siege on the Land-Side, with the Land-Forces. They were four Days before the Place, without beginning their Attacks; but they found means to employ this short Interval to good Purpose. *Plator* then commanded in the City the Troops *Philip* had sent thither; and he was a Man capable of being wrought upon by Promises and Rewards. Attempts were therefore made on his Fidelity; the Negotiation succeeded; and *Plator* promised to deliver up a City, which Art and Nature equally helped to render impregnable. It was fortified with two Citadels, which made it strong both towards the Land and the Sea. One of these Citadels was in the Center of the City; and had a Communication within the other by subterraneous Passages. So that when the Town itself was taken, it was necessary to lay Siege to the Castle, and from thence attack the Tower which overlooked the Sea. It was five Stories high, and consequently difficult to scale; but nevertheless *Sulpicius* began his Attacks there. He depended on the private Compact he had made with *Plator*, and advanced his Galleys, upon which was built a wooden Tower, as high as the several Floors of the Fort. On the other hand, the Besieged had got ready Machines of all sorts on their Tower, to repel the Enemy; and then a Battel ensued, which attracted the Eyes of all the Garrison, and all the Citizens. This *Plator* thought a happy Opportunity to put his Treachery in Practice; and whilst all Men were intent only upon the Combatants, the Commander opened to the *Romans* that Gate of the Fort which led to the Sea, and by that means it was taken in an Instant. Then the Citizens ran in all haste to the other Citadel, to defend themselves there; but *Plator* shut the Gates against them, which made it easy for the *Romans* to make an horrible Slaughter of them. As for the *Macedonian* Garrison, who knew nothing of the Plots of their Commander, they rallied under the Walls of the Citadel, but did not make much Resistance. *Plator* interceded with the Conqueror for his Men; and *Sulpicius*

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.

M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.



Aliter

¹²⁹ We don't know exactly the Situation of Mount *Tifens*; but it is certain it was a Mountain in *Thessaly*. *Laurenberge* places it in *Phthiotis*, a little Canton of this Province; and *Ortelius* speaks of a Promontory of this Name near *The Gulph of Armiro*.

¹³⁰ *Oreos* was formerly one of the most powerful Cities in *Eubœa*. The fourth Part of the Island belonged to the Inhabitants of this City in the time of *Philip of Macedon*. According to *Homer*, it was built during the *Trojan War*. In the several Revolutions which agitated *Greece*, it became subject to different Masters; and after it had undergone many Changes, *Pericles* conquered it, and brought it into Subjection to the Republick of *Athens*. Then two thousand *Athenians* were transplanted thither, to supply the Places of the old Inhabitants, who had been forced to leave their native City, and retire into *Macedon*, and into a Canton of *Thessaly*, called *Hestiotides*. After this, the newly transplanted *Athe-*

nians gave this City the Name of *Isticœa*, which was the Name of their own Tribe; and this Name is preserved on the Medals of the *Oreans*. The Bunches of Grapes on the Reverse of that above, shew the Nature of the Soil of the Country, which abounded in Vineyards. And *Homer* for the same reason gives the neighbouring Country the Epithet of πολυεμφύλον. The Ox on the Medal alludes to the good Pastures in *Eubœa*. *Livy* so plainly describes the Situation of this City, as to leave no Doubt concerning it. It is, says he, the first of all the Cities of *Eubœa*, and stands on the Western Coasts of the Island. Those who cross the *Euripus*, in their Way from *The Gulph of Demetrias* to *Chalcis*, leave *Oreos* on the Left. It still retains its old *Greek* Name, which was given it because it was built on a Hill, and as it were leaning against a Mountain. In *Pliny's* time it was not at all considerable; and now it is only a small Village called *Oreo*.

Year of granted them their Lives, and conveyed them by Sea to ¹³¹ *Demetrium* in *Phthiotis*.
R O M E ¹³², from whence they were permitted to return into their own Country.
 DXLVI. The Traitor retired to *Attalus's* Camp; and the *Romans* sacked the City, which
 M. LIVIUS was abandoned to them. Indeed *Attalus's* Army had no share of the Booty; the
 SALINATOR, *Romans* plundered the Place with too much Precipitation; but the *Pro-Consul*
 C. CLAUDIUS soon found means to recompense them in another Place.
 NERO, Con-
 fuls.

THE Conquest of *Oreos* swelled *Sulpicius's* Mind with Vanity; and he thought he might succeed as well, either by Force or Negotiation, against *Chalcis*, the Capital of *Eubœa*. He brought his victorious Fleet thither, and appeared before the Place. Over against *Chalcis*, the Sea is so pent in, between the Island and the Continent, that it makes only a narrow Canal, which is called the *Euripus* ¹³³. At the two Ends of the Canal, Nature seemed to have taken Pleasure in forming two Ports; but there perhaps is no *Road*, in any Sea whatsoever, more exposed to sudden Tempests. Violent Winds blow from the Tops of the neighbouring Mountains, and entering the two Necks of the *Euripus*, raise dangerous Storms there. And from hence proceeds the vulgar Opinion, that the Tide ebbs and flows in the *Euripus*, as in the *Ocean*. Whereas the South or North-Winds, that drive the Waves of the main Sea into the Streight, are the only Causes of the rising or sinking of the Water in the Canal; and therefore it is, that the Flux and Reflux don't return at stated times, as they do in the *Ocean*. Tho' the Motion of the Water of the *Euripus* be regular enough to surprize one; it is no more so, than may very well be accounted for, by the Succession of two opposite Winds, that blow alternately.

¹³¹ Judging of it by the Resemblance of the Names, and the Situations of *Demetrium* and *Demetrius*, of which we have already spoken, *Livy* seems to mean the same City, by both these Names. They both stood near *The Gulph of Armiro*, in *Phthiotis*, on the Sea-Coast of *Theffaly*. But nevertheless *Strabo*, and *Stephens the Geographer*, speak of *Demetrius*, as a different City from *Demetrium*. They say the latter stood on the Banks of the River *Amphrysus*, formerly so famous for the fabulous Story of *Apollo*, who was forced to keep the Sheep of King *Admetus* near this River: and they derive the Word *Demetrium* from the Greek Word *Δημήτριον*, which is the Name the *Greeks* gave *Ceres*. The Inhabitants of this City had built a Temple, and consecrated a Wood to this Goddess. And according to these ancient Geographers, *Demetrium* was in ancient times called *Pyræus*.

¹³² *Phthiotis* was the most Southern of all the five Cantons of which *Theffaly* consisted. It bordered on *Magnesia*, towards the *Ægean* Sea. It is said, that this Province was so called from the Name of the City *Phthia*, formerly famous. All the Ancients say of it, is, that it was the native Country of *Achilles*. *Ortelius* places it near *The Maliac Gulph*, on the Banks of the River *Apidanus*; not considering that there was a considerable Distance between this Gulph, and that River.

¹³³ The Ancients called that Canal, or Streight, *Euripus*, which divides *Eubœa* from *Attica*, *Locris*, and *Bœotia*. The Natives of the Country now call it *Eripos*. It is so narrow over-against the Capital, that a Galley can scarce pass through it. Every body knows, that the Agitations of the *Euripus* have been always looked upon as a kind of Problem; and the Ancients don't speak of it in such a manner, as to remove our Doubts. Some, as *Antiphilus of Byzantium*, say, that the whole Canal has a Flux and Reflux only six times in twenty four Hours; but *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Suidas*, agree, that it ebbs and flows seven times in a Day; and *Pomponius Mela*, and *Seneca the Tragedian*, were of the same Opinion. Whereas *Livy* does not allow this Flux and Reflux to be so very regular. Nevertheless it must be owned, that the Relation of Father *Babin* the Jesuit (whose Authority is good in this Case) does not entirely fa-

vour the *Latin* Historian. The Account he gives us of the Motions and Changes he observed in this Streight, is founded on many Observations that he made on the Spot, and many Enquiries that he made of the Inhabitants concerning the Inconstancy of the *Euripus* in its Course, during his long Residence there; and his Relation, omitting only his physical Enquiries, which are foreign to our History, is as follows. The *Euripus*, according to this Father's Observations (of which we shall only remark, that they may, by a favourable Interpretation, be pretty well accommodated to the Authors above cited) is regular in its Ebbing and Flowing, by the Influences it receives from the Moon, during her first eight Days. And the same Regularity is observed from the fourteenth to the twentieth Day of the Moon inclusively; and in the three last Days before the new Moon. But in the other Days of the *Lunar* Month, it is not so regular. Its Irregularity is then very sensible; it sometimes rises and falls eleven, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen times, in the Space of a natural Day. This Irregularity, the Causes of which both Ancients and Moderns have sought for in vain, became proverbial among the *Greeks*; whence the Expressions, *Ἀρπυγίαι*, *Ἐυρίπος*, *Ἐυρίπος διάβροια*, and *Ἐυρίπιζεν*, to signify the Caprices and Uncertainty of an unsettled fluctuating Mind. In this Sense *Cicero* compares the Assemblies of the *Roman* People, to the Commotions and Agitations of the *Euripus*. *Quod fretum, quem Euripum, tot motus, tantas, tam varias habere creditis agitationes, commutationes, fluctus, quantas perturbationes, & quantos æstus habet ratio comitiorum.* *Orat. pro Muren.* *Justin Martyr*, and *Gregory of Nazianzum*, had said in their Writings, that *Aristotle* died of Grief, because he could not discover the Causes of the Flux and Reflux of the *Euripus*: and the Testimony of these Fathers, as uncertain as it is, in this Case gave rise to a fabulous Tradition. Several Persons persuaded themselves, without any Proof, that this Philosopher leaped into this Canal, out of Vexation, at being forced to confess his Ignorance. To which they add, that, instead of crying out, in the humble Language and Admiration of the Prophet, *Mirabilis Elationes Maris*; he at the same time burst out into this Exclamation, *Since I cannot comprehend the Sea, let the Sea comprehend me!*

IN these *Streights of Chalcis*, *Sulpicius* drew up his Fleet. But he soon experienced, how unsafe it was to continue long at Anchor in this Place; and of how little Service this Station would be to him, in attacking the City, on the Side next the Sea. His Galleys were continually tossed about with the Wind; and driven from Side to Side. On the other hand, the City was so strong on the Land-Side, that the *Pro-Consul* despaired of being able to take it by Assault. And lastly, the Negotiations *Sulpicius* attempted to enter into, with the Commanders in *Chalcis*, proved fruitless; seeing they would not be corrupted. All these Disappointments therefore made the *Roman* resolve to weigh Anchor, and seek for some easier Conquest elsewhere. *Cynus*¹³⁴, a City of the *Opuntii*¹³⁵, in¹³⁶ *Locris*, was jointly attempted by *Attalus* and the *Romans*. *Attalus* laid Siege to it, and made himself Master of it, in a manner without Resistance; but the King was too dilatory in plundering the City, which the *Pro-Consul* gave up wholly to the *Asiatics*, to make them amends for their not having had their Share of the Booty of *Oreos*. The King lost too much time in ransoming the richest of the Citizens of *Cynus*. He did not know, that *Philip* was in full March hastening to the Assistance of his Allies. We may judge of the King of *Macedon*'s great Valour and Talents for War, by his Conduct. What Mischief might he not have done the *Romans*, if he had become *Hannibal*'s Disciple, and made War in Conjunction with him in *Italy*!

He had not received early Notice enough, of the Siege of *Oreos*. The Traitor *Plator* had rendered his Precautions fruitless, by not kindling those Fires in time, which were to have given him Notice, from Hill to Hill, of the Situation of Affairs. Besides, as the *Macedonian* Fleet was not comparable to that of the Enemy, he could not possibly have relieved a maritime City, besieged by two considerable Fleets. But the Case was otherwise, with respect to *Chalcis*. As soon as the *Roman* and *Asiatick* Galleys appeared in the *Euripus*, the Fires were lighted, and *Philip* immediately began his March, upon the first Signal. Tho' *Chalcis* was in an Island, he marched on by Land, well knowing that he could go into *Eubœa* over a Bridge of Wood, which had long joined this Island to the Continent, and which was built over the *Euripus*. So narrow was it over against *Chalcis*! Nevertheless, the Way from *Thessaly* to *Greece* was shut up by the *Ætolians*, who guarded the Pass of *Thermopylæ*. But the brave *Macedonian* forced his Way thro' them, and came into *Greece* with such Expedition, according to the Historians, that his Troops marched sixty Miles in one Day. On the Road, he received Advice, that *Chalcis* was no longer in Danger; but that the Enemy were assaulting *Cynus*, a City on the Continent; and upon this Information, he hastened from¹³⁷ *Elatea*, to relieve *Cynus*. When he arrived, the City was surrendered; *Attalus* was amusing himself there with demanding the Ransoms of the richest of the Citizens; and the *Asiatick* King was very near being surprized by the King of *Macedon*. But a lucky¹³⁸ Accident informed him of the Arrival of *Philip*, whom he did not expect; and he ran in all haste to reembark his *Pergamenians* on board his Galleys, which he found drawn out of the Water, on the Strand. Whilst they were labouring with all Diligence to set them afloat, *Philip* fell upon them, and put the *Asiatics* into Disorder. But being embarked, they set sail; and the *Macedonian*, from the Shore, insulted *Attalus*, for his Flight. The latter first fled to *Oreos*, for Refuge; and then instantly went from thence to his own Country, to defend it against the Attacks of¹³⁹ *Prusias*. Probably the *Achaëans* had

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.

M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR.
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
sul.

¹³⁴ *Cynus* was as it were the Arsenal of *Opus*, the Capital of the *Locri Opuntii*; tho' *Stephens* places it in the District of the *Locri Epizephirij*. *Strabo* says, these two Cities were sixty *Stadia*, that is, about three Leagues Distance from each other. The former, and the Promontory *Cynus*, which took its Name from the City, bordered on *The Maliac Gulph*.

¹³⁵ The City of *Opus*, or *Opuntia*, gave its own Name to *Locris Opuntia*, (of which it was the Capital) and to a little neighbouring Gulph. *Strabo* places it fifteen *Stadia* from the Sea, that is, one thousand, eight hundred, and seventy five geometrical Paces, which make three fourths of a League.

But *Livy* does not suppose it to be above a thousand Paces from it.

¹³⁶ See what we have said of *Locris* above, p. 319 of this Volume, Note 32.

¹³⁷ *Strabo* speaks of *Elatea*, or *Elatia*, as the greatest City in *Phocis*; but *Pausanias* excepts *Delphi*. Its Territory was watered by the River *Cephissus*.

¹³⁸ It luckily happened, says *Livy*, that some *Cretan* Soldiers of *Attalus*'s Army were dispersed about the Plain, with a Design to forrage: and they seeing *Philip*'s Army at a distance, hastened back to the King of *Pergamus*, to give him notice of it.

¹³⁹ *Prusias* was the Son of *Nicomedes the First*, and

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.

M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

had, out of Policy, stirred up this King of *Bythinia* against *Attalus*, to keep him employed at home; as the *Romans* had animated the *Ætolians*, and other Nations, against the King of *Macedon*. As for *Sulpicius*, he parted from *Attalus*, and went to pass his Winter in the Island of *Ægina*, where he had taken up his Winter-Quarters the last Year.

THUS *Philip* was left Master of the Field; and he made his Advantage of it. He retook some ¹⁴⁰ Cities of little Consideration from the *Ætolian* Confederates; and at length returned to *Elatea*, to assist at the Diet of the *Achæans*, which was to be held at ¹⁴¹ *Ægium*. The Ambassadors of *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, and of the *Rhodians*, met in the first of these Cities, and there spoke of putting an End to the War with *Ætolia*; but the Assemblies were interrupted for some Days. Advice was brought thither, that *Machanidas* King of *Lacedæmon*, was preparing to attack the *Eleans*, during the ¹⁴² Games they were obliged to celebrate in honour to *Jupiter Olympus*; which would have been a notorious Crime against



Silver

and the Grandson of *Zipetes*, who came originally from *Thrace*. The latter took Advantage of the Divisions that arose between the Successors of *Alexander the Great*, to settle himself in *Bythinia*; and was therefore looked on as the Founder of that Monarchy.

¹⁴⁰ Among the Cities which *Philip* forced to surrender to him, *Livy* reckons *Torone*: but this City, which belonged to *Philip's* Dominions, stood in that Part of *Macedon*, which the ancient Geographers call *Paraxia*. And if we consider only the Distance of the Place, it is not probable, that the Confederates of the *Romans* had carried their Arms so far. This is the same City which gave its own Name to *The Sinus Toronaicus*, which is more commonly called *The Gulph of Aiomana*; tho' others call it *Golfo di Rampo*. There was also a City called *Torone*, in *Epirus*, situated on the Mouth of the *Thyamis*, now the *Calama*, according to *Thevet*. *Stephens* places the first City in *Thrace*, that is, in the Peninsula of *Pallene*, a little Country of *Macedon*, which had been inhabited by the *Thracians*. See p. 4. of *Vol. 1. Notes 7 and 8*. This last Situation agrees with the former. But *Sigonius* and *Glarean* are of opinion, that the City here spoken of, is not either of the two Cities of *Torone* in *Macedon*, and *Epirus*. They suppose that there is an Error in the Text; and think, that instead of *Toronem* it ought to be *Thronium*; a City in the Country of the *Locri Epicnemidii*, between *The Maliac Gulph*, and the River *Boagrius*, which the Natives now call *Boagrio*. But it must be owned, that we find *Toronem* in all the Manuscripts, without any Variation.

Livy adds, that the King of *Macedon* recovered the Cities of *Triton* and *Drymæ*, *Tritonon* & *Drymas*; which belonged to *Doris*, according to that Historian. But others place them in *Phocis*, not far from *Elatea*. And from these Differences about the Situation of several Cities, it seems probable, that the Limits of the several Districts of *Greece* were not always the same, especially during their frequent intestine Wars. At those times, one Province encroached upon another, and extended its Borders with its Conquests. But be that as it will, we don't know the true Situation of *Triton*. It was so inconsiderable a Place, that most of the an-

cient Geographers either knew nothing of it, or did not think fit to mention it. But we must take care not to confound it with another City, which *Stephens* calls *Tritonus*. The latter was in *Macedon*, near *Pallene*, between the *Thermaic* and *Toronaic* Gulphs. *Vibius* speaks of the Marsh of *Triton*, probably near the City; and there was a little River of this Name in *Boeotia*.

¹⁴¹ *Strabo* reckons the City of *Ægium* among the twelve, of which the Republick of the *Achæians* consisted. According to fabulous Tradition, this was the City where the Goats suckled *Jupiter*, when he was an Infant. Hence the Greek Name of *Ægium*. The *Achæians* held their general Assembly there, in a Wood consecrated to *Jupiter*, and called *Ænarium*. *Pausania* speaks of a Temple erected by the Citizens of *Ægium* to the Goddess *Illithya*, who is said by the Greek Mythologists to have been the Daughter of *Juno*. She had the same Offices as *Lucina*, that is, presided over Women in Labour, and took care of new-born Infants. The same Author also says, that the Statue of this Goddess had a pretty loose Robe; and it had the Face of a Woman, who was lifting up one hand, and holding a burning Flambeau in the other. And in this manner, and with the same Symbols, we find her represented on the Medal above, which was struck at *Ægium*, as appears by the Inscription. The Flambeau *Illithya* holds in her Hands, alludes to the Light of the Sun, which Infants begin first to enjoy, when they come into the World. *Ægium* stood in the same Place where *Boetizan*, which others call *Vistiza*, now stands.

¹⁴² Of all the Shews in old *Greece*, that of *The Olympic Games* was, without Dispute, the most famous, and the most entertaining. But we can say nothing certain, either of the first Rise, or exact Date, of this Solemnity. It is lost in the dark and fabulous Ages; and therefore we shall not enter into trifling Enquiries, or chronological Debates, but adhere to *Strabo*, who honestly confesses, that this Epocha is uncertain: and most modern Chronologists make the same Confession. Nevertheless, we shall, in compliance with the whole Torrent of the Greek and Latin Writers, acknowledge *Hercules* to have been

against Religion, and a Breach of the Faith of Treaties. *Philip* therefore ran to the Assistance of *Elis*, but first dismissed the foreign Ambassadors, and solemnly protested to them, that he neither had been the Cause of the War, nor would obstruct a Peace.

§. XXVIII. AFTER this, the *Macedonian*, resolute to oppose the Attempts of *Machanidas*, took the Road to *Bæotia*, passed by ¹⁴³ *Megara*, and came to *Corinth*. There he furnished himself with all the Provisions, and Recruits, that were necessary

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.
M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

been the first Institutor of *The Olympic Games*, tho' others have denied him this Honour, and conferred it wholly on *Atræus*, or *Pelops*. And if this were the Case, the Institution of the *Olympic Games* must have been before *Homer's* time. How then comes this Poet, who has scarce omitted any of the chief Customs of the *Greeks*, not to say one Word of it? Is not his Silence a strong Presumption against the Opinion of those who think, that *Hercules* was only the first Author or Restorer of *The Olympic Games*, after *Atræus* and *Pelops*. But it is of no consequence, be it as it will. And we will therefore adopt the Calculation of *Petavius*, who places the Institution of these *Games* in the Year of the World 2766, and about four hundred and sixty five Years before the Foundation of *Rome*. *Eusebius* places it in the Year of the World 2830; and consequently postpones the Institution sixty four Years. According to *Velleius Paterculus*, it ought to be placed in the Year of the World 2814. But besides that this Historian contradicts himself, as may easily be made appear; his Calculation does not agree with the Order of the heroical Times. And therefore to avoid Inconsistencies, we will adhere to the Chronology of the Jesuit beforementioned, whose Conjectures seem to us most probable; and his Opinion is confirmed by the old *Chronography*, quoted by *Clemens of Alexandria*. These *Games*, which were fixed to no certain time, were long interrupted, till the Reigns of *Iphitus* King of *Elis*, and *Lycurgus* King of *Lacedæmon*. The former, in Conjunction with the latter, renewed them, according to *Plutarch*, about the Year of the World 3100, that is, one thousand three hundred and thirty four Years after their first Institution, an hundred and thirty one Years before the Foundation of *Rome*, and eight hundred and eighty four Years * before the *Christian Æra*. The Celebration of them was then fixed to the Summer Solstice. But nevertheless, it sometimes happened, that for good Reasons it was postponed to the following Months, as may be inferred from *Cicero's* seventh Letter to *Atticus*, B. 15. And from that time, it became customary to celebrate *The Olympic Games*, at *Olympia*, on the Banks of the River *Alpheus*, in the Territory of *Pisa*, which belonged to *Elis*.

From the Name of this Place *Olympia*, where all *Greece* assembled, during the whole time of the Solemnity, was taken the Term *Olympiad*, to signify the Space of four Years, which was the time between every Celebration of these *Games*. And this Interval, prescribed and determined by Religion, was afterwards thought the most safe and convenient Epochæ, by which to date the regular Succession of Ages and Years. So that the Historians began to take a new Method, and regulate the Dates of memorable Facts, the Succession of which was lost, by this Epochæ, as by a fixed Point. But nevertheless, it does not appear, that all the Ancients made use of this Chronology. *Timæus* was the first who made use of it, under *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*. Till that time, most of the *Greek* Writers date their Facts by the Years of the *Archons of Athens*, and of the *Kings of Lacedæmon*. After *Timæus*, *Eratosthenes* reckoned by *Olympiads*, in the time of *Ptolomy Euergetes*, or *The Beneficent*. And *Polybius* has the most constantly adhered to this Method, of any of the *Greek* Historians which have come to our Hands. Nevertheless, it must be observed, that the common

Æra of the *Olympiads* is eight hundred Years later than *Iphitus*, according to *Syncellus*, *Phelegon*, *Aristodemus*, &c. The *Greek* Historians took the twenty eighth *Olympiad* for the first. It was distinguished by the Victory of *Coræbus*, who gained the Prize for the Race; and this he did, according to *Eusebius*, in the 29th *Olympiad*; whilst *Callimachus* makes it but the 13th, from the Re-establishment of *The Olympic Games* by *Iphitus*. But be that as it will, with this Period ends the Times which *Varro* calls fabulous; because all the prophane Historians relate before this Epochæ, is full of Fable and Confusion. At this Point the historical Times begin, in which Events are related clearly, and more faithfully. But nevertheless, we may easily be mistaken in following this Epochæ. *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Pausanias*, say, that the *Eleans* erased out of the Number of the *Olympiads*, the eighth, the thirty fourth, and the hundred and fourth; under pretence, that in the two former the *Pisans*, and in the latter the *Arcadians*, forcibly usurped a Right of inspecting and presiding at *The Olympic Games*. Hence the chronological Mistakes which some Authors have run into, in their Annals, for want of considering this Rasure, which the *Greeks* call *Anolympiad*.

Add to this, that Religion, and a Love of Shews, were not the only Motives upon which the *Greeks* celebrated *The Olympick Games*; there was Policy in it. The Legislators of *Greece* expected great Advantages from it, in case they could assemble in the same Place, and unite by common Sacrifices, several independent Nations, most of which were more divided in Interest than in Place. With this View were instituted, above an Age after, *The Pythian Games*, which were also celebrated every four Years, in Honour to *Apollo*, near the City of *Delphi*, and under the Direction of the *Amphictiones*; that is, the Deputies of the chief Cities of *Greece*, whose Business it was to provide for the Safety and Peace of the Nation. These *Games* were a Sort of Schools, where the Competitors tried their Courage and Skill, every one earnestly contending for the Prize. This noble Emulation kept up that martial Spirit in *Greece*, which the Sweets of a long Peace, and the Pleasures of the Climate, would doubtless have abated. The Ardour of the Competitors was likewise yet more enflamed, at the sight of the Crowns and Privileges which were granted the Victors. These Exercises, which entertained the Spectators with a very martial Sight, were the Preludes of what the Conquerors were to do in Battel; and the Honours annexed to the Industry and Bravery of the Champions, made them desirous of meriting the Glory due to Conquerors. Insomuch, that the Praises of the Victors, were one of the chief Subjects of *Lyrick Poetry*, among the *Greeks*. The Poets devoted their Labours and Songs to the Honour of these Heroes. And Care was taken to transmit to Posterity their Pictures on Brass, to perpetuate the Memory of their Victories. Statues, Inscriptions, and publick Archives, all helped to immortalize the Names of those who succeeded in the Contest; not to mention the glorious Distinctions they enjoyed all their Lives.

¹⁴³ The City of *Megara*, one of the most famous in *Greece*, stood near *The Saronic Gulph*, at almost an equal Distance from *Corinth* and *Athens*. It was at first governed by Kings; then it shook off the Yoke of Regal Government, and formed itself into

* Only 776 Years before the *Christian Æra*, according to Sir I. Newton. See *Chronol.* p. 34.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.
M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

cessary to enable him to keep the Field; and then advanced towards ¹⁴⁴ *Phlius*, and ¹⁴⁵ *Pheneus*. But he was scarce got in sight of *Heræa*, before the Report of his March made *Machanidas* to return to *Lacedæmon*. Then *Philip*, for want of Enemies, returned to ¹⁴⁶ *Ægium*, where the Congress was continued; and he there put on a good Appearance, notwithstanding his chagrine at having been at a great deal of Fatigue in this Campaign, to little or no Purpose. *I call the Gods to witness*, said he, *that I have not let any Opportunity of defending my Allies escape me. But I have had strange Enemies to deal with. If I attacked with Courage, they fled with as much Precipitation.* Sulpicius barely shewed himself before Chalcis; and as soon as I appeared near Cynus, Attalus hastily embarked. *Has Machanidas dared to come to a Battel with me? My very Shadow made him disappear. If then I have dispersed the Romans, Asiatics, and Lacedæmonians, have I not overcome them? This is, at least, a Confession of their Weakness, and a favourable Omen of future Success. What then is too great to be expected from a Defender whom the Enemy fears and shuns?*

THESE Words filled the *Achæans* with Joy and Confidence; and they were still better satisfied with *Philip's* Conduct, when he restored the Cities he had retaken, to their true ¹⁴⁷ Owners. He set out from the Ports of Greece, (attended with the

into a Republick. It had long Wars with the *Athenians*, who at last subdued it. After it had undergone several Revolutions, the *Ionians* who inhabited it were forced to give it up to a Colony of *Corinthians*, and several other neighbouring Nations. Some of its Citizens, who were dispersed, founded several Cities, particularly those of *Megara* and *Selinus*, in *Sicily*. It was anciently called *Nisa*; and is now a very poor Town, called *Megra*, or *Megara*, according to *Sophian*. *Le Noir* calls it *Mazarino*. The *Megarenses*, according to *Thucydides*, were reckoned great Laughers. Hence the Proverb *Megarensis risus*, to signify a loud Laugh. The Port of *Megara*, called *Nisea*, tho' eight *Stadia* distant from it, was joined to the City by a long Range of Walls.

¹⁴⁴ Near the Springs of the River *Asopus*, in the District of *Sicyon*, stood the City of *Phlius*, thirty *Stadia* from *Corinth*, Westward. *Stephens* places it on a Hill which he calls *Aranthynus*. This City, according to *Pinet*, now bears the Name of *Phoica*; but *Sophian* calls it *Yri*; and *Chalcondyles* will have it to be *Rupela*. *Ptolomy* speaks of another City of the same Name, on the maritime Coasts of *Argolis*; and *Pliny* mentions a *Phlius* in *Elis*. The former is here spoken of; it was in *Philip's* Road. Its Inhabitants paid a particular Worship to the Goddess *Hebe*; to whom they had erected a Temple in a Wood of *Cypress-trees*.

¹⁴⁵ *Pheneus* was anciently a City of *Peloponnesus*. *Pausanias*, *Polybius* and *Pliny*, make it a City of *Arcadia*, near Mount *Cyllene*. It is said to retain its old Name to this Day. It is famous for having formerly disputed the Preheminence with the City of *Tegæa*, the Capital of the Country. See the Preface to this History, p. 9.

¹⁴⁶ According to *Livy*, the King of *Macedon* expected to have found in the Port of *Ægium*, the *Carthaginian* Fleet, which he impatiently desired to join, in order to form a naval Force sufficient to keep the Cities of the Confederates in Awe. But, adds he, the *Carthaginians* had just left this Port, whither they had come in hopes that *Philip* would have returned to this City. The *Roman* Fleet, and that of *Attalus*, had very lately set Sail from *Oreos*; and this News had alarmed the *Carthaginians*. This unexpected Return made them suspect some Design. They were afraid the Enemy had put to Sea again, only to seize *The Streights of Rhium*, in order to surround the Gallies lately arrived. So that, in order to avoid meeting the Enemy's Ships, and for fear of running the Hazards of an unequal Battel, the *Carthaginian* Fleet had cruised along in sight of the *Phocæan* Islands, and had put in at one of the

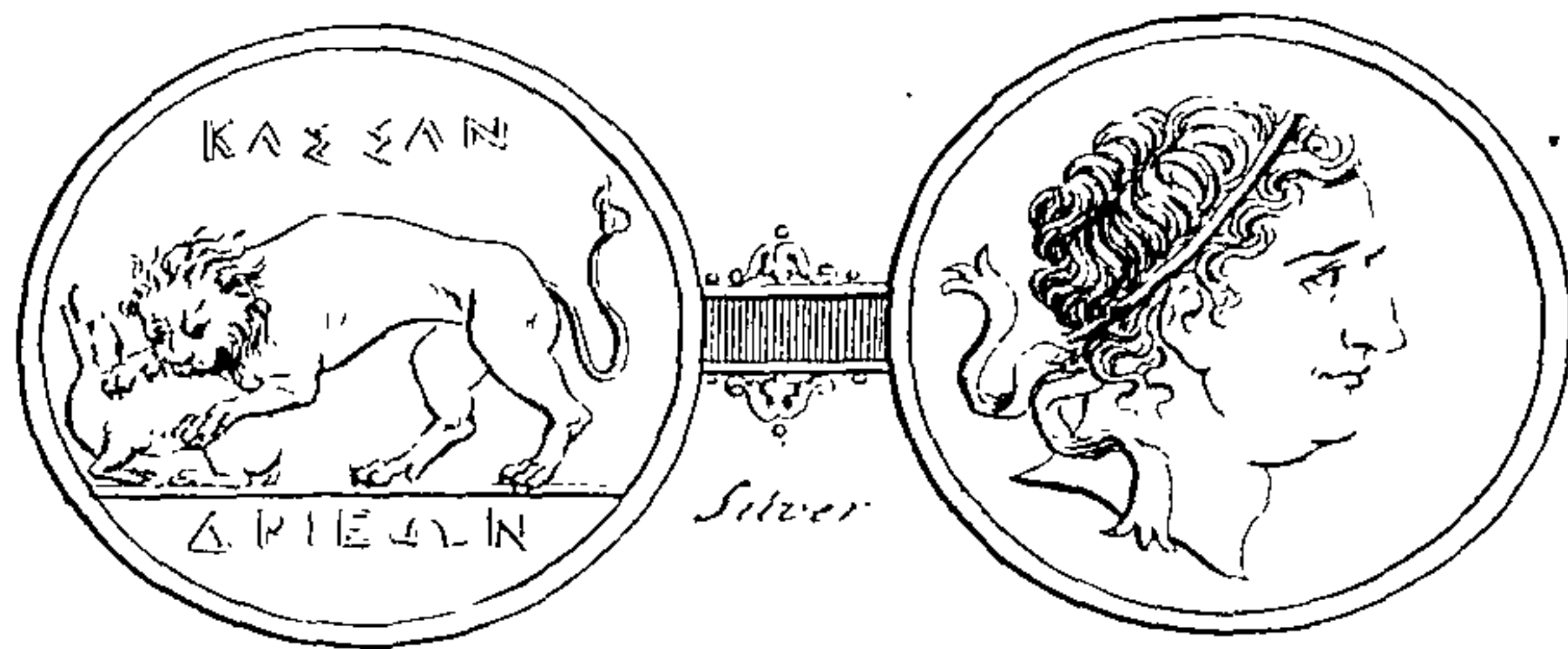
Ports of *Acarmania*. This is *Livy's* Account. But it must be confessed, either that this Historian was mistaken, or that his Text has been altered by ignorant Copyists. In order to shew this, it must be observed, that *Pliny* gives the Name of *Phocæan*, to certain little Islands near *Crete*, which lay in sight of the Promontory *Samnonium*, now *Cabo Salmone*. And surely it is not at all probable, that the *Carthaginian* Gallies should have past this vast Tract of Sea, which lies between the *Phocæan* Islands, and the City of *Ægium*. A View of the best Maps, is a sufficient Proof it. According to *Livy*, the Design of the *Carthaginians*, in retiring from *Ægium*, was to secure themselves in one of the Ports of *Acarmania*, against the Attacks of the *Roman* Fleet. Now, if they went to the *Phocæan* Islands, they not only went so much the farther from the Place designed, and took a quite contrary Rout; but ran the greater Hazard of meeting the *Roman* Fleet, which they designed to avoid. The *Roman* Gallies could not take any other Course than this, in order to go from *Eubœa*, or the Port of *Ægium*, where it then was, to *The Streights of Rhium*. Nor is it more probable, that the *Carthaginians* should take Refuge in *Phocæa*, a maritime City of *Æolis*, in *Asia Minor*; as some have, without any manner of Reason, interpreted the Historian. It is more natural to say, that they retired to one of the Ports of *Phocis*, and not to the *Phocæan* Islands. This is a rational Interpretation of *Livy's* Meaning, as appears by a View of the Map. Nevertheless, because these Copies are defective in this Place, therefore *Gronovius* thought fit to put the *Echinades* Islands, instead of the *Phocæan*. These *Echinades* were five little Greek Islands in the *Ionian* Sea, near the Coasts of *Acarmania*, over against the Mouth of the River *Archelous*. They were thought to have been formed by the Mud which this River carried into the Sea. *Sophian* calls them *Curzolari*, or *Cozzolari*; and *Apollodorus* ranks them among the *Strophæles*. The farthest distant is but fifteen *Stadia*, or eighteen hundred and seventy five Geometrical Paces, from the Mouth of that River. The smallest is but five *Stadia*, or six hundred and twenty five Geometrical Paces from it. Some have thought they were called *Echinades*, from the Greek Word *Echinos*, because they abounded with Sea-Hogs.

¹⁴⁷ Among the Cities restored to the *Achæans*, by the King of *Macedon*, *Livy* reckons those of *Heræa* and *Triphylia*. The first was a City of *Arcadia*, in the Center of *Peloponnesus*. Some Geographers give it the Name of *Hereo*, to this Day. *Molezio* calls it *Ravoli*. This City, according to *Ptolomy*, stood on the Confines of *Elis*. *Stephens* indeed

the Vows and Prayers of his Allies) with ¹⁴⁸ eight Galleys of *Achaia*, to which he joined ¹⁴⁹ seven of those Galleys, which he had sent for, from the Port of *Corinth*. In his Passage, the King made a Descent ¹⁵⁰ on the Confines of *Ætolia*, near *Eupalium* ¹⁵¹. But the Inhabitants of the Plain retired to the Mountains and Forests. So that all ¹⁵² the Booty *Philip* took, was only a few Cattel, which he carried on Board his Galleys. From thence the King sailed towards *Corinth*; and ordered his Infantry to return from thence into *Macedonia* by Land. Then he took a Tour to *Peloponnesus*, and visited the Ports of it; came ¹⁵³ to *Chalcis*, and praised the Inhabitants for their Fidelity; found *Oreos* repeopled, and committed the City to the Care of those Citizens, who had chosen rather to fly from their native Country, than surrender to the *Romans*; at length returned to *Demetrias*, the Center of his Expeditions, and from thence set out for *Macedon*. When he came to ¹⁵⁴ *Cassandrea*, he ordered an hundred Galleys to be built, and employed

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.

M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.



indeed makes it a City of *Arcadia*. But he is mistaken in placing it near *Messene*. *Ptolomy* and *Pausanias* agree, that this City lay much more Southward than *Heræum*. But we must not confound the City here spoken of with another City called *Hereum*, which belonged to *Argolis*. And there was also a Fort in *Thrace* of this Name, built by the *Sarmians*. They borrowed this Name from the Term *Heræ*, the Name by which the *Greeks* called *Juno*, the Favourite Goddess at *Samos*.

As to *Triphylia*, it was a little Canton of *Elis*, and was so called, because divided into *τρία φύλα*, *tria phula*, or three different Clans, or Tribes; viz. the *Epeans*, who came originally from *Oetolia*, according to *Pliny* and *Val. Maximus*; the *Minyans*, who were transplanted into this Part of *Elis*, from *Theffaly*; and the *Eleans*, who settled here, and got Possession of the Country. But others put the *Arcadians* instead of the *Minyans*.

Livy adds, that the King of *Macedon* gained the Affection of the *Megalopolitans*, by restoring to them the City of *Aliphera*, which had been a Part of their Territory. Indeed it stood in *Arcadia*, on the Confines of *Elis*, near the River *Alpheus*, at a little distance from *Megalopolis*. The latter was then the Capital of this Province; and has been famous for giving Birth to *Philopamenes*, one of the greatest Captains in *Greece*, and to *Polybius* the Historian.

¹⁴⁸ Of these eight Galleys, four were *Biremes*, and the other four *Quadrيرهmes*.

¹⁴⁹ Besides his seven *Quinqueremes*, *Philip* had brought twenty Barks into *The Gulph of Corinth*; with design to join them, and his own Galleys, to the *Carthaginian* Fleet.

¹⁵⁰ The Descent was made at *Erythræ*, a City of *Ætolia*; which was almost upon the same Line as *Cyrrha*, and *Anticyrrha*, but more to the West. It belonged to the *Locri Ozolii*, according to some; or to the *Ætolians*, according to others. Indeed it bordered both upon *Locris* and *Ætolia*; so that it is not to be wondered, if the ancient Geographers ascribe it indifferently to either Province. There were two other Cities of this Name; one in *Boeotia*, at the Foot of Mount *Cytheron*, which City is men-

tioned by *Pausanias*, *Pliny*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Thucydides*; and another in *Theffaly*, on the Banks of the River *Enipeus*.

¹⁵¹ *Eupalium* stood in the Territory of the *Locri Ozolii*, near the River *Amphylus*, in the Neighbourhood of *Nanpectus*.

¹⁵² The Hostilities the King of *Macedon* committed in *Ætolia*, spread such Terror in the Neighbourhood, that the Garrisons of *Potidania* and *Apollonia* fled to the Mountains, or Forests, for Refuge, and left these two Places to the Mercy of the Enemy. These Forts (for so *Livy* calls them) belonged to the *Ætolian* Confederates, but we don't exactly know their Situation.

¹⁵³ The King of *Macedon*, according to *Livy*, had the Precaution at the same time to send *Nicias*, *Prætor* of the *Achaïans*, to *Ægium*, to command there. As for himself, he embarked at *Cenchrea*, one of the Ports of *Corinth*, situated on *The Saronic Gulph*, forty *Stadia* from *Lechaum*, another Port of that City, but more to the West, and situated on *The Gulph of Corinth* itself. *Philip* coasted along *Attica*, and passed by the Promontory of *Sunium*, almost in Sight of the Confederate Troops. This is the Promontory which the Moderns call *The Cape of the Pillars*. It runs into the *Ægean* Sea, over-against the Island of *Helena*.

Add to this, That what *Livy* says here of the Embarkation of *Philip* on *The Saronic Gulph*, is not easily reconcileable with what he had said before. He had said, that the King of *Macedon* had embarked in one of the Ports of *Achaia*, had passed by *Anticyrrha*, and had from thence gone on to *The Gulph of Corinth*. Whereas we know that this Gulph was divided from *The Saronic Gulph*, by a Neck of Land, called *The Isthmus of Corinth*. In order therefore to reconcile *Livy* with himself, we must either suppose, that *Philip* removed his Galleys by Land to the last mentioned Gulph, or that he had others ready there; or lastly, that the little Fleet newly arrived at *Corinth*, had sailed round through the Seas of *Peloponnesus* to come and join him in *The Saronic Gulph*.

¹⁵⁴ The City of *Cassandrea* stood between the *Thermai* and *Toronæ* Gulphs. According to *Thucydides*,

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.
M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, Con-
suls.

ployed a prodigious Number of Workmen in it. And lastly, he advanced quite to the extreme Parts of his Dominions, there to make War with the *Dardani*. This is the Detail of what was brought from *Greece*; and this made the *Romans* sensible, that *Hannibal* had nothing to expect from *Philip*, who was overburdened with numberless Affairs in his own Country.

§. XXIX. AND lastly, the Victory that *Lævinus* had just gained over the *Carthaginian* Fleet, contributed likewise to fortify the *Romans* against the Fear of the *African* Forces, and of a Want of Corn. This *Pro-Consul* had gone from *Sicily*, with the considerable Armament the Republick maintained there, with a Design only to make Descents, and get Booty between *Carthage* and *Utica*, a large City which was but sixty *Stadia* distant from the Capital. Accordingly, the *Romans* ravaged the Territories of the two Cities, and *Lævinus* was already returning to *Lilybeum*, when he was intercepted by the *Carthaginian* Fleet, which was seventy Gallies strong. The Battel was furious, and proved very fatal to the Enemy. *Carthage* lost one and twenty Ships, four of which were sunk, and seventeen taken. Thus in one Year *Rome* was victorious both by Sea and Land, and had no longer any reason to fear her Transports of Corn would be intercepted, or any Succours from *Carthage* landed in *Italy*.

SECURITY reigned at *Rome*, and in all the Country round about it; insomuch that the *Consul Livius* wrote to the Senate, to inform them, that his Army was no longer wanted in the Field. One *Q. Fabius*, a Lieutenant-General, brought this Letter; and he persuaded the *Conscript Fathers*, that the *Prætor Porcius*, with his two *Legions*, was sufficient to keep *Cisalpine Gaul* in Obedience. The Senate therefore thought they might recal *Livius*, and his Troops, to the City; but judged it necessary likewise, to bring the brave *Nero* thither, whose Glory was at least equal to that of his Colleague. Nevertheless, the Decree made some Difference between them. *Nero* was ordered to leave his Army in his *Province*. As for the *Consuls*, they agreed by Letter to enter *Rome* the same Day. They mutually promised each other, that he who came first to *Præneste* should there wait for his Colleague. Contrary to the Expectations of the Publick, their Union had been perfect; and Emulation, which has usually very different Effects, strengthened the Bands of their Friendship. When they drew near to *Rome*, the People ran in Crowds to meet them; and the Senate assembled in the Temple of *Bellona*, without the Walls, to receive them. The two Conquerors of *Hannibal* were received at the Entrance into the Suburbs with incredible Acclamations; the People were extremely eager to congratulate those who had so lately secured their Country; and at length they were introduced into the Temple, where the Senate was in a Body waiting for them.

It was customary at *Rome*, for the *Consuls* who had signalized themselves by great Victories, to give the *Conscript Fathers* a Narrative of their Campaign, and in Person demand the Honours of a Triumph for their Success. But the present ones desired a Triumph, only in order to return their Thanks to the Gods with the more Solemnity. The Senate answered them very obligingly, that their Request should be granted, both in Honour to the Gods, and Regard to their own Merit; and in the first place *Supplications* were ordered for three Days. All the Temples were opened, great Numbers of Victims sacrificed in them, and the Concourse of the People was very great. Then the Senate adjusted the Ceremonial of the Triumph. *Livius* had had great Advantage over his Colleague. The Battel with *Asdrubal* had been fought in his *Province*. The Day, and place of Action, had been appointed under his *Auspices*. And lastly, he was now at the Head of his Army; whilst that of *Nero* was obliged to continue in his *Province*, to keep *Hannibal* in Awe. And these Considerations obliged the *Conscript Fathers* to make a Difference between the two triumphant Victors. It was determined, that *Livius* should enter *Rome* in a Chariot drawn by four Horses, with his Army before

cydides, Hist. B. 1. a Colony of *Corinthians* founded this City in the Peninsula of *Pallene*, a District of *Macedon*; and then it was called *Potidea*. The *Athenians* made themselves Masters of it, in the *Peloponnesian* War; and forced its old Inhabitants to retreat to *Chalcis*. Afterwards *Cassander*, King of *Macedon*, resettled the *Potideates* in their old Habitations; and he much embellished and aggrandized this City; so that, by

his means, it became one of the most powerful Cities in *Macedon*. And therefore in regard to her benefactor, she changed her Name into that of *Cassandrea*; and doubtless the Head of *Cassander* was put on the Medal above, which was stamped in this City, as a further Testimony of the Gratitude of the Citizens.

and after him; and that *Nero* should march alone on Horseback, and without any Guard. Nevertheless, *Nero* did not shew any Concern at the Preference given his Colleague. What he lost in external Pomp, he gained in the Esteem of the *Romans*; and his Modesty added new Lustre to his Glory. As he passed by, the People were heard to say, *This Consul, who only appears before us on Horseback, is the true Hero. He crossed all Italy in six Days, came to the Assistance of his Colleague, and deceived the cunning Hannibal, who did not discover his Absence. It was the Arrival of Nero that caused Asdrubal's Flight; and the Victory was owing to his Address.* What Triumph so glorious, as to hear these Discourses from the Gate of *Rome* to the *Capitol*! In short, a bare *Oration* did *Nero* more Honour, than the Magnificence of a Triumph gained *Livius*. On this glorious Day, the *Consuls* equally signalized themselves by their Liberality. *Livius* gave ¹⁵⁵ each of his Soldiers five hundred and six * *Asses*; and *Nero* promised each of his, as much, when they should return from the Camp. And it was observed, that even among *Livius's* Troops, the Soldiers were more satyrical upon *Nero*, than their own General; which was a Sign, that they ¹⁵⁶ preferred *Nero* to him.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.

M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
C. CLAUDIUS
NERO, CON-
suls.

Val. Max. B. 4.
c. 1. §. 9.
Liv. B. 28.

c. 9.
Auth. of the
Lives of Illust.
Men.

* 17. 125. 9 d.
Arbuthnot.

¹⁵⁵ According to *Livy*, out of the Spoils taken from the Enemy, at the Battel of the *Metaurus*, *Livius* and *Nero* sent to the publick Treasury the Value of three million of *Sesterces*, and eighty thousand * *Asses* of Brass; that is, about four hundred thousand *Livres*; according to our former Reductions of *Sesterces* and *Asses*. But *Polybius* makes the Sum the *Consuls* gained much more considerable. He makes it amount to above three hundred † *Talents*, which are at least equal to three hundred thousand

French Crowns, at the rate of three thousand *French Livres per Talent*, as we have before observed.

¹⁵⁶ Such was the Ill-Nature of the *Roman* Soldiers. In order to humble their General, in a Day of Triumph, and inspire him with modest Sentiments, amidst the State and Pomp which surrounded him, they run out into Invectives and Satyrs, in Proportion to the Glory he had acquired by his Expeditions. See our Account of the Rise of this odd Custom, p. 416 of Vol. 1. Note 53.

* 24478 l. 1 s.
8 d. Arbuth.

† 58125 l.
Arbuthnot.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XXXIV.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.

M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
Dictator.

§. I. **T**HE time for the great *Comitia* now approaching, the *Romans* upon some secret Motive which I cannot discover, took it into their Heads to have a *Dictator* to preside in them. Perhaps indeed they were at a loss which of the two *Consuls* to chuse for *President*. But be that as it will, *Nero* nominated his Collegue, who chose *Q. Cæcilius* one of the Lieutenant-Generals of his Army, for his General of Horse. This Lieutenant-General was an Officer of Merit, and had gained himself a great deal of Reputation in Battel. The *Roman Knights* boasted much of him to the People, as well as of *L. Veturius*, who had distinguished himself by his Valour; and the *Consuls* zealously laboured to get them promoted to the *Consulate*. Accordingly, their Services to the Republick being too considerable, and too fresh in Memory for the People to deny them any thing, the Suffrages fell on *Lucius Veturius*, surnamed *Philo*, and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*. Then the *Prætors* were also chosen. After which, the Government of the City, and the Determination of Causes between *Citizen* and *Citizen*, fell by Lot to *Cæcilius Metellus*, the Brother of the new *Consul*, and the Senate, by a Decree, gave him likewise the Jurisdiction in all Causes between *Citizens* and *Foreigners*. *Q. Mamilius*, after his Election, was by Lot to have had the Jurisdiction of foreign Causes; but the Republick thought him a more proper Person to conduct her Army in *Cisalpine Gaul*. He therefore went to put himself at the Head of the Troops commanded there, the last Year, by *Porcius*; who, notwithstanding his Services, was now left out of Employment. *C. Servilius*, in Quality of *Prætor*, went to succeed *Mamilius* in *Sicily*, and to command the Fleet of *Lævinus*, who was recalled to *Rome*. And lastly, *Tib. Claudius* set out for *Sardinia*, with a new-raised *Legion*; and *A. Hostilius*, his Predecessor, had Orders to bring back his Army into *Italy*.

SOME of the *Pro-Consuls* continued in their old Employments. *P. Scipio* still governed *Spain* with his Brother *Lucius*, his Lieutenant-General, and *Junius Silanus* the *Pro-Prætor*. *P. Sulpicius* still aw'd the King of *Macedon*, and his Faction, in *Greece*. And lastly, the old *Consul Livius* went in Quality of *Pro-Consul*, to take upon him the Command of the Army in *Hetruria*, which *Sempronius Varrus* had commanded there, the last Year. It may indeed be wondred at, that *Nero* who had so eminently signalized himself, should be left unemployed. But his Conduct, how much soever justified by the Event, had been irregular; and it is probable, the Republick neglected him, by way of Punishment for giving so ill an Example. At *Rome* it was dangerous, even to serve the State, at the Expence of the Laws. The Glory of that great Action did not make amends for his Disobedience. Two *Pro-Prætors* also had now each the Command of an Army. *C. Hostilius*, who was near *Capua*, had Orders to keep the *Campani* in Order; and *T. Quinctius Flaminius*, at *Tarentum*, to have a watchful Eye on the Country of the *Salentini*.

¹ This *Mamilius* was surnamed *Turinus*. He was then *Plebeian Ædile*.

² *Livy* gives *Tiberius Claudius* the Surname of *Asellus*. The Reader is indebted to us for our Exactness in distinguishing the Magistrates and Generals

of old *Rome* by their Surnames and *Prænomina* without it, he would be in danger of mistaking, and confounding, those of the same Family and Name.

³ *Livy* seems to have forgotten himself in the Part of his History, when he says, that *Tarentum*

As soon as these Dispositions were made, the *Dictator Livius* put himself at the Head of the Troops assigned him in *Hetruria*. Tho' there were no Enemies to be feared in that Province, there were some Rebels to be punished. Certain *Hetrurian* Cities, and some Clans in *Umbria*, had begun to stir, upon *Asdrubal's* Arrival. Some had formed Plots in favour of the Foreigner; whilst others had supplied him with Provisions, and assisted him with their Troops; and *Rome* left nothing unpunished. The *Dictator* made strict Enquiry after the Criminals, and gave them the due Reward of their Treachery.

BUT *Rome* in the mean time was wholly employed in Rejoicings. The 4 *Curule Aediles* appointed Games, which were celebrated with such Exactness, that they were begun three times with the same Magnificence. The *Plebeian Aediles* also presented the People with Games, in which no proper Ceremony was omitted. For these twelve Years last past, the *Romans* had never had either more Reason, or more Leisure, to entertain the People with Shews, than at this time. *Hannibal* was at a great Distance, and his Forces not formidable.

§. II. At length, the *Dictatorship* of *Livius* expiring with his *Consulship*, the *Consuls* elect entered upon their Office; and were not sent into different Provinces. *Veturius* and *Cæcilius* were ordered to carry on the War jointly, in *Bruttium*, against *Hannibal*; but before they left *Rome*, it was necessary to quiet the Fears of the People, by indulging their Superstition. Several ⁶ Prodigies were reported, which filled the City with Terror. A *Vestal* had suffered the sacred Fire to go

Year of
R O M E
DXLVI.
M. LIVIUS
SALINATOR,
Dictator.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

and the Country of the *Salentini*, were the Province that fell to *Quinctus Claudius Flaminius*. Many Reasons incline us to believe it was assigned to *Titus Quinctius Flaminius*.

According to *Livy* himself, *Quintus Claudius* had commanded two *Legions* in the Territory of *Tarentum*, the preceding Year; and he adds, that the *Pro-Prætor Quintus Claudius* had Orders to deliver up the Command of his two *Legions* to the *Consul Lucius Veturius*. His *Pro-Prætorship* could not therefore be prolonged beyond the Year 546. In the Account this Author gives of the Disposal of Employments by the Republick, for the Year 548, he expressly says that the *Pro-Prætors* and *Pro-Consuls* for the Year 547. were continued in the Government of their respective Provinces. And lastly, under the Year of *Rome* 549, he expressly says, that *Titus Quinctius Flaminius* was continued in the Office of *Pro-Prætor* at *Tarentum*: so that this manifestly implies, that *Quinctius* commanded the Army before *Tarentum*, during the Year 548. Now *Livy* himself says that the *Pro-Consuls* and *Pro-Prætors* were continued for the Year 548; and consequently, unless we make him contradict himself, we must, from him, say, that *Quinctius* was *Pro-Prætor* at *Tarentum*, for the Year 547. And *Plutarch's* Testimony is a decisive Proof of it. He says that *Quinctius* was made *Pro-Prætor* at *Tarentum* soon after the Death of *Marcellus*, who was killed about the End of the Year 545. Doubtless *Plutarch* would not have expressed himself so, if there had been four Years between those two Events. And yet it must be allowed that there were so many, if it be insisted on, that *Claudius* was *Pro-Prætor* at *Tarentum* for both the Years 546, and 547. For it must then be granted, That he was still farther continued in the same Employment for the Years 548, and 549; since *Livy* expressly says, that *Tarentum* had the same *Pro-Prætor* for these last three Years. It will likewise be necessary, on that Hypothesis, to strike *Titus Quinctius* out of the Number of *Pro-Prætors* for the Year 549, and to substitute *Quintus Claudius Flaminius* in his room. Which cannot be done without expressly contradicting *Livy*, who makes *Quinctius* *Pro-Prætor* in that Year. So that it is not enough for those who strictly adhere to this Historian's Account, to say, after him, that *Quinctius Claudius* was *Prætor* in the Year 547; and that the Republick raised him to the same Dignity again in the Year 549; they ought likewise to shew, how to reconcile him with himself; when he implies, that the Year 549,

was the third *Pro-Prætorship* of *Quinctius* at *Tarentum*. Whatever may be said to save the Text of *Livy*, this at least must be allowed, that he explains himself in such a manner as to put his most avowed Advocates under a Necessity of contradicting him.

4 The Names of these *Curule Aediles* are preserved in *Livy*. That of the first was *Cneius Servilius Cæpio*; that of the second, *Servius Cornelius Lentulus*.

5 The Name of one of these *Plebeian Aediles* was *Quintus Mamilius Turinus*; and that of the other, *Marcus Pomponius Matro*.

6 Among these Prodigies, one was, that two Serpents had crept into the Temple of *Jupiter*, at *Saturnia*; and another, that the Temple of *Matuta* in that City had been struck with Lightning. It was also said, that the Lightning had damaged the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Terracina*; and three other Temples at *Rome*, viz. those of *Ceres*, *Salus*, and *Quirinus*. Nor were the People less uneasy at the Report which was spread, that the Reapers in the Fields of *Antium* had found some Ears of Corn of a bloody Colour. And to these pretended Prodigies, Superstition and Fear added others as chimerical as the former. The Rumours of a Pig's being born with two Heads, and a Lamb with the Marks of both Sexes, near *Cære*; the Reports that two Suns had been seen near *Alba*; That a sudden Light had lightened the whole Horizon at *Fregellæ*, in the Night; That an Ox had spoken several Words articulately; and That the Altar of *Neptune*, in the *Flaminian Circus*, sweated; all these, and in short, all other the like things, which were formed by the Imagination, or magnified by Fame, increased the Terrors of the *Roman* People. And the Reader cannot but observe, through the whole Course of this History, the childish Exactness of *Livy*, in collecting all these imaginary Prodigies, which were founded only on the Credulity of an ignorant and superstitious People. This extravagant Affectation of giving Weight to such Visions, in favour of Paganism, so prejudiced *St. Gregory the Great* against this Historian, that he condemned his History to be burnt, as a pernicious Book. *Vossius* relates this Fact in his Treatise of the *Latin* Historians; and quotes *St. Antoninus* in Proof of it. We have elsewhere observed, that most of these Events, when duly weighed, either appear to have been wholly founded in popular Rumours, or else such natural Effects, as have ceased to surprize, since the *Naturalists* have accounted for them.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

out in the Night; and she was punished by the *Pontifex* ⁷ *Maximus*. A Day of publick Prayers was appointed, and great Numbers of Victims slain, to avert the Evils with which *Rome* was threatened: And after these Superstitions, the *Consuls* spent their Leisure in an Affair of great Consequence. The Senate gave them a Commission to make Agriculture flourish again, especially in the Provinces next to the Capital. They had long lain fallow; the continual Incursions of the Enemy had interrupted the Tillage. What then could they do better, than revive Plenty in *Italy*, as had been done in *Sicily*? Yet after all, it was not easy to put Husbandry upon its old Footing. The Proprietors of the Fields were retired to the City. Their Granaries had been burnt, or destroyed. Their Slaves, which understood Agriculture, had been taken in War, or had deserted. And lastly, their Cattel had been carried off by *Hannibal's* Parties. So that the Senate were forced to make use of their Authority to compel the Owners to return to the Cultivation of their Farms. The *Prætor Mamilius* was ordered to have an Eye over the Husbandmen, during the Absence of the *Consuls*; and his Commission reached to all the *Roman Colonies*.

Livy, B. 28.
c. 11.

WHEN Spring returned, the *Consuls* took the Field; *Cæcilius*, at the Head of the Army *Nero* had commanded, and *Veturius* ⁸ of that of *Claudius*, near *Tarentum*. The Collegues both repaired to *Consentia*, in *Bruttium*, on the Banks of the *Crathis*; and, as prodigious as it may appear, *Hannibal* made himself feared even in the low Condition to which the Death of his Brother had reduced him. He gained some Advantages over the *Consuls* in the Plains of *Consentia*. The *Legionaries* were busy in laying them waste, when, all on a sudden, a Body of *Bruttii* and *Numidians* attacked them, chased them, and obliged them to retire in Confusion, to Places of Safety, with their Booty. As for *Hannibal* himself, his Grief, and his late Losses, affected him so much, that he shut himself up in his Camp, where the *Romans* durst not attack him. It was said, they were even afraid of his Shadow. And indeed, *Hannibal* never appeared greater than in his Adversity. How very prudent must he have been, to keep his disheartened Troops in Obedience! How excellent must that Conduct have been, which could keep Soldiers, gathered together out of all the Nations in *Italy*, faithful to him! The *Carthaginians* and *Spaniards* were the least Part of his Troops. What Address must he then have used, to prevent Mutinies among so many starving People; whom *Bruttium* could not supply with common Necessaries! What masterly Skill, in buoying them up with Hopes of a Convoy from *Africa*, or *Spain*! What a Power must he have had over their Minds, to be able to prevent Desertions, in the midst of a dreadful Famine! What Knowledge in the Art of War, never to engage himself, but at a proper Season; and to keep the two *Consular* Armies in Inaction!

IN the thirteen Years since he had passed the *Alpes*, *Hannibal* had acted all the Parts of the greatest Commander. Before the *Romans* had recovered their first Fright, the Rapidity of his Conquests had been exceeding great. When their ancient Virtue revived, he had found Expedients in Wiles and Artifices. And lastly, when an unhappy Blow had, by *Asdrubal's* Death, deprived him of the Succours that were brought him from *Spain*, he followed the Steps of that very *Fabius*, whom he had so much insulted, and gained time by prudent Delays. His Misfortune was, his having too greedily hearkened to the Dictates of the Hatred he had imbibed against the *Roman* Name, in his Infancy; and his having begun his Conquests with *Italy*. Had he first set about the Reduction of *Spain* and *Gaul*, he would probably have soon subdued all the West, and *Rome* herself; as *Alexander the Great* had done the East.

§. III. BUT now, *Hannibal* was upon the defensive in *Italy*; whilst *Scipio* gave the *Carthaginians* no Respite in *Spain*. The Seat of War seemed now to be removed thither. *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisco*, of a different Family from that *Asdrubal* who was killed in the Battel of the *Metaurus*, was, after *Hannibal*, the greatest Soldier *Carthage* could now boast of; and his Case was much like that of

⁷ *P. Licinius* was then *Pontifex Maximus*; and to him alone belonged the Right of punishing *Vestals*, who were accused of Negligence in the Exercise of their Priesthood.

⁸ *Eutropius* is mistaken, in giving *Lucius Vetur-*

rius the Consul, the Name of *Valerius*, contrary to the ancient Annals. *Cicero* speaks of him, in his Book entituled *Brutus*; and at the same time mentions his Collegue *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*; to whom he gives the Title of *Orator*.

Hannibal. He was driven to a Corner, on the Shores of the Ocean near *Gades*, and was there supporting his declining Interest; but he had in *Mago*, *Hannibal's* second Brother, an Assistant who was well able to repair his Losses. The latter had, during the Winter, visited all the Places in *Spain*, which yet adhered to *Carthage*, and had, with his Money, made considerable Levies. On the other hand, *Asdrubal* promised the *Spaniards*, that *Africa* would very speedily send them sufficient Forces to conquer the *Romans*; and by these Means, he wrought on the Affections, or bought the Services, of many petty Nations. With these new Reinforcements, he ventured to penetrate into the Countries under the Protection of *Rome*, and commit Hostilities there. *Asdrubal's* Army consisted of seventy thousand Foot, four thousand five hundred⁹ Horse, and thirty two Elephants, including those *African* Troops which had escaped in the preceding Battels. With this terrible Train, which seemed sufficient to conquer all *Spain*, *Asdrubal* came and encamped near the City of *Silpia*¹¹, otherwise called *Elingas*. There the two *Carthaginian* Generals posted themselves; and were soon reinforced with the *Numidian* Cavalry, which King *Masinissa* brought them in Person. A vast Plain was to be the Field of a new Battel, which the three *African* Chiefs resolved to fight with *Scipio*, as soon as the *Roman* Army took the Field; and in the mean time, this vast Multitude employed themselves in laying Siege to a City, the Name of which is not transmitted to us.

DURING these Motions of the Enemy, *Scipio* was still at *Tarragona*; and when he heard what surprizing Resources *Asdrubal* had found, after so many Misfortunes; this made him sensible, how much *Spain* abounded in Warriors, and with what Constancy they adhered to their first Engagements; and these Reflections gave him Uneasiness. He compared the numerous Army of the *Carthaginians* with the small Number of *Romans* which followed his Standards. It was indeed easy for him to equal his Troops to those of the Enemy in Number, more Countries and Cities having lately declared for him, than continued to adhere to *Carthage*. But he remembered the Misfortunes of his Father and his Uncle. They lost the Victory, and their own Lives, by depending too much on the *Celtiberian* Forces. Yet after all, it was better to swell his Army with these Strangers, than to lead against the Enemy a few *Legions* only, which would appear contemptible for their small Number: And therefore *Scipio* resolved to arm the *Spaniards* in his Turn; but to employ them more for Shew than Use, and to be cautious of relying on them in critical Cases. The *Pro-Consul* deputed *Silanus* to *Colichas*¹² his Ally, to raise a certain Number of Troops in his little Sovereignty. There were twenty eight Cities in it; and *Silanus* found it easy to raise there a Body of three thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. With this Reinforcement, which the *Roman* General could not think a formidable one, he marched from *Tarragona*; received some other Succours from the *Spaniards*, who joined him on the Road; and at length made up an Army of forty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, complete. Nevertheless, the *Romans* were still considerably inferior to their Enemies in Multitude; but the Valour and Conduct of *Scipio* supplied the Place of Numbers.

As soon as he began his March, his Name alone terrified the *Carthaginians*. They broke up the Siege they had begun, and came and encamped near *Bacula*¹³,

⁹ According to *Livy*, *Asdrubal* had but fifty thousand Foot in his Army.

¹⁰ *Polybius* does not exactly agree with *Livy*, as to the Number of the *Carthaginian* Horse; he makes them to have been no more than four thousand. And *Appian* reckons but fifteen hundred Horse, and thirty six Elephants.

¹¹ The City here spoken of, is now no better known by the Name of *Silpia*, than by that of *Elingis*, which *Polybius* gives it. The ancient Geographers have not told us its Situation. But if we judge of it by the Account of the two Historians, since *Scipio* came from *Tarragona*, where he came up with the *Carthaginians*, beyond *Castulo*, *Asdrubal's* Army, which came from *Gades*, must consequently have been encamped on this Side the City

of *Castulo*, on the Confines of *Bætica*; and it will from thence be probable that *Silpia* stood in this Province. But it is not possible to determine exactly where it stood. However, some conjecture it bordered on *Estramadura*, and was not far from *Cordoua*.

¹² Neither *Livy* nor *Polybius*, who speak of this *Spanish* Prince, have told us in what Part of *Spain* this *Colichas*, or *Colcas*, as *Livy* calls him, reigned.

¹³ The City of *Bacula* here spoken of, is a different Place from a City of the same Name, which stood in the Country of the *Oretani*; and of which we have spoken above, B. 32. p. 374. Note 110. It is conjectured that the former bordered on the Eastern Part of *Andalusia*, or *New Castile*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.

Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

App. in Iberic.
Liv. B. 28.

12.
Polyb. B. 11.
c. 18.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.
Q. CÆCILIVS
METELLVS,
L. VETVRIVS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

on the Confines of *Bætica*. In the mean time, *Scipio* still advanced, reached *Castulo*¹⁴, and the Country of the *Oretani*¹⁵, and at length appeared in Sight of the Enemy. The Difficulty was, how to encamp in the same Plain of which *Asdrubal* had already taken Possession, and how to throw up Trenches in Sight of an Army more numerous than his own. *Scipio* foresaw, that the *Carthaginians* would fall upon his Pioneers, and level their Works; and therefore made use of Artifice, and reaped the Advantage the Ground offered him. The Plain on which the *Roman* wanted to encamp was bounded by an Hill, which he must necessarily pass by, before he could enter the Plain. *Scipio* intended to post himself at the Foot of it, with the Hill behind him, and the Enemy before him; and he hid the best of his Cavalry behind the Eminence, out of the Enemy's Sight. But the *Carthaginians* taking it for granted, that all *Scipio's* Army was entered into the Plain, *Mago* and *Masinissa* came with the *Carthaginian* Horse, to fall upon the Men which *Scipio* had set at work, and would have put them into Disorder, if the *Roman* Horse had not come out of their Ambuscade all on a sudden. This unexpected Appearance made the Aggressors retire, and put them into Confusion. The *Carthaginian* Horse indeed, who had not yet charged, kept their Ground; and a Battel ensued with them, which was long disputed. Till at length the *Roman Manipuli* who covered the Pioneers, and even the Workmen themselves, fell briskly on the *Carthaginian* Cavalry, who retreated without the least Confusion. The *Roman* Cavalry pursued them, attacked them in the Rear, and killed a few of them. The thing that most affrighted the *Carthaginians* in the Action, was the Address of the *Romans* in dismounting, and mounting their Horses again, in an instant. The Enemy's Squadrons were confounded to find, that they were to engage with Horsemen, who in a Moment became Foot; and they broke their Ranks, and fled to their Camp; some to the Right, and some to the Left: which gave *Scipio* time to pitch and fortify his Camp without Interruption.

THIS first Engagement was an happy Omen for the *Romans*, and raised their Courage; but it little abated the Ardor of the *Carthaginians* for a general Action. Skirmishes happened every Day after it, as Preludes to a more important Contest. The Generals often drew all their Troops out of their Camps, and formed them near their respective Entrenchments. *Asdrubal* was generally first in the Plain; but *Scipio* always followed his Example; and this great Man knew how to make a good Use of the Sight he every Day saw. He considered the Disposition of the Enemy's Troops, and observing them to be always drawn up in the same Order, he concluded they would observe the same in the Day of Battel; and he regulated his Measures by his Observations. He saw that *Asdrubal* posted his *African* Troops in the Center, and his *Spaniards* in the two Wings, and ranged his Elephants before them, to cover them. And *Scipio* in appearance conformed himself to *Asdrubal's* Dispositions. His *Romans* had always appeared in the Center, and his *Spaniards* in the two Wings: But this was only done to deceive the *Carthaginian* General. He expected to have found his Enemies in the same Order in which he had so often seen them. But *Scipio* concealed his Design so well, that his *Legionaries* themselves were deceived. It was reported in his own Camp, That the *Romans* were to oppose the *Africans*, and the *Spaniards* their Countrymen.

AT length the Day came, when *Scipio* had resolved to enter upon Action in earnest. His Army began to want Provisions in a Country far from the Province that were well affected to the *Romans*. Before Sun-rising, the *Pro-Consul* took great care to order Sacrifices to be made. He always began his Enterprize with some Act of Religion; and he now came from the Altars with that Air of Enthusiasm, which he out of Policy put on, at proper times. A General, said he to his Soldiers, ought to regulate all his Steps by the Decrees of Heaven. If I have been hitherto victorious, it has been wholly owing to my paying ready Obedience to Inspirations. At these Words the credulous Troops took it for granted, that the Gods had revealed the Success of the Battel to their General; and the *Pro-Consul*

¹⁴ The City of *Castulo*, is now but a small Town, on the Confines of *New Castile* and *Andalusia*. *Sanfon* calls it *Castona la Vieta*. But *Brietius* thinks its Situation better answers to that of *Cazorla*, between *New Castile* and the Kingdom of *Granada*.

See above, B. 32. p. 238. Note 57.

¹⁵ The Country of the *Oretani* was a Part the Province now called *New Castile*. See above B. 25. p. 49. of this Volume, Note 113.

to confirm them in this Prejudice, ordered the *Aruspices* to bring him the Entrails of the Victims, in which he found what Prognosticks he pleased, and foretold the Defeat of the Enemy. Nor was this all; the Moment he spoke, some Birds appeared in the Air; and the prudent General turned this Accident to his Advantage. The Gods, said he, *Yes, the Gods themselves send me these winged Messengers, to assure me of their Protection.* This said, he, by extraordinary Contortions and Motions of Body, and loud Shrieks, pretended to be agitated by some Divinity, which he endeavoured to shake off; and then turned round on one Foot, with his Eyes fixed on the Heavens. His Army, after the Example of their General, fixed their Eyes on the same Point as he did, and imitated his Turnings; and these new Tricks gave them yet more Confidence, than the bare Esteem of their General usually inspired them with. They demanded a Battel with great Clamour, being fully persuaded, that they were marching to certain Victory; and *Scipio* did not suffer their Ardor to abate. But first, he made them feed plentifully, lest Hunger and Fatigue should weaken their Bodies, and abate their Courage.

THEN, without Loss of time, *Scipio*, contrary to Custom, appeared first in the Plain; and took particular Care to send light-armed Troops, with his Cavalry, to the Gates of the *Carthaginian* Camp, to insult the Enemy, and to rouse them. *Asdrubal* had hitherto piqued himself upon preventing the *Romans*, and he now made it a Point of Honour to march out against them upon the Spot, without tarrying to refresh his Troops. Whilst the *Carthaginian* Bands were filing off in the Plain, and taking their usual Posts, the *Roman* Cavalry, and light-armed Troops, sustained the Attack of the *Carthaginian* Squadrons, and then returned to their main Body. *Scipio* had already formed it, but in a very different manner than before. He had divided his *Legionaries* into two Bodies; and placed one, which he commanded himself, in the Right Wing; and the other in the Left, under the Command of *Silanus* and *Marcus*. So that the *Romans* were not in the Center as before, but the Levies raised in *Spain* were posted there. By this Disposition, the *Africans* fought the *Spaniards* in the *Roman* Army; and the *Legionaries* fought the *Spaniards* in the *Carthaginian*. That is, the bravest and most experienced of *Scipio's* Troops were set against the weakest, and the least inured to War, of their Enemies. And before the Battel began, the *Pro-Consul* took likewise another Precaution. As fast as his Cavalry, and light-armed Troops, returned from the first Skirmish, he ordered them to enter into his main Body, through the Spaces that separated the several *Corps* of it; and he at first divided them between the two Wings, with Orders to place themselves afterwards at the Point of each Wing. Then his first Line advanced towards the Enemy; and when the two Armies were within the Distance of one *Stadium* from each other, *Scipio* made two Dispositions, which were worthy of the greatest and most able General. In the first place, he ordered the light-armed Troops and Cavalry in the Left Wing to extend themselves to the Left, to take the *Carthaginians* in Flank; commanded the *Manipuli* of the Right Wing to extend themselves to the Right, to surround the Enemy; and directed the light-armed Soldiers, at the Point of the Right Wing, to fill up the Spaces which the *Manipuli* would leave empty by widening; by which means the *Manipuli* passed from the Right Angle of the Right Wing, to the Left Angle of that Wing. The second Disposition was this. He commanded the *Roman Legionaries* of which the two Wings consisted, to advance very fast towards the Enemy; and at the same time ordered the *Spaniards* in his Center to march on very slowly, that they might continue at a Distance from the *Africans*, which were in the Center of the *Carthaginian* Army. *Scipio* also ordered, that the first Line of his main Body should not be drawn up strait, but have several saliant Angles and Breaks in it: So that the *Roman* Army altogether was like a double Squaring-Rule. By this means, only the Wings of both Armies engaged, that is, the *Romans* with the *Spaniards*; and the Centers, or main Bodies of both Armies, that is, the *Africans* in the *Carthaginian*, and the *Spaniards* in the *Roman*, continued unactive: which was a considerable Advantage for *Scipio*. He had reason to fear, that if the two main Bodies engaged, the *Africans*, who had long been inured to War, would be an Overmatch for the new Levies he had made in *Spain*. But now, whilst the two Wings engaged, *Asdrubal's Africans* durst not march on to attack the *Spaniards* under

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

Polyb. B. 11.
c. 20.
Livy, B. 28.
c. 14.

Polyb. B. 11.
c. 21.

Year of *Scipio*, for fear of being surrounded, and attacked in Flank by the two Wings of the *Roman Army*.

DXLVII.

Q. CÆCILIUS

METELLUS.

L. VETURIUS

PHILO, Con-

fuls.

Liv. B. 28.

c. 15.

App. in Iber.

AFTER these wise Precautions, the *Roman General* continued a great while, before he began the Action. It was two in the Afternoon, before a Blow was given on either Side; and this was another Artifice of *Scipio*. He knew the Enemy's Army had taken no Nourishment all the Day; and he therefore let the *Carthaginians* alone in the Heat of the Day, to be worn out with Hunger and Fatigue, before he attacked them. At length he ordered the Onset to be made; and the Orders of the *Pro-Consul* were punctually obeyed. The Troops posted in the Extremities of the *Roman Wings* extended themselves by little and little, and took the Enemy in Flank. After this, the Elephants which were in the Advanced-Guard, covered the *Carthaginian Wings*, and appeared like so many Castles defended by armed Men, were put into Disorder by the light-armed *Romans*. And then the *Legionaries* came to a close Fight, and fell upon the *Spaniards* Sword in Hand. The Slaughter was great in the *Carthaginian Wings*, which were both routed; and then it was time to enter upon Action with their main Body. But here the Battel was fierce, and the Victory long disputed. The *Romans* had to do with old *African Soldiers*, who had had the Experience of many Battels, and who were not easily broken. These made the *Legionaries* sensible of the Prudence of their General, in keeping them a great while idle Spectators of the Battel, without suffering them to have their Share in it. The *Romans*, with all their Valour, could not at first break them. *Scipio* in vain encouraged his disheartened Soldiers. The Slaughter the *Africans*, who were superior in Number, made of them, was already considerable. Nothing but an extraordinary Instance of the greatest Valour could revive his *Legions*, who were discouraged at so dangerous an Attack: and the *Pro-Consul* therefore instantly dismounted, seized a Buckler, and threw himself, Sword in Hand, into the midst of one of the Enemy's Battalions. Follow me, Romans, cry'd he; Follow your General, and deliver him out of his Danger. Then these Words, and the Shame of not daring to do what the *Pro-Consul* had done, together with their Affection for *Scipio*, roused the *Legionaries*. They made a great Shout, followed their General with great Fury, and made a terrible Slaughter. It was now late, and the *Africans* wanted Strength, and Spirits, more than Courage. They were yet fasting; had barely Strength enough to regain their Camp; and Heaven seemed to favour their Escape. So violent a Storm fell, that the *Romans* desisted from pursuing the Enemy, and taking their Camp that Day, and consequently making their Victory complete. *Scipio* mounted his Horse again, and repaired to his own Camp. It must be owned, that he performed Wonders both in Point of Conduct and Valour, in this Battel of *Bæcæ*. And indeed, he seems to have been brave, even to Rashness, if the sudden Sally he made, in dismounting, and running alone, like a private Soldier into the Heat of the Battel, be strictly true: But this Fact is attested by only one Historian.

Livy, B. 28.

c. 15.

As for the *Carthaginians*, they much wanted Rest, after their Retreat; their Fatigue in the Action had been as great as their Loss. But nevertheless, *Asdrubal* put them upon fresh Duty in the Night. He was persuaded, that the Enemy would come early in the Morning to complete their Victory. By Day-Break, said he, we shall see the Romans scaling our Ramparts. Superstition alone prevented their forcing our Trenches, in a Storm which they looked on as an Admonition from Heaven. And therefore to guard against this new Attack, the *Carthaginian General* employed his Troops all Night in fortifying his Camp. He made them fetch Stones from the neighbouring Valleys, and with these he enlarged and strengthened his Ramparts. But these new Works were but a small Comfort to his Army; many of them deserted in the Night. The *Spaniards* especially marched away by Companies; and *Attanes*, a petty Sovereign in the Country of the *Turdetani*¹⁶, signalized his Revolt, by debauching a great Number of his Countrymen, and carrying them off to the Enemy with him. So that *Asdrubal* was under a Necessity of quitting before Day, a Post which he could not possibly preserve. And indeed *Scipio* did not lose one Moment. Before Sun-rising, he appeared at the Enemy's Camp,

¹⁶ The *Turdetani*, an ancient People in Spain, possessed the Territories of *Beta*, and the *Algarves*, and a Part of that of *Seville*, and the Duchy of

Medina Sidonia. See above, B. 29. p. 339. of this Volume, Note 61.

which he found empty. Then he without Delay sent off his Cavalry, who marched with such Expedition, that they would have come up with the Fugitives, if they had not, depending on their Guides, left the Way *Asdrubal* went, to take a shorter to intercept him. They came to the Banks of the *Bætis*, with Design to dispute the passing it with the *Carthaginians*; but *Asdrubal* had all the Circum-spection of a wise General, who was retreating before a victorious Army. He would not venture to cross a River, in sight of a formidable Cavalry, which were followed by all the Enemy's Forces; and therefore turned short, and marched towards the Ocean. By this means, he left some Space between the *Roman Legions* and himself.

BUT this prudent Step only postponed the Misfortunes that threatned *Asdrubal*, without averting them. The *Roman Cavalry* in Conjunction with their light armed Soldiers, followed close after the *Carthaginians*, and sometimes attacked them in the Rear, sometimes surprized them in Flank. On whatever Part of the Enemy they made their Attacks, they fatigued them at least, and retarded their March; till at length *Scipio* had time to come up with the main Body of his Army. And then, it was no longer a pitched regular Battel, but a direct Butchery. *Africans* and *Spaniards* all suffered themselves to be cut in pieces, in a manner without making any Defence: and which is indeed very strange, after this furious Havock, the three Chiefs, *Asdrubal*, *Mago*, and *Masinissa*, had no more than six thousand Men left round them, and those for the most part disarmed. So that their only Refuge was precipitately to gain the Summit of an Hill, and there fortify themselves as well as they could. And indeed, they found it easy enough to defend a Post, to which they had found it difficult to climb up; but it was not so easy to subsist long there. *Asdrubal* also perceived, that this pitiful Remains of his Army lessened insensibly; and he therefore abandoned it in the Night. The Sea was near, he found Ships ready to sail, and he embarked, and was carried to *Gades*. Then he sent back his Ships from thence, and they helped *Mago* to escape, by as cowardly a Flight as his own. But *Masinissa* was more constant. He only of the three continued upon the Hill, and defended the miserable Remains of the *Carthaginian Army*, as well as he could. Nevertheless, it is probable, that from that time he conceived a Dislike for the Party he had chosen. Two perfidious Generals had taken care to secure themselves by an infamous Escape, and had left him alone on the Top of a Rock, to struggle with Famine, and oppose the Enemy with an Handful of vanquished Men.

As for *Scipio*, as soon as informed of the nocturnal Flight of the two chief Commanders of the Army he had destroyed, he concluded that his Presence was no longer necessary in order to reduce a small Body of the Enemy. So that he left *Silanus* with a Detachment round the invested Hill, to complete this Expedition, and set out himself for *Tarragona*. As he passed on, he found the *Spaniards* better disposed than ever; confirmed them in their Alliances with him; and was more delighted with the Conquest of so many Hearts, than with all his bloody Victories. A few Days after the Departure of the *Pro-Consul*, *Silanus* had a private Interview with *Masinissa*. This prudent and valiant King of *Numidia* was a Prince of great Probity. He observed it to shine most conspicuously in the Conduct of the *Romans*; and was tired with having suffered so much by the Subtleties and Perfidiousness of his Allies. We know not exactly the Conditions of his Engagement with *Rome*; but it is certain he bound himself to her by such Ties as proved indissoluble. He never broke the Union into which he entered with her, but continued faithful to her, if I may so speak, even after his Decease. The Effects of his good Understanding with *Silanus* immediately appeared. The Troops he commanded on the Rock had leave to disperse, and settle in different Countries in *Spain*; whilst *Masinissa* himself retired, and turned his Thoughts from that time, to make proper Dispositions in his own Territories, to support the Party he had newly embraced.

§. IV. THUS the Conquest of *Spain* was almost finished, and *Rome* had scarce any more Enemies there. It was now thirteen Years since the Father of young *Scipio* had first made War in these Parts, sometimes with Success, sometimes with Disadvantage. But the Son had been only five Years engaged in it, and in that short Space had driven out the *Carthaginians*, and made himself Master of all the Nations

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.

Q. CECILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VERURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

App. in Iber.

Livy, B. 28.
c. 16.

Year of Nations in these Kingdoms. It was necessary, that this unexpected Progress should be made known to the *Roman* Senate and People; and the *Pro-Consul* sent his Brother *Lucius* with the News to *Rome*. All People there were in Admiration at so rapid a Conquest; and the Conqueror was the only Person who was not satisfied with what he had done. His Views were so great, that he looked on the Reduction of *Spain* only as a Specimen of what he intended one day to perform. *Laelius* upon his Return from *Italy* had told *Scipio*, that the Republick was inclined to send him over into *Africa*, there to return upon *Carthage* all the Misfortunes *Hannibal* had brought upon *Rome*; and *Scipio* therefore lost no time, in endeavouring to pave the Way for his Arrival in *Africa*, by Negotiations with the Kings near *Carthage*. This was indeed looking a great Way forward, and building on an Event which was yet uncertain: But it is the Part of an Hero to extend his Views beyond the reach of vulgar Minds. *Scipio* then employed his leisure Hours in forming Designs, which might have a very good Effect in their Season. He knew that *Syphax*, King of the *Masæsylians*, whose Dominions were divided from *Spain* only by a narrow Passage of the Sea, was a powerful Prince. His Kingdom, which lay over-against *New Carthage*, was bounded on one Side by *Numidia Propria*, and on the other by ¹⁷ *Mauritania Tingitana*. He was indeed then in an Alliance with *Carthage*; but the Treaties of *African* Princes were not indissoluble. Their Fidelity in keeping them depended entirely on their present Interest. And therefore *Scipio* first cast his Eyes on *Syphax*. To bring him over to the *Romans*, was to deprive *Carthage* of one of her best Supports, and to strengthen *Rome* with a powerful Ally. With these Views the *Pro-Consul* sent a faithful Agent to him, to endeavour, by his Eloquence and Presents, to bring over the *Numidian* King to the Interests of *Rome*. This Envoy was his dear *Laelius*, the most faithful, and most able Minister, whom he could have entrusted with the Affair. *Laelius* was heard, and his Arguments wrought Conviction; but he concluded nothing. *Syphax* was convinced, that it was his Interest to join with *Rome*, rather than *Carthage*. The Affairs of *Hannibal* in *Italy* were disconcerted; and those of *Asdrubal*, in *Spain*, ruined. But after all, *Laelius* was but a Subaltern in *Scipio's* Army; and the *Numidian* insisted, that for the greater Safety, he would treat with no body but the General himself; demanded a personal Conference with *Scipio*; and protested, That if he would come into *Numidia*, he should be received there with Honour, and dismissed with Satisfaction.

Appian. in Ibericis.

Livy, B. 28. c. 17.

In the mean time, *Laelius's* Embassy was soon known at *Carthage*; and the *African* Republick was too watchful of her own Interests, not to oppose the Negotiations of the *Roman*. She, in her Turn, sent Ambassadors, to keep *Syphax* steady in her Cause; and whilst they were residing at the *Numidian* King's Court, *Scipio* resolved to go thither in Person, to finish his Treaty with *Syphax*. The Enterprize was very dangerous. *Scipio* must not only run the Hazards of the Passage; but venture the Unfaithfulness of a King who was a Barbarian, and who would become Master of his Life and Liberty. But his great Mind raised him above all Danger. He got every thing ready for his Departure; and gave proper Orders for the Management of all Affairs during his Absence. He left the brave *Marcus* at *Tarragona*, with a Part of his Troops, to guard that Part of *Spain* which is on this Side the *Ebro*; and he sent *Silanus* with the rest of his Army to *New Carthage*, in order to keep in Subjection that Part of *Spain* which is most distant from the *Pyrenees*. Then he equipped two *Quinqueremes*, which were equally built for rowing and sailing; took *Laelius* with him; and sailed from *New Carthage*. The Winds, and his Rowers, soon brought him in Sight of the Coasts of *Africa*; but an unexpected Incident had like to have proved fatal to him, just as he was entering the Port. The Fugitive *Asdrubal* was just arrived in the Capital of King *Syphax*, with seven *Triremes* from *Gades*; and his Ships lay at Anchor in the Port. From thence the *Carthaginians* on Board saw *Scipio's* two *Quinqueremes* out at Sea; instantly cried out, *To Arms*; prepared for a Battel, ranged their Rowers, assembled their Soldiers, and made all haste to weigh Anchor. But as these Mo-

¹⁷ *Mauritania Tingitana* was so called from the Name of the City of *Tingi*, or *Tangier*, formerly the most considerable City in the Country. The best

Geographers say, it comprehended the present Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*.

tions were made in a hurry, *Scipio's* Gallies had time, by the Help of a favourable Wind, to enter the Port; where they were safe under the Protection of the King. Thus *Asdrubal* and *Scipio* landed, almost at the same time, and were conducted together to the Palace of *Syphax*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.

Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

NEVER was there a more agreeable, or more glorious Sight, to the King of the *Masæsylians*. He saw at his Court, two illustrious Generals of the two most powerful Nations in the World. Both came to court his Alliance; and both had been accidentally brought into his Ports the same Day. *Syphax* at first put on the Air and Deportment of a Mediator. After he had invited both, in the same Manner, to the best Hospitality he could shew them, he lodged them both under the same Roof, and in Apartments near each other. Nor was this all. The King endeavoured to draw them to a Conference, to treat amicably of an Accommodation. But *Scipio* excused himself. *I never had*, said he, *any personal Enmity to Asdrubal; neither has my Republick charged me with any Commission to treat of a Peace with him.* And this the King allowed to be a valid Excuse. However, he desired that *Scipio* would at least take his Place at his Table with *Asdrubal*. *It is not decent*, said he, *that either of you should be excluded from it; neither is it for my Honour, that two of the greatest Men in Rome and Carthage should eat any where but at my Table.* *Scipio* accepted the Offer with Dignity, and came, upon the King's Invitation: And that there might be no Distinction made between the two Generals, *Syphax* placed them both upon the same Bed. Then *Scipio* appeared as much superior to *Asdrubal* at Table, as he had been in the Plains of *Becula*. He distinguished himself, by his Politeness and Discretion. *Roman* Manners were yet unknown in *Numidia*; and *Syphax* was charmed with them. He took Pleasure in keeping up a Conversation between two Rivals, who had so long contended with each other in *Spain*; and in every Instance, the Prudence and Modesty of the *Roman* far outshone those of the *Carthaginian*. *Asdrubal* himself was so sensible of it, that he cried out, *What a Man is this Scipio! he is as formidable at an Entertainment, as at the Head of an Army.* And if this Confession, from an Enemy, did Honour to the *Roman*, it must be allowed, that it likewise reflected some on the *Carthaginian*. He was heard to say, That he despaired of succeeding in his Negotiation; That *Scipio* had irresistible Charms to gain the Affections; That his Moderation had contributed as much to his Conquest of *Spain*, as his Sword; That it was time for *Carthage* to think of keeping *Africa* out of his Hands; That his Voyages were not Voyages of Pleasure; That he had not crossed the Seas with so much Danger, but with a View to reigning in the Minds of the *Africans*; and lastly, That *Scipio* had taken quite other Measures in *Spain*, than *Hannibal* had done in *Italy*. And the *Carthaginian* divined right. The King of the *Masæsylians* was so charmed with *Scipio*, that he entered into a secret Treaty with him, which it is probable the *Numidian* would have religiously observed, if the Passion he afterwards conceived for *Sophonisba* (an Adventure which we shall relate in its Place) had not made him unfaithful to the *Romans*. At present, the King shewed his Attachment to the *Pro-Consul*, by the sincerest Acts of Friendship. Lest he should be attacked at Sea by *Asdrubal's* seven Gallies, *Syphax* kept the *Carthaginians* with him, and amused them till *Scipio* was returned safe to *Spain*. The two *Quinqueremes* of the *Romans* were for some time tossed about in a Storm; but at length reached the Port of *New Carthage*.

Zonaras, B. 9.
c. 10.
Livy, B. 28.
c. 18.

App. in Iber.

Livy, B. 28.
c. 18.

App. in Iber.

§. V. *SCIPIO* found *Spain* in the same Tranquillity and Obedience in which he left it. Nothing remained now, but to punish the Nations who had formerly been rebellious, and keep the subdued *Spaniards* to their Duty, by remarkable Examples of Severity. Two Cities, among the rest, had signally shewn their Perfidiousness to *Rome*. One was *Illiturgis*, the other *Castulo*; but the former had been most faulty. After the Death of the two *Scipio's*, she had either delivered up to the Enemy, or massacred, the *Romans* that fled to her for Refuge; as to a City in Amity with them. The latter had only gone over to the *Carthaginians*. And the time was now come for punishing the one for her Revolt, the other for her Inhumanity. To this End, *Scipio* divided his Army into two Bodies, and marched it against them. *Marcus*, now recalled from *Tarragona*, was charged with the Siege of *Castulo*; and the *Pro-Consul*, in five Days March, came from *New Carthage*.

Livy, B. 28.
c. 19.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.

Q. CECILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

thage to ¹⁷ *Illiturgis*. He took it for granted, he should find the Gates shut, and the *Spaniards* upon the defensive; and therefore encamped near the City, and addressed himself to his Soldiers, in this manner. *By resolving to sustain our Attacks, the Illiturgians publickly own their Crime. Their own Conscience stings them; and the Remembrance of their Perfidiousness drives them to Despair. Judge then, by their own Fears, what Treatment they have deserved. The Carthaginians have felt the Effects of your Valour, tho' you fought them without a personal Hatred to them. They were your Rivals in Glory, whose Virtue deserved your Esteem. But you are now only going to punish Traitors. Had you fallen into their Hands, you would have been treated with the same Inhumanity as your Countrymen were. The present Affair is rather a Matter of Vengeance, than of Glory.* Thus spake *Scipio*, and then divided his Troops into two Bodies, to form two Attacks. *Laelius* was to command in one, and himself in the other. As for the Besieged, they wanted no Motive to make them valiant. Rage, and the Fear of Punishment, supplied the Place of natural Bravery. They could but die, and it was much better to do so in a Battel, than in the midst of Torments. So that they all ran to the Ramparts, and none declined the common Danger. The Women brought the Stones the Men threw on the Besiegers; and the Children supplied the Besieged with Darts. The Assault was vigorous, and several times repeated, on different Days, but without Success; insomuch that the *Romans* were almost discouraged by it. *Scipio* was ashamed to see one single City hold out against the Conqueror of a great Kingdom; and animated his disheartened Troops more by his Example than his Words. He took a Scaling-Ladder himself, planted it against the Wall, and mounted it. The brave General being wounded between the Head and Shoulders with an Arrow, ordered himself to be carried back to his Camp; and his Wound doubled the Ardour of his Soldiers. Scaling-Ladders were raised against all Parts of the Wall, and the Assault was general. *Laelius* encouraged the Assailants, and his Rage gave Force to his Exhortations. At length, they gained the Tops of the Ramparts, and the Citadel itself fell into the Hands of the Besiegers. It seemed inaccessible, and the Enemy had posted few Men in it to defend it. Being situated on a steep Rock of a prodigious Height, and that Rock scarped, there was no Hold for any one to climb up it. Nevertheless, a Company of *Africans*, who deserted from *Asdrubal's* Army, undertook to mount it. No Ladder could reach so high; and they supplied the Want of them by great Nails, and Cramps of Iron, which they fixed into the Rock at certain Distances; and their Lightness and Activity of Body were of great Service to them. They who mounted first lent their Fellows their Hands; and they who followed, supported those before them. In short, they got up to the Top of the Rock, and made themselves Masters of the Citadel. And then it appeared that the Conquerors were wholly actuated by a Spirit of Revenge. They destroyed every thing with Fire and Sword, without giving themselves any Concern about the Plunder. The Men, Women, and Children were put to the Sword, and the Houses burnt. What the Flame spared, was pulled down; and nothing remained of this great City, but Ruins.

Zonaras, B. 9.
c. 10.
App. in Illyr.

Liv. B. 28.
c. 19.

BUT *Castulo* did not undergo so severe a Fate; and indeed, her Offence was less. The Approach of *Scipio*, and the utter Destruction of *Illiturgis*, struck her Inhabitants with Terror, and caused Divisions among them. Tho' they were defended by a Garrison of the Remains of the *Carthaginian* Forces, under the Command of *Himilco*, the wisest voted for submitting to the Conqueror. *Cerdubellus* declared openly for surrendering the Place. Nay, *Himilco* privately capitulated with the *Romans*, unknown to the Inhabitants, and at last obtained better Treatment for them than had been shewn *Illiturgis*.

§. VI. FROM *Castulo*, the Pro-Consul sent *Marcus*, with some of his Lieutenant Generals, to punish such of the *Spaniards* as persisted in their Adherence to *Carthage*, and to take under the Protection of *Rome*, such Cities as would submit to

¹⁸ *Illiturgis*, or *Illurgis*, was one of the Cities of the *Turduli*, in old *Bætica*. There is Reason to believe it stood near the Place which the *Spaniards* now call *Andujar il Viejo*. The old *Itineraries*, and an ancient Marble dug up in the Place, prove

it. This Marble has the following Inscription ORDO ILLITURGITANORUM IMPENSAM FUNERI DECREVIT. Nevertheless, others place this ancient City near *Jacn*.

her. *Marcus's* Army passed the *Bætis*, and took Possession of two opulent Cities which opened their Gates to him. From them he went and appeared before *Astapa*, a City so extremely devoted to the *Carthaginian* Interest, that she had at all times signalized her Zeal by Murders and Robberies, committed not only upon the Allies of *Rome*, but the *Romans* themselves. The Inhabitants marched out in Companies, made Incursions in the Lands of their Neighbours, and laid Ambuscades for the *Roman* Merchants and Purveyors. But the City of *Astapa* was not strong, either by Nature or Art; whence the Inhabitants had little Hopes of preserving it. Besides, they were afraid their past Faults were too great to be pardoned. So that Fear and Obstinacy made them chuse to act a Part which might be called Constancy, but rather deserved the Name of Madness. These desperate Men brought their Moveables, and threw them in an Heap in the Market-place; placed their Wives and Children at the Top of the Pile; and surrounded the whole with Faggots, and other combustible things. Then they chose out fifty of their most faithful Citizens, to guard this dear *Depositum*; and gave them this Charge. *Be assured, we either will repulse the Romans, or all perish in the Attempt. If we are overcome, upon the first News of the Approach of the Enemy, save the Honour and Liberty of our Wives and Children. Let the Loss of Life free them from the Insults and Slavery of the Romans. First make use of your Swords, and then of Fire, to rescue these Remains of an unfortunate City, from Infamy or Captivity.* Thus spake these Madmen, and required of the Guardians of their Wives and Children, a Promise, confirmed by the most inviolable Oaths, that they would literally put their last Wills in Execution.

AFTER these cruel Measures had been taken, the *Astapani* did not amuse themselves with defending their Walls, and prolonging their Misery by the slow Progress of a Siege. They opened their Gates, and marched out in good Order to give Battel. The *Romans* were yet in their Camp, not expecting so rash a Sally: And *Marcus* at first detached only a Body of Cavalry and light-armed Men. But these Troops could not stand before Men determined to die. It was necessary to arm in haste some of the *Legionary Manipuli*; who advanced briskly against the Enemy. Nevertheless, the inconsiderate Valour of the *Astapani* a little shocked even these brave Men; but the *Romans*, who fought regularly, soon surrounded these wild Beasts, who fought without any Order, and came to run upon the Points of the Enemy's Darts. They sought Death, and they found it. Not one of these Desperadoes escaped; and the News of this general Massacre produced another in the Center of the City, which was much more worthy of Compassion. The Children and Wives of the *Astapani* submitted their Throats to the fatal Steel; and their Blood, which streamed on all Parts of the Wood of the Pile, prevented its taking Fire for some Moments. But at length, the Flame took, and the fifty Executioners of this cruel Butchery faithfully discharged their Oaths, threw themselves into the Flames, and were there consumed. *Marcus* entered *Astapa*, and beheld this tragical Scene with great Astonishment. All the Gold and Silver in the City had been laid in an Heap under the Moveables; and some of the most greedy of the Soldiers tried to seize some of it. But they were either destroyed, or greatly hurt by the Fire. However, *Marcus* at least saw by it, how far the Resolution of the *Spaniards* would carry them. Their Courage knew no Bounds; and had their Magnanimity been regulated by Art and sound Morals, they had been invincible. These military Executions brought all those Parts of *Spain*, which had been in the Interest of *Carthage*, into Subjection to *Rome*. In all this vast Continent, the only Place that held out against her was the City of *Gades*; where *Mago* still resided with *Masinissa*, whose Heart was already intirely *Roman*.

§. VII. WHILST *Marcus* was thus executing Vengeance on the rebellious Nations, *Scipio* was already returned to *New Carthage*. His first Care there was to honour the *Manes* of his Father and Uncle, who had begun the Reduction of *Spain*. Their Death had paved the Way for his new Conquest. Besides, he had made a Vow to entertain the People with a Fight of Gladiators, to their Honour;

¹⁹ The City of *Astapa* is thought to be the same that is now called *Eslepa*. It stands on the Borders of the Kingdom of *Granada*, and *Andalusia*.

Morales pretends, that there are some Ruins of this City found near the Head of the *Xelin*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.

Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

App. in Iber.
Liv. B. 28.
c. 22.

Year of and this Shew was now very seasonable. Nothing could be more agreeable to
 R O M E a victorious Army, than to see Blood spilt. The *Athletæ* who entered the List
 DXLVII. to dispute the Prize, were not merely Slaves, or some of those vile Wretches
 Q. CÆCILIUS who sell their Lives to entertain the Publick. But they were brave Men, who of
 METELLUS, fered themselves voluntarily, without any Motive but the Glory of conquering
 L. VETURIUS Nay, the little Kings in the Neighbourhood helped to celebrate these Games, by
 PHILO, Con- sending some of their Subjects to them, to shew the Address and Valour of the
 fuls. *Spaniards*. Among the *Roman* Soldiers, some offered to fight, purely to please
 the General; others became Gladiators out of Emulation, and by being challenged.
 And lastly, some others sought to end their personal Quarrels by Duels, which
 were permitted at no other time. Among these, there were two Cousin-Germans,
 of an illustrious Birth, who contended for the Sovereignty of a City named *Lacibis* ²⁰. Their Names were *Corbis*, and *Orsua*. The Father of the latter had
 obtained the Dominion of the City by the Death of his elder Brother, the Father
 of *Corbis*. *Orsua* therefore pretended that he ought to be continued in the Pos-
 session which his Father had had; and *Corbis* that he ought to succeed to the
 Rights of his Father. *Scipio* did his utmost to terminate the Dispute, without Vio-
 lence. But the two *Spaniards* were obstinately bent to have no Judge but *Mars*;
 and not to end the Dispute without Blood. A strange Love of reigning in so
 small a District! The two Relations chose rather to expose themselves a publick
 Spectacle, and mix with Gladiators, than end their Debates amicably. *Orsua*,
 the younger, was more untractable, and more robust. *Corbis*, the elder, had more
 Experience in fighting, and came off victorious. He eluded the fiery Impetuosity
 of his Rival, and by his Address overcame him. To these bloody Shews, *Scipio*
 also added all other funeral Ceremonies, which were used to be performed at the
 Obsequies of Great ²¹ Men.

§. VIII. DURING

²⁰ In the printed Copies, this City is called *Ibis*; but it is probable the Historian meant *Lacibis*, which *Ptolomy* places in the Country of the *Turduli*. These People possessed the Country which now makes the Territory of *Gordona*, the Bishoprick of *Granada*, and Part of *Estramadura*. *Sanfon* thinks the City of *Lacibis* stood where we now see a Place which the *Spaniards* call *Torre de la Cevada*, in *Andalusia*.

²¹ Nevertheless, *Mago* still kept the Field with a small Body of *Celtiberian* Mercenaries, but being forced to give way to the Valour of *Marcins*, who incessantly pursued him, he lost about fifteen hundred Men. The rest dispersed, and *Mago* being abandoned by all his Men, had no Refuge, but in Flight. And *Hanno*, who then commanded several *Spanish* Battalions, met with as severe a Fate. Upon the Sight of the *Roman* Army, he had entrenched himself on an Eminence; and was invested on all Sides. The few Provisions he had were soon consumed; and then his Troops, compelled by Famine, demanded to capitulate. Some Deputies were sent, in their Names, to *Marcins*, to settle the Articles of Capitulation. But before the *Roman* General would grant any thing, he demanded, by way of Preliminary, that *Hanno*, and all Deserters, should be delivered up to him, and the Prisoners of War set at Liberty. This was agreed to; and the *Spanish* Soldiers immediately seized *Hanno*, and the Deserters, whom they delivered up to the *Romans*. After this, *Marcins* required a Sum to be immediately paid, by way of Ransom for the Enemy's Troops; but he would not receive it, till *Hanno's* Battalions had left the Rock, and were come down in the Plain. *Eminenciet*, said he, *ill sit Persons reduced so low as to become Suppliants*. This was adding Insult to Severity. Nevertheless, there was a Necessity of submitting to all, rather than perishing with Hunger and War. When he saw these *Spanish* Battalions, *Marcins*, with an angry Countenance, reproached them with their Perfidiousness. *You have deserved Death*, said he, *by following the Ensigns of Hanno, contrary to the Interests of Spain*,

your common Country. It has submitted to the Dominion of the Romans, and you, like Traitors, have not been afraid to be unfaithful to your lawful Masters, and sell your Services to the declared Enemy of Rome, and your own Nation. Nevertheless, I will shew you Favour. Go wherever you please. But lay down your Arms; I insist on that as the Condition of your Liberty. This raised the Pride of the *Spaniards*; and they all exclaimed against such shameful Treatment. Nay, they preferred a glorious Death to the ignominious State to which the proud Conqueror would have reduced them; and, animated by a noble Despair, threw themselves into the midst of *Marcins's* Troops, Sword in hand, and ran wherever their Fury led them. The Battel was bloody on both Sides; but at length most of the *Spaniards* were cut in pieces, after they had sold their Lives very dear. They who escaped fled to *Mago* for Refuge; and he, hearing of *Hanno's* Misfortune, went over to *Gades*, where he was destitute of all Succours of Men and Provisions. Nevertheless, he resolved to wait there for a Turn of Fortune, and a favourable Opportunity to recover the *Carthaginian* Affairs in Spain.

Whilst *Marcins* was exterminating the miserable Remains of the *Carthaginian* Party, *Scipio* besieged *Castacia*, a City of *Andalusia*, whose Situation is as unknown to the Geographers, as its Name. Being informed of the Design of the Townsmen to capitulate, he suspended the Attacks, and all Acts of Hostility, for some Days, to give them time to deliberate. But the *Carthaginian* Garrison persisted in sustaining a Siege, in spite of the Inhabitants. Upon this, the latter ran to Arms, threw themselves among the Soldiers, and gave no Quarter. After this cruel Butchery, the Citizens opened the Gates to *Scipio*; and when the General had placed a new Garrison in the City; he, to shew his Gratitude to the Inhabitants, gave the Government to one of them, who had the greatest Reputation for Valour and Probity. After this Expedition, *Silinus* and *Marcins* separated on the Coasts, and pillaged all Places that adhered to the *African* Republick. These Circumstances we

§. VIII. DURING these Transactions, some Deserters arrived at *New Carthage*, from *Gades*; and proposed to the *Pro-Consul*, to attempt to reduce this only City, which remained in the *Carthaginian* Interest. They promised to put the *Romans* in Possession of *Gades*, the *African* Garrison, and *Mago* their Commander. This Brother of *Hannibal* had picked up some Ships in the Ocean, and brought them to the Port of *Gades*; and by the Assistance of a different *Hanno* from him, who had been transported to *Rome*, had raised some Troops in the *Spanish* Provinces. *Scipio* thought it necessary to clear the whole Country of the *Carthaginians*. To take *Gades*, was to put the last Hand to his Conquest; and he therefore did not neglect the Proposal of the *Gaditani*. The General depended on the Fidelity of these *Spaniards*; and upon their Words, sent *Marcus* with some Troops, and *Lælius* with a Squadron, to carry on the Enterprize by Sea and Land.

MAGO had encamped his new Levies, to the Number of four thousand Men, in Entrenchments without the City, and commanded them in Person. These Forces were not considerable; but it was in some sort re-establishing the *Carthaginian* Arms in a Country, where the *Romans* had utterly extirpated them: And the *Pro-Consul* deprived *Asdrubal's* Party of this their last Resource. *Marcus* fell upon this little Camp of the Enemy, drove him out of it, pursued them in their Flight with his Cavalry, and forced *Mago* to retire into the City. So that nothing remained, but to make himself Master of it. But the Squadron *Lælius* commanded was necessary in order to this, and it was not arrived. The *Roman* Fleet was at *Carteia*²², a little beyond *The Streights of Gades*, when the Inhabitants, who had engaged to deliver up their City, were discovered. Upon this, *Mago* immediately rid himself of these Traitors, and sent them to *Carthage* in *Africa* to be tried. He put them on Board a *Quinqueremis*, which was attended by eight *Triremes*, commanded by *Adherbal*. The *Quinqueremis*, which was heavier, and a slower Sailer, was sent before, and *Adherbal* followed at a little Distance. But the Ship which carried the *Gaditani* was scarce entered *The Streights*, before *Lælius* with his *Quinqueremis*, and seven Galleys, fell on the eight *Triremes* of *Adherbal*. *Lælius* took it for granted, that the *Quinqueremis* of *Adherbal*, which was before, would be of no Service in the Battel. She was advanced far into *The Streights*, and the Tide must hinder her veering about, and presenting her Prow to the *Roman* Ships. *Adherbal*, who saw the Inconvenience, and thereby found himself to be the weakest, deliberated whether he should ply his Oars to come up with his *Quinqueremis*, or present his *Prows* to *Lælius*, and fight him. This Deliberation produced Delay; and the Delay brought on the Action. *Lælius's* Squadron was already within reach of the *Carthaginian* Galleys; and *Adherbal* likewise laboured under another Inconvenience. The Flux of the Ocean being ready to enter *The Streights*, and the Billows being larger than usual on *The Mediterranean*, he could not readily manage his Galleys, and guide them with the Rudders. So that his Crews had much Difficulty to overcome the Waves, and turn their *Prows* to the Enemy. The Battel was therefore begun to *Adherbal's* Disadvantage. Sometimes one Current bore some *Carthaginian* Galleys on the Enemy who were strongest, and already victorious. Sometimes another Current drew others from them, and forced them to fly against their Wills. Oftentimes a *Carthaginian Triremis* turned only her

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.
Q. CÆCILIVS
METELLVS,
L. VETURIVS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

we have borrowed from *Appian*; and 'tis pity they cannot be connected with the historical Facts mentioned by *Polybius* and *Livy*, which we have inserted in the Text. But nevertheless, the Reader will acknowledge our Exactness in completing the *Roman* History, and giving him a View of all that the Historians of old *Rome* say, even when they do not agree among themselves, in the Course of Events.

²² It is certain, according to *Livy*, that the City of *Carteia* here spoken of, stood on the Coast of the Ocean, almost at the Entrance into *The Streights of Gibraltar*, near Mount *Calpe*, which the Moors call *Gabal-Tarick*. Many Geographers, among the rest, *Pliny*, *Mela*, *Ptolomy*, *Antoninus*, and *Stephens*, give this City the Name of *Tartessus*. And if that was its Name, it must have been different from another *Tartessus*, which stood in an Island between

the Mouths that the *Bætis*, or *Guadalquivir*, formerly had. It was afterwards swallowed up by the Sea, with the Island in which it stood. As to *Carteia*, which *Appian* calls *Carpestus*, the Moderns are not agreed as to its ancient Situation. Some will have it to have stood near the Place where *Tariffa* now stands. Others, as *Morales*, contend for *Algezira*; and some, with less probability, bring it near *Conil*, and even *Cartagena*. *Polybius* and *Livy*, in other Places, speak of another City called *Carteia*, which was the Capital of the *Olcades*, a People who are said to have lived near *New Carthage*. See above, p. 40 of this Volume, Note 94. Add to this, that *Livy's* Words favour the Situation we have given *Carteia*, near *Hercules's* Pillars. They are these. *Lælius interim freta in Oceanum evectus, ad Carteam Classe accessit. Urbs ea in Ora Oceani sita est, ubi primum saucibus angustis panditur mare.*

Year of Flank to the Beak of the Enemy's Galley. In short, the Violence of the Waves, and the different Currents, bore a greater Part in the Action, than the usual Art of fighting with Galleys. Nevertheless, the *Quinqueremis*, on Board which *Lælius* was, determined the Dispute of the two Squadrons. As she was larger, stronger, heavier, and better provided with Rowers, than the *Carthaginian Triremes*, she was driven against two of these Ships, and sunk them. Then she grazed, with the same Impetuosity, so near another of the Enemy's Galleys, that she broke all the Oars on one Side; and she had done more Mischief, if *Adherbal* had not sailed off, and made use of the Wind, to gain *Carthage*. As for *Lælius*, he returned to the Port of *Carteia*. He had learnt, that the Design on *Gades* had been discovered; and That the Conspirators were on their Way to *Carthage*. He gave *Marcus* notice of it; advised him to lead back his Land-Forces to *New Carthage*; and took the Road thither himself. After their Departure, *Mago* had time to breathe, and *Gades* still continued subject to the *Carthaginians*.

ROM E
DXLVII.
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS.
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

App. in Iberi-
cis.
Zonaras, B. 9.
c. 10.
Livy, B. 28.
c. 24.

§. IX. AND now it appeared, how necessary *Scipio's* Presence was, both to preserve his new Conquest, and to maintain Discipline in the Army. The *Pro-Consul* was dangerously sick; and Fame soon made his Case worse than it was. It was first reported, that he was dying; then, that he was dead; and when these Rumours had reached those Parts of *Spain* which were most remote from *New Carthage*, they had the same Effect on the *Spaniards* in Alliance with *Rome*, and on the *Roman* Soldiers. The latter thought of deserting, the former of revolting. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had embraced the *Roman* Interest, purely in hopes of being able to invade all *Spain*. They concluded, That with *Scipio's* Assistance, they should first be able to drive out the *Carthaginians*; and That then *Rome* would leave them Masters of her Conquests, and Lords of the Country. However, in *Scipio's* Lifetime, they had not been able to execute this Design; but now they thought him dead, and their Covetousness revived. They were so blinded with their Ambition, that they presumed they should be able to drive the *Romans* out of *Spain*, as the latter had done the *Carthaginians*. The two petty *Spanish* Kings began with making the ²³ *Lacetani* their Subjects take up Arms, and then stirring up against *Rome* the *Celtiberians* ²⁴, a turbulent Nation, and eternal Enemy to the *Roman* Name. Nor was this all. *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* committed Hostilities in the Provinces in Alliance with *Rome*; and laid waste the Fields of the *Suesetani* ²⁵, and *Sedetani* ²⁶. But we shall soon see their Audaciousness punished, and their Designs brought to nought.

NOR did even the *Roman* Troops behave themselves more dutifully upon the News of the Death of their General. Eight thousand Men were then encamped on the Banks of the *Sucro* ²⁷, separate from the main Body of the *Roman* Army. *Scipio* had posted them there to keep the *Spanish* Clans near *Tarragona* in Awe; and whilst the War had lasted, military Discipline had been kept up in their Camp. They were often upon Action; and the Incursions they were ordered to make in the Enemy's Country, kept them obedient to the Laws of their Commanders. But since the Peace, Inaction had made them insolent; and Neglect of Duty was the least of their Faults. They made loud Murmurs, that Provisions were not so plenty in their Camp, as when they went and fetched them themselves from the Enemy's Fields, in time of War; and these Dispositions to revolt were fomented, by the Reports of the extreme Danger in which *Scipio* lay. These idle Soldiers whispered among one another; *If the Conquest of Spain is finished, what do we do here? Why are not we suffered to return to Rome?* Their secret Murmurs soon grew up into open Complaints, and they demanded their Pay with more Insolence than usual. Nay, the Centinels threw sharp Darts at their *Tribunes*, in the Night, as they were taking their Rounds. In the Day-time, they went out of the Camp without Leave, and pillaged the Lands of the Friends of *Rome*. There was no

²³ The *Lacetani* inhabited the Eastern Part of *Catalonia*, as we have observed above, p. 59 of this Volume, Note 18.

²⁴ The *Celtiberi*, a People originally of *Gallia Celtica*, dwelt beyond the *Ebro*, in the Western Part of *Arragon*, and reached as far as to the North-East Part of *New Castille*, on the Side of *Segura*. See above, p. 79. Note 48.

²⁵ See what we have said of the *Suesetani* above.

²⁶ The Country of the *Sedetani*, or *Hedetani*, reached into the South Part of *Arragon*, and included Part of the Kingdom of *Valencia*.

²⁷ The River *Sucro*, now the *Xucar*, rises near *Cuenca*, and runs into the *Mediterranean*, at a little distance from *Gandia*.

more Discipline, or Obedience, among them. The little Deference they yet paid their *Tribunes*, was wholly founded in the Hopes of bringing them also into the Revolt. They went to receive Orders at their Tents, and mounted Guard in their Turns. But the Seditious soon lost all Hopes of drawing their Officers into the Plot. They judged it impracticable, from the Reproofs they received for any Neglect of Duty, and from the Precautions taken to put a stop to their Disorders; and then they no longer kept any Measures. The Mutineers drove their *Tribunes* out of the Camp, and chose new Officers. These were only private Men, the Heads of the Sedition. The first was one *C. Albinus Calenus*; and the second, one *Atrius Umbrus*. These two insolent Men usurped the *Consular* Army to themselves, put on the Ornaments of the *Consular* Dignity, and ordered *Lictors* to walk before them. The mad Fellows did not consider, that the Rod and Axes which they ordered to be carried before them, would soon serve to punish their Revolt.

THESE new kind of Generals forged many Chimera's in their own Heads. They took it for granted, that the Death of *Scipio* would put all *Spain* into a Flame. Upon uncertain Reports, they concluded, that the time was come, for making themselves amends for what they had suffered by Scarcity, and for raising Taxes in the neighbouring Cities, or pillaging them. And at all Adventures, they promised themselves Impunity for their Exactions, from the great Number of the Offenders. In the mean time, the Seditious expected every Day to receive Answers from *New Carthage*, to confirm the Death of the *Pro-Consul*; but they never came. They began to seek for the first Authors of the Report of *Scipio's* Death; and then they who had invented the News began to declare, that their only Fault was being too credulous. *We believed*, said they, *what others reported*. Upon which the two new *Camp-Consuls* began not to value themselves so much upon their Dignity. They dreaded the Vengeance of a lawful Authority; so that all Commotions immediately ceased; and an unaccountable Stupefaction seized all the Minds of the Soldiers. This was their Situation when they received certain Intelligence, that the *Pro-Consul* was perfectly recovered; and to their much greater Surprize, they soon saw seven *Legionary Tribunes* arrive in the Camp, to restore those who had been driven away. These new Officers conducted themselves with the utmost Prudence. Perceiving that the Minds of the Soldiers were sowered, they softened them with Words full of Humanity. In the first place, they visited all the Quarters; and when they found any Soldiers gathered together, either round a Commander's Tent, or in the Quarter of the *Principes*, they mixed with them. In their Discourses with them, they enquired into the Causes of their Complaints, without reproving them; and heard them vent their Grievances with Patience. *Why*, said the Malecontents, *were we so long kept here in Want? We have had no Pay these six Months. The Pro-Consul indeed took a great deal of Pains to punish the perfidious Illiturgis; but has he been as careful to reward our Services?* The *Tribunes* heard these Complaints without contradicting them; seemed even to enter into the Discontents of the Soldiery; and promised to make a Report of them to the General. Nay, they congratulated the Mutineers upon not having carried their Revolt to Extremities; and said, *After all, Scipio, and the Republick, have it in their Power to gratify you still*. But these Conferences were only the Prelude to a very different Treatment which *Scipio* was preparing to give the Rebels.

§. X. It must be owned the *Pro-Consul* was exceedingly embarrassed, when he found himself under a Necessity of pronouncing the Fate of the Mutineers. He had gained great Experience in War; but to set about appeasing and punishing seditious Men, was a new thing to him. Indeed, he had not been personally affronted by their Revolt; it wholly turned upon a Presumption that he was dead. Nevertheless, good Order, and the Interest of the Publick, required, that a stop should be put to the Evil. *External Wounds*, said he, *are seldom dangerous; but internal Maladies corrupt the whole animal System. I am very little apprehensive of the Hostilities of the Foreigners; but what I dread is, that the Disobedience should grow contagious, and infect our Armies*. *Scipio* was artfully to manage a Body of eight thousand Men, whose Revolt, if pushed to Extremities, might prove fatal to him; and at the same time, to make such Examples, as might keep his Troops in their Duty. He therefore joined a great deal of Sweetness with a laudable Severity; and his Prudence in the Conduct of this Affair was masterly.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.
Q. CECILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

Liv. B. 28.
c. 25.

Polyb. B. 11.
c. 23.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

THE *Roman* General began with promising the Malecontents their Pay ; and to shew how zealous he was to satisfy them, he immediately demanded the usual Contributions from the *Spanish* Cities. This Money was instantly raised ; which was an Artifice in the General to gain his Point upon the Soldiers. He then asked them, whether they would receive their Pay in the Camp, or come themselves to *New Carthage*, and receive it there. In order to draw them thither, he spread a Report, that he was going to send the Troops he had at *Carthage* against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* ; and the Bait took with the Seditious. They held a Council, and chose the most dangerous Part, depending upon the Clemency of the *Pro-Consul*. He has, said they, *an hundred times pardoned declared Enemies. And after all, why should our Crimes be thought so very great? We have not spilt one Drop of Roman Blood. And it is safer to go to the City all together, than in Parties. Scipio is going to send away a faithful Army which guards him ; and he will then be in our Hands, and we will dispose of him as we please.*

AT the same time that the Mutineers were deliberating among themselves on the Banks of the *Sucro*, the *Pro-Consul* held a Council of War at *New Carthage* ; in which the Officers were divided in Opinion. Some were for destroying a great Part of these Wretches. Others were only for putting to Death the Heads of the Revolt. And it was determined, that the mildest Method should be taken ; That thirty five of the most culpable should pay for all the rest ; and That the General should assemble the Seditious, and publicly reprove them. So that the only remaining Difficulty was, how to put these wise Resolutions in Execution, without Tumult ; and *Scipio* did it in this manner.

*Polyb. B. 11.
c. 25.*

THE seven *Tribunes* whom the General had sent to the Camp of the Revolters had gained the Confidence of the Seditious ; and *Scipio* ordered each of these to invite five of the most culpable to partake of the Hospitalities of their Houses, when they should come to *New Carthage*. The *Tribunes* were likewise commanded to receive them kindly, entertain them well, give them Plenty of Drink, and then bind them, and not suffer any Person to go out of their Houses, till a faithful Messenger had been sent to acquaint the General with their Success. Nor was this all. As soon as *Scipio* understood, that the Rebel Army was near the City, he ordered his faithful Troops to take Provisions for some Days, and march out of *New Carthage*, the Day after the Rebel Army should arrive there. The Report of their Departure increased the Confidence of the Seditious. They fancied their Revolt was forgotten, and hastned to *Carthage*. They were received there, about the Close of the Day, with all possible Marks of Joy and Affection ; and the New-comers lodged in the Quarters assigned them. Each of the seven *Tribunes* lodged five of the thirty five Chiefs, who were condemned to die ; the Entertainment they gave them lasted till the Morning ; and the Night was spent in Tranquillity. As soon as it was Day, *Marcus*, who was to lead away the faithful Troops, pretended to make Preparations for his March. He ordered the Baggage to be brought out, and drew up his *Manipuli* near the Gates. But his secret Orders were to return into the Heart of the City at a proper time, and upon a Signal agreed on. So that hitherto the Seditious had not the least Suspicion, but imagined they were going to become Masters of *New Carthage*. At the same time *Scipio* received the News, from the seven *Tribunes* that the thirty five Chiefs were fettered ; and then the General gave the usual Signal for assembling the Soldiers in the Market-place. Upon the first Sound of the Trumpet, the Seditious all ran without their Arms, as the Laws required, to hear the *Pro-Consul* harangue : and he instantly gave *Marcus* Orders to bring back his armed Troops from the Gates of the City, and to surround the Assembly. So that the Seditious were encompassed on all Sides by a stronger Army than themselves, and under Arms. They came to the Assembly, with Design to terrify the General with their Clamours ; but Fear stopped their Mouths. They were much surprized to see *Scipio* in a very different Condition from what they expected. Health appeared in his Countenance. His Face glowed with Indignation, and his Eyes sparkling more than in a Battel. He sat himself down on the Tribunal, and spoke thus.

*Livy, B. 28.
c. 27.*

WHAT Name shall I give you, perfidious Men, after your late Rebellion ? Shall I call you Citizens ? You have dishonoured your Country. Shall I call you Soldiers ? You have broken your military Oaths. Shall I look on you as Enemies ? B. you.

your Habits and Meins you appear to be Romans. What! could you enter into the same Designs as the ²⁸ Iltergetæ and Lacetani? What! did you revolt too, like them? These Spaniards indeed followed the Suggestions of Indibilis and Mandonius, two of their Kings. But what Heads did you chuse for yourselves? An Atrius and an Albius, two of the vilest of the People. If you can deny these Extravagancies, or throw them upon the smallest Number, do. I wish you had but any Appearance of an Excuse! What, cruel Men, could you desire my Death? Alas! how much was I mistaken? I believed, that my Death was desired only by the Spaniards, whom I have subdued. And I would soon deprive my self of Life, if the rest of my Army were as weary of it as you. But a Storm does not blow with equal Strength in all Places. All was calm and serene here, when the Winds blew very high in your Camp. Nevertheless, my chief Resentment is against the Authors of your Insurrections. It was they who spirited you up to revolt; and caused a general Disturbance in the whole Camp; as I judge by the Confidence that brought you hither. You seem to be scarce sensible, even now, of the Heinousness of the Crime you have committed. What! Is it nothing, to have despised Discipline, controverted the Orders of your Commanders, and driven away your Tribunes? I don't speak with respect to my self. Perhaps I have but too well deserved to have the Troops weary of having me at the Head of them. But ought you to have prevented the Orders from Rome; to have chosen yourselves Consuls; and to have caused Lictors to attend two wretched common Soldiers, who were not so much as able to keep common Servants in their Pay? Should you have erected a Tribunal against mine? Formerly Rome cut off a whole Legion, for seizing Rhegium, and submitting to be governed by a Legionary Tribune; and was not the Crime of those four thousand seditious Men less than yours? They had not treated with the Enemy; but you have had Conferences with Mandonius and Indibilis. Nay, you had even resolved to join them. Unworthy Romans! could you determine to fix your Residence on the Banks of the Sucro, and renounce your Penates, and Wives, and Children? What then was your Aim? Why, to conquer Spain. But was not this a mad Project, for you, who are but eight thousand in Number, and all worse Men than Albius and Atrius, since you have placed them over your Heads? Could you have executed it in my Life-time? I was followed by an Army which had conquered New Carthage in one Day, and in five Years, four illustrious Carthaginian Generals. You will say, you thought me dead. But could you think that the Roman Senate and People would die with me? You yourselves have seen the Forces of the Republic flourish in Spain, after the Death of my Father, and my Uncle. No; if I had died, my Army would not have wanted Leaders. Silanus would have survived me. My Brother Lucius and Lælius would have revenged the Affront you had offered to the Republic, and to my Memory. Compare your Army, and Leaders, with the Forces and brave Generals I should have left behind me here. But what would have been the Consequence of your Revolt? The Carthaginians would have again seized all Spain. And would you have lent them your Hands? Barbarians! Is this the Duty you owe your Country? Coriolanus indeed is a Precedent for your stirring up her Enemies against her. But how widely different was his Cause from yours? A just Resentment animated him against Rome. But what are your Complaints? Why, they amount to thus much; That your General, being hindered by Sicknes, delayed paying you at the usual time. And was this a just Cause for you to betray Rome, treat with the Enemy, and violate all Laws, human and divine? You are more distempered in Mind, than I was in Body. I cannot call to mind your Wishes, Hopes, and Discourses concerning me, without the utmost Indignation. But may they be buried in eternal Oblivion! And Heaven grant that you yourselves may forget all, even the Vehemence of this Discourse! You have deservedly drawn it upon yourselves, by your base Conduct; but it is the last time I shall reproach you with it. The Marks you shew of Repentance are sufficient to efface out of my Memory, your shameful Proceedings. But as for Atrius and Albius, with some of the chief of their Accomplices, they shall expiate with their Blood the Crimes they have caused

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

²⁸ The Country of the Iltergetæ lay near Huesca, Saragossa, Lerida, and Balbastro. See above, p. 86. of this Volume, Note II.

Year of you to commit. You shall be Spectators of their Punishment, without suffering any
 R O M E yourselves; and if your Repentance is sincere, you will rejoice at it. These Incen-
 DXLVII. diaries have done no Body more Injury, than they have done you.

Q. CÆCILIUS
 METELLUS,
 L. VETURIUS
 PHILO, Con-
 suls.

As soon as *Scipio* had ended his Harangue, the faithful Soldiers of the Army, who surrounded the Seditious, made a great Noise with their Arms, striking their Bucklers with their Javelins; and this Noise increased the Terror of the Guilty. Then the Names of the thirty five Heads of the Revolt, who were already condemned by a Council of War, were called over by an Herald; and they appeared half naked. All things were got ready for punishing them, and immediately the Heads of the two Usurpers of the *Consular Fasces* were struck off, with the Axes of the lawful Magistrates. After them, their thirty three Accomplices were also executed, and there was neither Cry nor Murmur, nor even Sigh, heard in the Assembly, during the Execution. Fear had seized them. Then *Scipio* ordered the Bodies of the Criminals to be taken up, and made a great Circle round his Tribunal. The Herald repeated all the Names of the Seditious, one after another; and the General took a new military Oath of them. Thus ended a Sedition which the excellent *Pro-Consul* had not raised by any Misconduct; but which he had the Glory to quell, with great Prudence and Moderation.

§. XI. In the mean time, the two Kings of the *Ilergetæ*, on their Parts, and *Mago* on his, were endeavouring to renew the War. As soon as the *Carthaginian* saw *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* in Motion, and heard of the Sedition in the *Roman* Camp, he sent to *Carthage*, to demand speedy Succours; and to obtain them the more easily, he exaggerated the Revolt of the *Spaniards* and *Romans*. *Mago* still kept a Footing in *Spain*; and the Port of *Gades* which he possessed lay very conveniently for receiving any Troops or Provisions that should be sent him from *Africa*. But after all, these Preparations could be carried on but slowly; and the *Carthaginian* Republick had likewise Succours to send to *Hannibal* in *Italy*. *Scipio* therefore left *Mago* in Peace, in the only City which remained in his Interest; and turned his Arms against the two Rebel Kings *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*. These had suspended their Hostilities while the Fate of the *Roman* Revolters was uncertain; hoping for Impunity themselves, upon a Presumption that the eight thousand Seditious would escape unpunished. But as soon as they heard of the Execution of the Heads of the Revolt, they despaired of Pardon; armed their Subjects and Allies anew; returned again into the Country of the *Sedetani*, to encamp there; and to live upon free Quarter, in the Territories of the Allies of *Rome*. Their Army consisted of twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse.

Polib. B. 11.
c. 29
Livy, B. 28.
c. 32.

SCIPIO was yet at *New Carthage*, when he received an Account of these Steps; and he resolved to go from thence, to stop the Progress of these two faithless Princes. The Seditious of the Camp were then quiet. They had received their Pay, and the Punishment of their Chiefs had intimidated them. The General thought it necessary to make use of them, as well as his faithful Troops; and therefore assembled all his Soldiers in the Market-place, according to Custom, and bespoke them thus. *The Resolution I take to go and punish these perfidious Men, costs me much less Uneasiness, than the Vengeance I was forced to take of the revolted Romans. I could not execute the latter, without Tears; I hasten to the former with Joy. In the Roman Camp, which gave me so much Pain, I found none but Citizens of Rome, or Latins, and in short, old Soldiers, who were attached to my Father, and had been the Companions of my Victories. But among those I am going to punish, I shall find none but Strangers and Ingrates. What remains to be done, in order to settle Spain in Peace, is merely Matter of Diversion. Mago being retired to Gades, in an Island, seems to have withdrawn from the Continent, never to return to it more. Two Kings, degenerated into Robbers, lay the Fields waste, and burn Granaries; which is all that they can compass. Are they able to cope with you? Yet these Pillagers must be quelled, and these Vagabonds dispersed, before I leave Spain. It shall not be said, that I left the least Seeds of Troubles, at my Departure. Let us therefore go and clear the Plains of a Company of Banditti; and, without any Danger to ourselves, preserve our Allies from Ravages! We will employ none but Romans, in reducing these weak Adversaries. The Assistance of our Allies is not wanted. Let then the Romans alone have the Honour of giving the finishing Stroke to the great Work of conquering Spain!*

WHILST

WHILST *Scipio* was speaking, he had the Pleasure to see Alacrity and Joy painted on every Face. By their Air, one would have thought the Soldiers already engaged with the Enemy. The General therefore took Advantage of this Disposition, and immediately began his March. In ten Days time he arrived on the Banks of the *Ebro*; passed it; and in four Days more, entered the Country of the *Sedetani*. There he encamped in a Plain bounded by a Mountain, which made Part of a Circle of very high Hills. The Enemy was posted in the narrow Valley between them. In order to bring the two Kings to an Action, the *Pro-Consul* let loose in the Valley some Cattel, which he had taken from the Enemy in his March. The light-armed *Romans* guarded them; and *Laelius* with his Cavalry, lay hid behind the Mountain, ready to assist the Advanced Guard, as soon as they should be attacked. Then a Battel soon followed. The *Spaniards* fell upon the Cattel, and the light-armed *Romans* upon them. They first threw their Darts, and then fought resolutely, Sword in hand. But the Success was doubtful, when *Laelius* came up with some of the *Roman Cavalry*, who trod the Enemy's Battalions under foot; whilst some *Roman Squadrons* stole along the Hills, and fell on the *Ilergetæ* in the Rear. Then a greater Slaughter was made than is usual in these tumultuous Battels, which are only the Preludes to a general Action. Nevertheless, the *Spaniards* were only exasperated by their Losses; and the two Kings meditated nothing but Revenge.

EARLY the next Morning, *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* drew up their Army in Battalia, in the Valley. Their Design was to make the Enemy believe the Disadvantage of the preceding Day had not discouraged them. But the Bottom of the Valley was so narrow, that the two Armies could not all be conveniently formed in it. The Kings therefore posted their best disciplined, and best armed Battalions in the Bottom; and all their Cavalry in the Wings, to support them. The light-armed Infantry they posted on the Declivity of the Hill, behind them, rather to be Spectators of the Battel, than Actors in it. When *Scipio* saw this Disposition of the Enemy's Army, he was much pleased to find he should fight in a narrow Place, surrounded on all Sides with Hills. He had a double Advantage in it. The Enemy had thereby no Means to escape; and the *Spaniards* who used to be continually moving about whilst they were fighting, had not Room to make their usual Evolutions. As for the *Romans*, their General did not bring them all into the Valley. They would not have had Space enough to extend themselves. He formed his Army after a new Manner. He drew up only the Infantry in the Bottom, and did not flank them, as usual, with his Cavalry. He thought his *Legions* strong enough to stand the Shock of the *Spaniards*, without stirring. But tho' he did not bring his Cavalry into the Valley, he made a better Use of them, than if he had opposed the *Spanish Cavalry* with them. *Laelius* had Orders to divide his Squadrons into two Parts, march them along the Outside of the Hills, gain the Eminencies where the Enemy's Cavalry were posted, and attack them in Flank, the Moment the first Onset was made.

AFTER this, *Scipio* delayed beginning the Action no longer than was necessary to give his Cavalry time to obey his Orders; and then they came down like two Torrents on the Enemy's Squadrons to the Right and Left. By this means, the latter had enough to do, to defend themselves; and thought no more of breaking the *Roman Manipuli*. So that there were two Battels in the same Valley, one between the Horse only, and the other between the Foot; and in both Actions the *Romans* had all the Advantage. The *Spanish* Infantry being deprived of the Assistance of their Cavalry, the *Legionaries* soon broke through them. Then pursuing their Victory, the *Roman* Foot gained Ground enough to attack the *Spanish Cavalry* in Front, which were already hard pressed in Flank and Rear by the *Roman Cavalry*. Upon which there was a terrible Slaughter made of Men and Horses; and in one word, there was not one of the whole Army escaped. Only the two Kings saved themselves with their light-armed Troops, which had born no Part in the Battel. The Camp of the *Ilergetæ* was pillaged the same Day; and the Dead and Wounded numbered. Seventeen thousand of the Enemy were killed on the Spot, and three thousand made Prisoners of War. The *Romans* lost only twelve hundred Men, but had more than three thousand Wounded. The Battel had not been so bloody, if it had not been fought in a close Place surrounded on all Sides with Hills.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.
Livy, B. 28.
4. 34.

§. XII. AFTER this Defeat, the only Resource *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had left was in the Clemency of the Conqueror. But *Indibilis* durst not appear before *Scipio*. *Mandonius* therefore interceded for both, and came as a Suppliant, and threw himself at the *Consul's* Feet. He cast the Blame of the Revolt on the Misfortunes of the Times, and the unaccountable Effect the News of his Death had on Mens Thoughts, even those of the *Romans* themselves. And lastly, he surrendered up into the Hands of the Conqueror, his own Life, that of *Indibilis*, their Fortunes and their States. It was not customary for the *Romans* to receive the People they subdued into Alliance, unless they had voluntarily surrendered themselves up to them. They generally disarmed them, demanded Hostages of them, and placed Garrisons in their Cities. But *Scipio* acted in a very different manner with respect to these *Spaniards*. His Desire was, not so much to enslave their Countries, as to captivate their Affections. Both you and *Indibilis*, said he to *Mandonius*, have deserved to die; but you both shall live, and owe your Lives to my Republick. Nor will I disarm you; that would look as if I feared you. Nay, I will not so much as require Hostages of you; that would perhaps end in spilling their Blood for new Treacheries, of which they would not personally be guilty. The Fear of our Arms will be sufficient to keep you in your Duty. See whether you shall like better, to reap the Effects of our Clemency in Tranquillity; or to experience once more the Severity of our Revenge. *Scipio* carried his Resentments no farther; only he ordered the two Kings to furnish him with Money enough to pay his Troops. Then he divided his Army into two Parts; gave one to *Silanus*, to conduct it to *Tarragona*; and the other to *Marcius*, to lead it to the Shores of the Ocean. The *Pro-Consul* himself got ready to follow *Silanus* speedily; and tarried no longer among the *Sedetani*, than till the whole Sum demanded of the *Ilergetæ* was paid. It was thought his Design was to go and force *Mago* in his last Entrenchment. But he had a more important Conquest in View, than that of *Gades*. His Thoughts were bent on fixing the Heart of *Masinissa*, which already inclined to favour him.

§. XIII. *SCIPIO* had formed great Designs, and laid the Foundations of them early. His Thoughts were continually bent on conquering *Africa* some time or other, as he had now conquered *Spain*. This Enterprize indeed depended on the uncertain Wills of a People and Senate, which were not always to be managed at Pleasure. Nevertheless, he hoped to overcome all Obstacles, and prepared the Way for gaining his Point, long before he could effect it. *Scipio* already depended upon *Syphax*; all that remained was to fix *Masinissa* in the Inclination he had had to come over to the *Romans*; and to this end the *Roman* General took a long Journey. He was not ignorant, that tho' *Masinissa's* Body was at *Gades*, with *Mago*; his Heart was in the Interest of *Rome*: And he therefore took long Journeys, and came up with *Mago* on the Coasts of the Ocean.

MASINISSA was impatient to see the *Roman* General, and wanted only to see him, to enter into strong Engagements with him. He did not think the Conventions he had formerly made with a Subaltern, sufficiently authentick. He would not enter into a lasting Treaty with any but the *Pro-Consul* himself. As soon as he knew him to be near, he easily found out a Pretence to leave *Gades*, and return to the Continent. My Cavalry, said he to *Mago*, are ruined here. This Island does not afford Forrage enough for the Horses, and my Horsemen are enervated with Idleness. I will go into the Continent, and ravage the Spanish Provinces. *Mago* did not fathom the King's Designs, and suffered him to depart; and as soon as ²⁹ *Masinissa* had landed his Cavalry, he sent three *Numidian* Lords to the *Pro-*

²⁹ According to *Appian*, *Asdrubal* was then at *Gades*; and *Scipio* had there an Interview with *Masinissa*, unknown to the *Carthaginian* General. The same Historian also shews, that Jealousy contributed more to the turning of the *Numidian* Prince, than any Reasons of State. *Syphax* and *Masinissa* contended who should have *Sophonisba* the Daughter of *Asdrubal*, they both being desperately in Love with her. And *Syphax* prevailed over his Rival. He was then the more powerful King. The *Carthaginians* expected great Succours from him, in their Wars with *Rome*; and it is evident, that it was their Interest to cultivate an Alliance, from which

they might draw considerable Advantages. *Sophonisba* was therefore given to him by the Senate of *Carthage*, without regard to her prior Engagements; and he married her, tho' *Asdrubal* had promised her to *Masinissa*. Upon the Report of this News at *Gades*, *Masinissa* did not dissemble his Grief; and the Vexation of the enraged Lover doubtless hastened the Execution of the Design he long had, of going over to the *Romans*. Indeed it is difficult to conceive, that *Syphax* had not *Asdrubal's* Consent, in marrying *Sophonisba*. At least it's certain, that *Appian* expressly contradicts *Livy* in this Affair, as will appear hereafter.

Consul's Camp, to fix the Time and Place for a Conference. Two of these *Numidian* Lords continued as Hostages, in the Hands of the *Romans*; the third carried *Masiniſſa* an Account of *Scipio's* Intentions; and the King and *Pro-Consul* met at the Place appointed, with a small, or no Retinue.

MASINIſſa had conceived an high Opinion of *Scipio*, which his Presence improved. He expected to find a Man of a great Mien; and at first Sight of the *Roman*, the King was struck with Admiration and Respect. The *Pro-Consul's* Hair flowed down his Back to a great Length; he had an equal Mixture of Fierceness and Mildness in his Countenance; and he was in his full Strength. He was not yet thirty Years old; the fresh Ruddiness in his Face was increased since his Sickness, and his Beauty was in its greatest Bloom. There was nothing negligent or affected about him. His Habit was plain, but neat; and such as became a Soldier, who despises studied Elegancies in Dress. The *Numidian* was surprized at this Sight; and began his Address to the General, with thanking him for having formerly sent his Nephew to him. Then *Masiniſſa* blessed the Gods for procuring him an Interview he had so long desired; and at length entered upon Business. *Be assured*, said he, *none of the Allies of Rome shall be more faithful to her than myself. I have not been able to give sufficient Proofs of my Attachment to her in Spain; I have wanted Opportunities to shew my Zeal in a foreign Country. The Necessity of my first Engagements has suspended the Effects of my Good-Will. It is in my own Dominions that I purpose to discharge all my Promises. I must succeed to the Throne of my Ancestors; and I now consecrate all the Power I shall inherit, to the Glory and Interest of Rome. Get leave of your Republick, my Lord, to appear before Carthage; if you carry the War thither, her Ruin is certain.* *Scipio* returned these Advances with Dignity and Affection. *Masiniſſa* was young, and a *Numidian*; but there was a great Air of Sincerity in his Looks and Words. The Treaty was concluded; and the *Pro-Consul* instantly returned to *Tarragona*. As for *Masiniſſa*, he thought it necessary to pillage some Part of the Continent, before he returned to *Gades*. He thereby concealed the true Design of his Journey from *Mago*; who did not long continue in the only Place he had left in *Spain*. The Troubles *Indibilis*, and the revolted Camp, had raised, had supported him there for some time: but soon after, he received Orders from his Republick, to abandon the Place, and go and assist his Brother *Hannibal* in *Italy*.

§. XIV. BUT *Mago* signalized his Departure by cruel Exactions and Oppressions. This was the Temper of the *Carthaginians*. It may be affirmed, that their Avarice had almost contributed as much to their losing *Spain*, as *Scipio's* Valour and Moderation did, to his Conquest of it. And now, *Mago* stripped the Temples of *Gades*, plundered the publick Treasury, and forced private Persons to give him their Gold and Silver. He set Sail, and besides the Spoils of *Gades*, carried with him a great Sum of Money which had been sent him from *Carthage*, to raise Levies in *Italy*, among the *Ligures*, and in *Cisalpine Gaul*. By this means, he pretended to recover the Affairs of *Hannibal*, and renew a War, now upon the Point of expiring. He left *Gades* with these Thoughts; but as he passed by the Coasts of *Spain*, he went to make an Attempt on *New Carthage*. He thought the City destitute of *Romans*, and the People fickle enough to submit to him the Moment he appeared. He therefore ordered some of his Land-Forces to make a Descent, and they laid waste the Lands in the Neighbourhood. In the Night, he entered the Port with his Fleet; and there silently landed the rest of his Soldiers, to scale that very Part of the Walls by which *Scipio* had made himself Master of the City. *Mago* knew not, that the *Roman* Garrison had been apprized of his Design, both by the Peasants of the ravaged Countries, and the Course of his Fleet, which had been seen from the Shore. But the *Romans* were drawn up in Battalia near the Gate of the Lake which covered the City: And as soon as *Mago* had planted his Ladders, the *Roman* Soldiers, and Seamen, made a Sally out of the Place, overturned the Enemy's Machines, fell upon them with Fury, and pursued them to their Ships. And the *Romans* would have entered them mixed with the Fugitives, if the *Carthaginians* had not hastily drawn up their Bridges. Then those of the Enemy who continued upon the Strand, instantly threw themselves into the Water to swim to their Gallies; and in the Darkness and Confusion many of them were drowned, and the rest massacred without Mercy. In short,

Year of short, the next Day, eight thousand *Carthaginians* were found dead on the Strand, and Bucklers enough for two thousand Men. Such was the Success of this desperate Attempt, which was founded in great Imprudence.

Q. CACILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

AFTER this Misfortune, *Mago* thought it necessary to return to *Gades*; but he found the Gates shut against him. Being thus repulsed by the Citizens, who were weary of his Government, he retired to *Cimbris* ³⁰, a neighbouring City on the same Coast. From thence he sent Deputies to the *Gaditani*, to complain of their Proceedings; which he called an Infraction of the good Understanding and Fidelity that had always been kept up between the *Gaditani* and *Carthaginians*. And indeed *Gades* ³¹, as well as old *Carthage*, was a Colony of *Phœnicians*, and the *Punic* Language was spoken there. The Magistrates of the Place imputed the Refusal to the Populace, whom the *Carthaginian* Soldiers had plundered, before they embarked; and the chief ³² Judge, and the Treasurer of the City, went to excuse it to the *Carthaginian* General. But the Civility of these unfortunate Men was ill requited. *Mago* first tore off their Skin with Whips, and then crucified them. This was the last Act of the *Carthaginians* before they left *Spain*; and as soon as they were gone, the *Gaditani* immediately submitted to the *Romans*. Thus the Conquest of *Scipio* was completed; and the *Spaniards* congratulated themselves upon being perfectly delivered from those avaritious Guests, and under the Dominion of a more equitable People.

As for *Mago*, he continued his Course towards *Italy*, coasting along by the Sea Shores. He first landed in the Island of ³³ *Pityusa*. As it belonged to the *Carthaginians*, and was a Part of the Remains of the Empire the *Phœnicians* had so long had in these Seas, he met with a favourable Reception. He took in fresh Provisions, and recruited his Fleet there. From *Pityusa*, *Mago* passed on to the *Baleares* ³⁴. The largest, and at the same time the richest and most populous of these two Islands, had a convenient Port, in which the *Carthaginian* had a Design to pass the Winter; for Autumn was far advanced, and the Sea impassable. But these Islanders repulsed the *Carthaginians* with such Bravery, that they might have been thought *Romans*. It is well known how dextrous the Inhabitants of the *Baleares* were in handling the Sling; the *Greeks* gave them that ³⁵ Name from thence. And now they poured down such a Number of Stones upon the Gallies of the *Carthaginians*, that they could not possibly get ashore. The Fleet therefore steered out to the main Sea, and fled for Refuge to the second of the *Baleares*. This Island was both more fruitful in Corn, and abounded less with Warriors. So that *Mago* settled there without Resistance, found great Plenty of Provisions, forced ten thousand of the Inhabitants to enter into the Service of his Republick, transported them to *Carthage*, and did not set out from thence for *Italy*, till Spring.

Zonaras, B. 9.
c. 11.

§. XV. IN the mean time, the People of *Rome* had thoughts of recalling *Scipio*. Republicks are always jealous. If one Historian is to be credited, the *Roman* Senate and People were afraid the Conqueror would settle himself in a lasting Dominion here, and become Sovereign of *Spain*. All the Nations from the *Pyrenees* to the Ocean, were become obedient to him. And lastly, his Commission was expired. The *Carthaginians* were driven out of *Spain*, and *Rome* was in peaceable Possession of this vast Country. The Senate therefore, without waiting for new *Comitia* by Centuries, immediately dispatched away two Persons to succeed *Scipio*

³⁰ *Livy* is the only Author who mentions a City of *Cimbris*, at a little distance from *Gades*; and the Silence of the ancient Geographers concerning it, makes some Criticks think there is an Error crept into the Text. But their Corrections are so forced, and built on such weak Conjectures, that it is better to adhere to the printed Copies.

³¹ See what we have said of *Gades*, now *Cadiz*, and of the Foundation of *Carthage*, Vol. 2.

³² The *Gaditani* gave their chief Magistrate the Title of *Suffetes*, which the Etymologists derive from the Hebrew Word *Schophet*, which signifies a Judge. It is well known that the old *Phœnician* Language then used at *Cadiz*, was nearly allied to the Hebrew.

³³ The ancient Geographers give the Name of

Pityusa to two Islands in the *Mediterranean*, over-against *Spain*. The greatest of them is now called *Ivica*, the smallest vulgarly *Tormentera*. See above, p. 109 of this Volume, Note 68.

³⁴ The *Baleares* Islands are now called *Majorca* and *Minorca*. See above, p. 52 of this Volume, Note 4.

³⁵ According to *Florus*, one *Baleus*, the Son of *Hercules*, conquered these Islands; and they were called *Baleares* from him. But it is more natural to think, that the Name alludes to the remarkable Skill of the Inhabitants in Slings. They were exercised to the Use of Slings from their earliest Infancy. *Florus* himself says, that they fastened their Childrens Breakfasts to Poles, and obliged them to beat them down with Slings.

in the Government of *Spain*. They did not give him time to enjoy any Repose after his Fatigues. He was not arrived at *Tarragona*, when the two new *Pro-Consuls* came into the Port; one appointed to govern *Hither Spain*, from the *Pyrenees* at least as far as to the River *Sucro*; the other to govern *Further Spain*, from the *Suero* to the *Ocean*. *Scipio* was no less loyal and obedient as a Subject, than victorious as a Commander. He surrendered up the *Fasces*, without murmuring, to *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Manlius Acidinus*, who were sent to succeed him. They were both Men of great Consequence in the Republick, and had both been *Prætors*. *Lentulus* took upon him the Government of *Hither Spain*, and *Acidinus* that of *Further Spain*. Thus *Rome* divided this great Continent into two *Provinces*, which were afterwards governed by *Roman* Magistrates, which the Republick had a Right to change every Year. As for *Scipio*, he immediately left the Region, which he had subdued with so much Labour and Danger. With his faithful *Lælius*, and his Brother *Lucius*, he sailed with a Squadron of ten Ships, and returned to *Rome*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XXXV.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.

Q. CECILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

ROME had never yet arrived at so high a Pitch of Glory and Power as at present. Almost all *Italy* had been reconquered from the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* was confined to a Canton of *Great Greece*, and there defended himself but feintly, tho' not without Hopes of maintaining his Ground in *Italy*. He waited with more Impatience for the Arrival of his Brother *Mago*, than he formerly had done for the Succours to be brought him by his Brother *Asdrubal*. He had Opinion enough of his own Valour, still to promise himself the Conquest of *Italy*, as soon as he should receive new Reinforcements from *Carthage*. Whilst *Rome*, on the other hand, was very sanguine in her Hopes, that young *Scipio* would soon clear all her Countries of the Inundation from the *Alpes*, and drive *Hannibal* out of them. And had not the Republick a just Foundation for such a Confidence? Two large Kingdoms in *Europe*, *Spain*, and *Sicily*, not to mention the Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, were already taken from the *Carthaginians*. Her Rival Republick had nothing left, but a pretty narrow District on the Coasts of *Africa*; so that this Empire, which was formerly so powerful both by Sea and Land, was reduced to its ancient Demesnes. All her vast Conquests were lost, and became subject to *Rome*. Insomuch that the *Romans* had now conceived great Hopes of being able to insult *Africa* itself, and spread more Terror there, than *Hannibal* had caused among them. Nay, *Carthage* herself was become the main Object of the Vengeance and Ambition of the *Romans*. They founded these Hopes on the irresistible Valour, and sweet Dispositions of *Scipio*, whom they thought guided in his Enterprizes by divine Inspirations. The *Carthaginians* had no Allies left, except *Philip of Macedon*, and some *Greek Cities*; and the *Pro-Consul Sulpicius Galba* had hitherto with his Fleet restrained all the Efforts of *Greece* and *Macedon*. *Rome* had, by her Intrigues in *Greece* and *Asia*, found them so much Business at home, that these Allies of *Carthage* had given but little Assistance to *Hannibal's* Party. Besides, the two *Numidian Kings*, which were nearest to the *Carthaginian* State, had entred into Treaties with *Rome*. The artful *Scipio* had found means, by his Interviews with them, to gain the Affections of *Syphax* and *Masinissa*, and draw them off from the *Carthaginians*. So that *Rome* seemed to have reason to depend on the *Massylians* and *Massylians*, as Allies, whose Neighbourhood to *Carthage* would make them formidable to her.

Such was the Situation of the Affairs of *Rome*, when the Conqueror of *Spain* landed in *Italy*. Upon his Arrival there, he found the People very differently affected, with regard to himself. Those who were not overcome by their Passions and Weaknesses, entertained no Sentiments of him, but such as testified the highest Esteem and Veneration. But the great Men in the State, and the illustrious Generals of the *Roman* Armies, because they could not but esteem him, conceived the greatest Aversion to him, that Jealousy could inspire. The oldest Officers could not forgive him his Glory, or bear to see their own eclipsed by a superior Merit. And, as strange as it may appear, the great *Fabius* himself, that *Buckler of the Republick*, the Man whose Prudence had hitherto been always consistent; even he became a Rival to young *Scipio*, at the Age of ninety six Years. We shall soon see him signally display his Anger against this Hero, and conceal his Rivalry, under the Appearance of the Publick Good.

*Plut. Life of
Fabius.
Liv. B. 28.
v. 28.*

AFTER the Example of all Generals, and according to the then established Custom, *Scipio* did not enter *Rome* immediately after his Arrival from *Spain*; but continued in the Suburbs, and desired that the Senate might be assembled in the Temple of *Bellona*, to hear the Account of his Expeditions. Accordingly, the *Conscript Fathers* assembled there, and were almost as much charmed with the Eloquence of the young Warrior, as the Detail of his Exploits. He, with great Modesty, represented the State in which he had found *Spain*, five Years before; and the Condition in which he left it, at his Departure. He gave them a short Narrative of his Campaigns, Battels, Victories, the great Number of Cities he had taken by Assault, and of those he had forced to submit. The bare Enumeration of the many *Spanish* Nations subdued, and pacified, made a very strong Impression on their Minds. But what most forcibly struck them, was the formidable Names of the four *Carthaginian* Generals, of great Reputation, whom the Conqueror had vanquished, and driven out of *Spain*: And he concluded with these Words. *When I landed at Tarragona, I found there one Roman Army, in a bad Condition; and four Carthaginian Armies, very flourishing and victorious. When I came from thence, I left not a Carthaginian there; but the Troops of the Republick in sole Possession of this vast Continent.* It must be granted, that no General had ever better deserved a Triumph; and *Scipio* demanded one; yet faintly, and without Hopes of obtaining it. He knew the Laws of his Republick would obstruct his enjoying an Honour, which he was contented with having deserved. His Commission for the *Pro-Consulate* was extraordinary, and out of Rule. He had not passed from the *Consulship* directly to the *Pro-Consulship*; neither had he taken the Command of an Army, under the Sanction of those *Auspices*, with which *Consuls* are consecrated. So that *Scipio* did not insist on the Triumph he had demanded; but he at least adorned his Entry into *Rome*, by the prodigious Quantity of Silver, which he caused to be carried before him, for the publick Treasury. What he had saved out of the Spoils of the *Spaniards*, amounted to fourteen thousand three hundred and forty two Pounds Weight of Silver, in Bars; besides vast Sums of Money.

§. II. In the mean time, the *Consular* Year was near expiring; and it was necessary to hold the Great *Comitia* at *Rome*, to elect new *Consuls*. *Veturius* presided in them; and then it appeared how great an Esteem the *Roman* People had conceived for the Conqueror of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*. It is not to be expressed, with what Zeal the *Centuries* gave their Suffrages in favour of *Scipio*; and the young Hero was declared *Consul*, tho' he had not attained to the Age which was customarily required. He was only between twenty eight and twenty nine Years of Age. The *Romans* seem to have taken a particular Pleasure, at all times, to honour him with extraordinary Marks of their Favour. He had obtained the *Ædileship* and *Pro-Consulate* at an Age which, till that time, had excluded all *Citizens* from those Offices. The Collegue nominated with young *Scipio*, was *Publius* ¹ *Licinius*, surnamed *Crassus*, who also bore the Surname of *Dives*, doubtless from his great Riches. He was at that time *Pontifex Maximus*; an Office which would not permit ² him to go out of *Italy*, and carry on a War in any foreign Country. And may it not be conjectured, that the *Centuries*, for that very Reason, chose to associate him with *Scipio*? The *Romans* were very desirous of seeing the Conqueror of *Spain* immediately attempt the Reduction of *Africa*. All the People wished him this glorious Province; and had the Inclinations of the Multitude been followed, he had been immediately sent with a great Army into the Territory of *Carthage*. And in this Particular, their Desires were suitable to his own Inclinations. He plainly discovered them; but did not penetrate into the Thoughts of those who were jealous of him; or imagine, that the most illustrious Men in the Senate would throw Obstacles in his Way.

THE Republick proceeded to chuse the other great Magistrates for the Year ensuing; and elected four *Prætors*, as usual. The first was *Cn. Servilius*, who had the double Jurisdiction of determining all the Causes heard in *Rome*, whether be-

Year of
R O M E
DXLVII.
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS,
L. VETURIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.

Val. Max. B. 8.
c. 15. §. 4.
Liv. B. 28.
c. 38.

¹ The Family of the *Licinii*, was a Family of great Distinction among the *Plebeians*. It was divided into four Branches, which the Medals distinguish by the Surnames of *Muræna*, *Crassus*, *Nervæ*, and *Stolo*.

² We shall hereafter see another *Crassus* break through this Custom; and his Successors, among the rest *Julius Cæsar*, imitated his Example, and broke through a Law that set Bounds to their Ambition.

Year of *tween Citizens and Citizens, or Citizens and Foreigners.* The second was *Sp. Lucretius*, to whose Lot it fell to govern *Cisalpine Gaul*, and reside at *Ariminum*.
 ROM E
 DXLVII. The third was *Æmilius Papus*, whose Fate it was to govern *Sicily*, where there
 Q. CÆCILIUS were still some of those unfortunate Troops, who had saved themselves by Flight
 METELLUS, at the Battel of *Cannæ*. And lastly, the fourth was *Octavius*, whose Province was
 L. VETURIUS *Sardinia*; and he there commanded a *Roman Fleet*, and a *Legion* of new Levies.
 PHILO, Con-
 suls.

AFTER the *Prætors*, *Rome* nominated *Pro-Consuls*. *Livius Salinator* commanded an Army of *Volones* in *Hetruria*, to watch the Landing of *Mago* on the Coasts of *Liguria*; and *Valerius Lævinus* was joined with him in the same Province, to discharge the Office of *Pro-Consul*, in his Absence, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, as *Pro-Consul*, continued at the Head of the Army he had commanded the last Year, in Quality of *Consul*. *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Manlius Acidinus*, were continued in the *Pro-Consulate* of *Spain*, and as it were divided this vast Region into two Provinces. *Publius Sempronius* went to succeed *Publius Sulpicius*, on the Coasts of *Greece*. The latter had been complained of, charged with Negligence, and recalled. After this, nothing remained but to nominate *Pro-Prætors* for the several Places, which were as follow. *T. Quinctius* went to command at *Tarentum*; *C. Hostilius* at *Capua*, and *Quintus Flaminius* at *Rhegium*.

§. III. THESE Appointments employed the first Days of the *Consular Year*; and then the new *Consuls* assembled the Senate in the *Capitol*. At *Scipio's* Request, the *Conscript Fathers* gave him Leave to celebrate the 3 *Games* he had vowed, with a View to appeasing the Sedition of the Soldiers in *Spain*; and the Expences of these *Games* were defrayed out of the Money he had brought to *Rome*. And lastly, the young *Consul* introduced into the Senate the Deputies of *Saguntum*, whom he had brought from *Spain* with him; and the most venerable of the Envoys addressed himself to the House in this manner. *The Benefits we have received, Conscript Fathers, both from You and your Generals, have made us abundant Amends for the Evils we suffered in your Service. We sustained a Siege for your sakes, in which we gave remarkable Proofs of the most generous Constancy, and most inviolable Fidelity. But you have amply repaid us for our Losses. For these fourteen Years you have maintained a War in Spain, to revenge our Quarrel; and the Dangers you have run are very sensible Proofs of your Affection. Even when Hannibal was formidable in Italy, you did not neglect us; but sent us Generals to repair our great Misfortunes. And what have they not done? They have put us in Possession of the Walls of Saguntum, gathered together our dispersed Citizens, and delivered us from Slavery under the Carthaginians. This Happiness we owe to the young Hero, who here does Honour to the Consulship. His Father and his Uncle perished in our Cause; and it was reserved for him to re-establish Saguntum in her former Splendor. Having conquered Spain, he delivered our Fellow-Citizens out of Captivity, and settled them together, within the same Walls. He has also subdued the 4 Turdetani, and put them out of a Condition to hurt us. Formerly, Hannibal only destroyed Saguntum. But now, many great Cities have fallen a Sacrifice to our Revenge. And it is to return you our Thanks, Conscript Fathers, for all these signal Benefits, that the Senate and People of Saguntum have sent ten of their Body on this Deputation to you. Happy are we, to see Italy almost purged of our common Enemies; and your Victories not limited to the several Nations in Spain. You have Reason to hope that you shall speedily conquer the whole World! O Great Jupiter! who reignest on the Capitol, to thee we are ordered to pay our Homages, and make our Offerings! Permit us, Conscript Fathers, to hang up a Crown of Gold in the Temple of this tutelary God, in Acknowledgment of the Victories he has procured us. And we likewise intreat you, to ratify the Privileges your Generals have granted Saguntum, by irrevocable Decrees.*

THIS Harangue of the *Saguntini* gave the *Romans* a Taste of the lively Strokes of that pathetick Eloquence, of which the *Spaniards* have often given remarkable Instances, since they made themselves Masters of the *Latin Tongue*: And the

3 These Games had been preceded by a Sacrifice of an hundred Oxen, or an *Hecatomb*, which *Scipio* had offered to *Jupiter*; in Discharge of a Vow he had expressly made to that Purpose, when he was engaged in subduing the Power of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*.

4 The *Turdetani* then possessed that Country of *Spain*, which now contains the Territory of *Beja*, the District of the *Algarres*, and a Part of that of *Seville*, and of the Duchy of *Medina Sidonia*. See B. 29. p. 239. of this Volume, Note 61.

Senate answered them with Majesty. *The Destruction and Re-establishment of* Year of
Saguntum, will be eternal Monuments to Posterity, of your Fidelity to us, and our R O M E
Gratitude to you. What our Generals have done in your Favour, we confirm. They DXLVII.
have only been our Agents, to put our Will in Execution. You have Leave to hang Q. CECILIUS
up in the Capitol the Crown which you have dedicated to the God who presides METELLUS,
in it. After this, proper Lodgings were assigned the Deputies, and they were L. VETURIUS
magnificently⁵ entertained. Rome also made each of them a Present of at least PHIL., CON-
ten thousand⁶ Asses of Brass; and upon their expressing a Desire to see Italy, she sul.
gave them Guards for their Security, and Letters of Recommendation to all the
Cities, thro' which they should pass. In this manner did Rome testify, with Dig-
nity, her Gratitude for the Services Foreigners had done her.

§. IV. AFTER this, the Senate made it their whole Business to settle the Pro-
 vinces of those Generals, who were to take the Field, at Spring. As for *Scipio*, he
 depended a little too much on the Discourses and Favour of the People. He took
 it for granted, that he should be sent into *Africa*, and that the Neighbourhood of
Carthage would be the Scene of his Glory, in his first Consulship. But at length he
 perceived, that he might meet with some Opposition in the Senate, from those
 who envied him; and then, it must be owned, he forgot himself a little. *If the*
Conscript Fathers, said he, shall persist in hindering me from finishing the War, and
forcing Hannibal to return to Africa, I will have Recourse to the People. And I
will obtain in the Comitia, what the Senators, thro' Envy, shall refuse me. These
 Words were a little unguarded, and implied a Confidence which the Senators
 thought they had a Right to suppress. The Great *Fabius* was more scandalized at
 them than any other Magistrate: And perhaps at first this illustrious old Man did
 not so much pursue the secret Dictates of his Jealousy, as the publick Interest. He
 declared openly against the Pretensions of young *Scipio*, and said to the People,
What, then, shall the Fortune of Rome be committed to the Care of a presumptuous
young Man, who has not had Experience enough to ripen his Projects? Who knows,
whether the Ruin of the Republick may not be the Consequence of an Enterprize
which has no better a Conductor, than a Consul, scarce arrived to the Age of
Manhood? But *Fabius* was thought too circumspect. This was a Fault, which
 had always been charged upon him; and now his Age even made him timorous.
 All he could do, was to divide the Republick between the bold Design of *Scipio*,
 and his own timorous Counsels. He persuaded the Senate; but could not gain
 upon the People. When the *Conscript Fathers* were assembled, *Fabius* display'd
 the Remains of his Eloquence, in endeavouring to divert the Senators from send-
 ing *Scipio* to make War in *Africa*. But at Bottom, *Fabius* was really more in
 Pain, from the Apprehension of the young Conqueror's succeeding in his Expedition,
 than from the Fear of his miscarrying. *What will become of my Glory,* said he to
 himself, *if the young Consul should force Hannibal to abandon Italy, to fly to the*
Assistance of Carthage? It will be said, that Scipio did more by his Activity in
one Campaign, than Fabius was able to compass by his Delays, in several Consul-
ships. These Sentiments fired the Good Old Man, who was yet very tender of
 his Honour; and he bespoke the Senate thus.

PERHAPS you may apprehend, *Conscript Fathers*, that the People have
 formed a Resolution to send *Scipio* to *Carthage*. But in Reality, there has yet no
 Determination been made, which authorizes the Consul to allot himself *Africa* for
 his Province. And will so brave a Man, and so good a Subject as *Scipio*, usurp
 such a Post, without the express Consent of the Comitia, and the Senate? Should
 he urge, that the Affair is ended, and pretend to make you believe it, he would
 impose upon you, in such a Manner as would be unworthy of a Man of his Inte-
 grity and Birth. I am sensible that I have strong Prejudices to contend with,
 when I undertake to dissuade the Senate from carrying the War into *Africa* so soon,
 and forcing *Hannibal*, by a powerful Diversion, to leave our Dominions here. I
 know I am said to be a Temporizer; and I grant I am so: But has the Repub-
 lick ever had Cause to repent of my Delays? The Counsels of our Generals have

⁵ The Romans gave the Name of *Lautia*, to these Entertainments, which the Republick ordered to be given to the Ambassadors of the Confederate Provinces. The Word alludes to the Custom of

the Ancients, of washing before Supper.

⁶ These ten thousand *Asses* of Brass, * were equal * 327. 55. 100d. to five hundred French *Livres*. See the preceding *Arbutnot*.
 Volumes.

Year of *indeed all along been more glittering than mine; but have any been more solid? Or*
 R O M E *can it be imagined that a secret Jealousy excites me to endeavour to cast a Blemish*
 DXLVII. *on the Glory of a young Warrior, in his first setting out? Five Consulships, and*
 Q. CÆCILIUS *two Dictatorships, raise me above any Rivalship with a rising General, after I have*
 METELLUS. *grown old in the Service, and been so often crowned with Victory. Nay, would*
 L. VETURIUS *even my Son put himself upon a Level with young Scipio? It appeared, in my first*
 PHILO, Con- *Dictatorship, how little capable I was of Jealousy. I was, in a very unprecedented*
 suls. *Manner, put upon an equal Foot with a General of Horse. Nevertheless, the*
Danger out of which I delivered him, demonstrated that I was more governed by
Reason, than by any weak Passion. And can it be imagined, that I would, at this
Age, enter the Lists with any one? I am even satiated with Glory, and Life itself is
a Burden to me. What Interest should I have in interrupting the Progress of a
young Warrior, in the Beginning of his Career? I hindered Hannibal from con-
quering; and would it become me to hinder his being conquered? Pardon me
therefore, Scipio, if I prefer the Interests of the Republick, to the pretended Inte-
rests of your Glory. Alas! why should we go so far in quest of Hannibal, when
he is in our own Country? No Body has been able to drive him out of it, for these
fourteen Years. Go then, attack him in his last Entrenchments, and force him to
leave Bruttium; and then you will have the Glory of finishing the second War with
Carthage, as Lutatius did the first. Is this too little Glory for you? It will be
said, that after you subdued Spain, you delivered Italy: And you will avoid the
Suspicion of having been afraid of Hannibal, and of not having dared to enter the
Lists with him. Why so many indirect Methods to recall the Carthaginian into
Africa? He is here. And our Generals ought first to march against him. Is it
not natural, first to defend our own Country, before we attack a distant Region?
First deliver us from our Fears, and then spread Terror in our Enemy's Territories.
The Ruin of Carthage must be begun in Italy. Why should the State be burthened
with a very destructive War, in a foreign Country? Will the publick Treasury be
able to support the Expence of it, without fresh Taxes? Do you consider, Scipio,
what it is to exhaust a People who are fond of you? How can the Exchequer de-
fray the Expences of a Fleet, for transporting great Armies into Africa? Besides, if
you are suffered to go over thither, what will be the Consequence? Your Colleague
Licinius and you will be separated by the Sea; and if Hannibal should think fit
to appear before Rome, and besiege it, how will you come to our Assistance, as Fa-
bius formerly did? Who can assure us that you shall not perish in Africa, as your
Father and Uncle did in Spain? Nothing is more dangerous, than to remove Wars
to another Continent. Athens will never recover the Blow she received in Sicily,
by the Counsels of Alcibiades. But, not to search for Examples among Foreigners,
Regulus's Fate should be enough to terrify you. In the same Africa, you may well
fear the same Destiny. The Territory of Carthage is not like that of Spain, where
you have made War. It was an easy matter for you to land at Empuria⁸, among
faithful Allies, and to reach Tarragona, where you found the disciplined Troops of
your Uncle and Father. Their Defeat animated them to Revenge. They were
conducted by a young Roman, chosen by themselves; and who, perhaps, wanted
only some Formalities to make him one of our most illustrious Generals. In the Per-
son of Marcius, you had a Second who was well able to lead you on to Victory.
With him you took New Carthage. But was there any thing surprizing in this;
when neither of the three Armies of the Enemy was near enough to come to its
Assistance? All things then gave way before you. But is this the Case, with re-
spect to your designed Expedition into Africa? You have there no Ports to receive
you, no Allies to assist you, no Cities that you can confide in, no Asylum, no Re-
treat. Don't depend upon Syphax. You have indeed already rashly trusted to his
Honour, without Misfortune; but Rashness is not always successful. The Numidian
is an artful Prince, who lays a small Bait for you, that he may the more effectually

7 The Republick of Athens, by the Counsels of Alcibiades, was obstinately bent on attempting the Conquest of Sicily; and the Expedition was begun successfully. But at length, an End was put to it, by the entire Defeat of Nicias and Demosthenes, who commanded the Athenian Troops. They were both taken alive, by Gylippes, the Lacedemonian

General of the victorious Army; and soon after ended their Days very tragically. See Plutarch's Lives.

8 Empuria, now known by the Name of Empurias, was formerly the chief City of the Land of the Tarragonians.

deceive. Will not Masinissa act the same Part by you that the Celtiberians did by your Father, in Spain; and that Mandonius and Indibilis have already done? Can you even depend on the Roman Soldiers? The Revolt of your Troops in Spain, has made a great Noise. And will Syphax and Masinissa be more faithful than they? These Numidian Princes are now quarrelling with Carthage, out of Emulation, because they are in no Danger from Abroad: But when you shall appear there, they will grow jealous of Rome, and join with Carthage, in opposing the new Conquerors. You will find them quite other Men than what they were, when they opposed you in the Conquest of Spain. When the Safety of their common Country is at stake, what will they not do to defend it? Perhaps they will come over into Italy, where you will not be; or at least hasten Mago's Voyage to Liguria, there to join Hannibal. And then, where shall we be? We shall be plunged into the same Difficulties and Distractions, as when Asdrubal passed the Alpes. You say, indeed, you vanquished him in Spain. Alas! Scipio, a fatal Victory for us! He escaped out of your Hands, passed into Italy; and it has cost us much Blood to subdue him. Another Enemy of the same Race, is now ready to come into Italy; and therefore, the greater General you are, the more it is our Interest to keep you here. The two Collegues, Claudius and Livius, were scarce sufficient to stop Asdrubal, on the Banks of the Metaurus. And the Presence of the two Consuls of the present Year in Italy, is no less necessary to oppose jointly the Inundations of Mago. Can you deny this? As long as Hannibal shall continue in this Country, so long will Fear and Terror continue with him. Why then should we divide our Forces? If united, they will be sufficient to drive him from his Posts; if separated, we shall expose ourselves to great Disadvantages in two Places. Your Father formerly took very different Resolutions. He waited for Hannibal in Transalpine Gaul, to oppose him in his Passage; and as soon as Hannibal had passed the Alpes, he returned to Italy. But his Son has other Designs. He is for leaving Italy, when Hannibal is yet formidable there. Ought your Glory, Scipio, to be preferred to the Interests of the Publick? But to conclude. Every Consul is the Servant of the Republick, and ought to consult her Wants, before the precarious Increase of his own Reputation. The Troops we have raised ought not to be at the Disposal of a capricious Consul, who would, like a King, so dispose of them, as best suits his private Views. They ought to be so distributed, as the Senate shall think most fit for the Safety and Preservation of Italy.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVIII.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, P. LICINIVS CRASSVS, Consuls.
Liby. B. 28.
C. 42.

THIS was a studied Harangue; and the Authority of the Orator, then Prince of the Senate, gave it great Weight. The great Fabius brought over to his Opinion the Majority of the Senate, and especially all the old Men, who were more susceptible of Fear than the young. Nevertheless, Scipio answered him; but as with less Preparation, so with less Success.

YOU had reason, Fabius, said he, to endeavour to guard the Assembly against the just Suspicions they have conceived of your Motive to oppose my Departure for Africa. You have used all Means to remove the Prejudice, that Jealousy alone excited you to speak against my Pretensions. With what Art have you displayed the specious Titles which grace you, to shew that your Glory must raise you above Envy? As if I was not to fear being envied by any but Men of little Merit. The more illustrious you are, the less, you think, you will be taken for a Man capable of rivaling a Warrior of my Age. Even your Son, you say, would disdain to be brought into comparison with me. Does not then Jealousy reach to future Times? Men measure their Glory by the Opinion Posterity will entertain of them. And they are uneasy to think, that any others will, in future Ages, be preferred before them. I readily acknowledge, Fabius, that my Views are, not only to equal you; but if I can, to surpass you. And far be it from you, or me, to wish, that no Man may ever equal or surpass us. Such Sentiments are detrimental to the Publick; and you in vain endeavour to purge yourself from having intertained them. You have only disguised them under specious Appearances. You likewise urge, that the African Expedition may prove very prejudicial to me. Have you then the Preservation of my Life and Glory at Heart? Yes; you, it seems, are the first Person who has expressed any Uneasiness concerning the Success of my Expeditions. When I was twenty four Years of Age, I desired to go and command in Spain. None of our Generals would undertake so hazardous an Expedition. My Father had been

Liby. B. 28.
C. 43.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVIII.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, P. LICINIUS
CRASSUS, Consuls.

killed there. Two Roman Armies had been defeated there; Carthage had the superior Power there; and the Africans, under the Command of four Generals, had over-run this vast Region. And did Fabius then so much as oppose my Departure? Where was all his vast Concern for my Preservation at that time? At present, Spain is subdued; the Question is, Whether I shall go and subdue Africa? And now your Apprehensions are awakened on a sudden. Yet have I any reason to expect to find in the Neighbourhood of Carthage, what I found in Spain? Shall I have four Armies to fight there? Shall I not carry more Tears, and greater Experience, to this, than to my first Expedition? Shall I have any Enemies to engage, but Africans? Is it not strange, Conscript Fathers, that my past Exploits should be sometimes debased, to divert you from sending me to Africa; and at others as much magnified, to shew my Presence to be necessary in Italy? But be that as it will, it is certain, That I have destroyed four Carthaginian Armies; That I have taken by Force, or reduced under the Roman Dominion by Fear, great Numbers of Cities and Provinces; and That I have brought into Subjection many Kings, subdued Spain, and conquered all the Country from the Pyrenees to the Ocean. These are the Exploits, the Glory of which some would willingly diminish. But with what View?—It is also said, that I shall find no Ports open in Africa. Did then Regulus find none? But he failed in his Attempt. Nevertheless, was not the first Year after he landed fortunate? He certainly disconcerted all the Measures, and destroyed all the Forces, of Carthage. Indeed the Lacedæmonian General proved an overmatch for him; but did he not always conquer the Carthaginian Generals? Is there any thing in his Example which ought to terrify me? Surely his Misfortune ought not to surprize me more than that of my own Father; yet his Death did not discourage me from going to Spain. If the Losses of the Athenians in Sicily could intimidate me, the Victories of Agathocles in Africa would as much encourage me. All the Generals who have fought in foreign Countries, have not been unsuccessful in their Wars there. Our Victories in Sicily and Spain are solid Proofs of it. Where Men make War in an Enemy's Country, their Courage increases; and the Terror they spread, swells the Confidence of the Aggressors. Witness Hannibal. Could he ever have hoped to have made himself so numerous a Party in Italy, as he did after the Battel of Cannæ? Or will the Africans be more constant than our Italians have been? Being naturally more fickle than we are, and having been worse treated than the Capuans, they will more readily submit to the Roman Dominion. Besides, can Carthage furnish out of her own Bosom as many Men to oppose me, as Rome has sent against Hannibal? Who does not know, that the Carthaginian Armies are in a manner made up of foreign Mercenaries, who are always ready to serve the strongest Party? As soon then as I appear in Africa, you will see it all in a Flame. Hannibal will think of nothing but leaving Italy. What Joy will it be to you, Conscript Fathers, to receive more welcome News from Africa, than ever I sent you from Spain! My Hopes are not vain; but founded on the Protection of the Gods, the Destiny of the Roman People, and the Alliances I have made with Syphax and Masinissa. Fear nothing, Fabius; I shall not trust to their Fidelity, but with Circumspection. The Progress of the War will discover their Hearts to me. But would it now be Prudence in me to reject the Advances of Fortune, and refuse her Offers? Yes, Fabius, you may be assured, I will enter the Lists with Hannibal, when I have drawn him into Africa, his own Country. Is it not better to force him to run thither, than to follow him Step by Step in his Marches here? In Africa, Carthage will be the Prize of our Victories. Here the Republick has little to fear from the Efforts of Hannibal, now at the last Gasps. Do you think Licinius my Colleague is not sufficient to stop his Progress? Cannot he do as much against the weak Carthaginian, as you was able to do against him, when he over-run our Provinces in a victorious manner, and ravaged them? To suppose this were to do Injury to Licinius, in order to do yourself Honour at his Expence. This illustrious Consul cannot go into Africa. His Pontificate detains him here, and confines him to Italy. He has not so much as drawn Lots with me for our respective Provinces. So that I alone am left to go and try what Roman Valour can effect in the Neighbourhood of Carthage. How much will this War extend our

9 See what we have said of Agathocles, and the Success of the Wars he carried on in Africa, Vol. 2.

Fame among the People of the East! It will be reported among them, that Rome has in her Turn made the same Attempts on Africa, as Hannibal had made in Italy. It will there be said, that in order to purge our own Territories, we made as powerful a Diversion, as formerly to conquer Sicily. Let us then by all means restore Peace to Italy, by making Africa the Seat of the War! Let Carthage, who has so often made Rome tremble, now tremble in her Turn!—And now, Conscrip Fathers, what remains for me to do, but to lessen the Exploits of Fabius, as he has laboured to do my Expeditions in Spain? But Heavens forbid, that the young Consul should discover as much Weakness as the old General. What I have done, speaks sufficiently in my Favour, and does not need to be heightened by odious Comparisons.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVIII.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, P. LICINIUS
CRASSUS, Consuls.

THUS spake Scipio; but his Discourse was not favourably received by the Senate. He had imprudently boasted, That he would get the People to decree him *Africa* for his Province, if the *Conscrip Fathers* persisted in refusing to assign it him: And this had prejudiced the Assembly against him. *Fulvius*, who had been sometimes *Consul*, and once *Censor*, was the first who interrogated the *Consul*, in these Words. *What will you do, if the Senate should determine the Provinces of the Consuls? Will you acquiesce in their Decree, or appeal from it to the People?* The young *Consul* answered with Confidence, that he would do what he thought most conducive to the Publick Welfare. Then *Fulvius* replied; *I plainly foresaw what Answer you would make me. We know what Speeches you have given out. You did not come to the Senate to consult them, but to sound them. You have taken your Resolution, which is to have recourse to the People, in order to obtain Africa of them, if the Senate should refuse it.* At which Words, *Fulvius* turned towards the *Tribunes of the People*, who had Seats in the Assembly as usual, and said; *I absolutely refuse to declare my Opinion freely here; because we have to do with a Consul, who will not acquiesce in a Decree of the Senate: And I desire you, Tribunes, to support me in this Refusal.* Upon which the *Tribunes* instantly pronounced, That if the *Consul* would submit to the Determination of the Senators, they should determine the Affair by their Votes, and it should never be brought before the People: *Livy, ibid.* and that if the *Consul* would not acquiesce, they would support those who refused to vote. In short, after many Disputes, the *Consul* demanded one Day's time to confer, and settle Matters, with his Colleague: and as the Assembly could not refuse him so short a time, it adjourned to the next Day.

§. V. THIS Interval *Fabius* probably seized, to raise a great Clamour against the Pretensions of *Scipio*. He filled the whole City with Terror. He publicly cried out, that the State was in imminent Danger of speedy Ruin, if the young *Consul* was suffered to carry the War into *Africa*. Nay, he endeavoured to persuade *Licinius* to demand *Africa* for his Province. But this was manifestly irregular; and could only be the Dictate of Passion. It was not lawful for *Licinius* to leave *Italy*; nevertheless, this *Consul* gave *Fabius* no Umbrage: which was enough to make him overlook all Rules. And if he could not prevail on *Licinius* to ask *Africa* for himself; he at least engaged him to do his utmost to oppose the Glory of his Colleague. *Plut. Life of Fabius.*

THE next Day the Senate assembled; put the Affair of the Provinces of the two *Consuls* to the Vote; and came to the following Determination. The *Fathers* decreed, with regard to *Scipio*, That he should go and command in *Sicily*, and take upon him the Conduct of the *Roman Fleet* there, consisting only of thirty Ships of War; and That he might go into *Africa* with this small Armament, if he thought it for the Advantage of the Republick. And as for *Licinius* his Colleague, it was decreed, That he should go into *Bruttium*, continue the War with *Hannibal*, and take his¹⁰ Choice of the Armies *Cacilius* and *Veturius* had commanded the last Year. It was also ordered, That these two late *Consuls* should either draw Lots, or agree among themselves, which should command the Army, that was to act in *Bruttium*, in Conjunction with *Licinius*: and it being determined by Lot in favour of *Cacilius*, he, in Quality of *Pro Consul*, jointly with the *Consul* who continued in *Italy*, made War with *Hannibal*. As soon as these Regulations were made, *Scipio*, having failed in his Pretensions to *Africa*, as his Province, made ready to set out for *Sicily*; but

Livy. B. 28. c. 45.

¹⁰ *Livy* adds, that the Republick gave *Scipio* leave to add to his Army three hundred brave Men, who had served under him in *Spain*.

Year of R O M E
DXLVIII.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, Consuls.
Plut. Life of Fabius.

he did not lay aside his old Design. His Heart was wholly bent on *Africa*, and he still promised himself he should conquer it. So that his Thoughts were now entirely set on raising a pretty large Army, and carrying it first to *Sicily*, and from thence to *Africa*. But *Licinius* his Collegue interposed, and did what he could to obstruct his Measures. At the Persuasion of *Fabius*, he used all Means to hinder *Scipio*'s having such Funds assigned him, as were necessary for levying and supporting a great Number of Troops. However, *Scipio* at least obtained leave to carry as many Volunteers with him into *Sicily*, as he could get together; and a Power to ask of the Allies all Necessaries for building and equipping a new Fleet. Then he chiefly applied himself to *Hetruria*, which promised to supply the young Consul with the best Part of what he wanted; and kept her Word. All the Nations in this large Country voluntarily taxed themselves for him, according to their Abilities. The Inhabitants of ¹¹ *Cære* furnished *Scipio* with Corn, and other Provisions for his Crews. Those of ¹² *Populonium* gave him Iron for the building his Galleys; those of *Tarquiniæ* ¹³, Cloth for Sails; those of *Volaterræ* ¹⁴, Timber for his Ships; and lastly, those of *Aretium* ¹⁵, three thousand Bucklers, and as many Helmets, Halberds, Swords, long Pikes, Hatchets, Spades, Hooks, Kettles, and Mill-Stones as were wanted for forty Galleys. Of each sort of these Arms and Utensils they offered fifty thousand, with twenty thousand *Modii* of Corn, and as much Provision as was necessary to support the *Decuriones* and Rowers during their Passage. The Inhabitants of *Perusia* ¹⁶, *Clusium*, and *Russellæ*, cut down a considerable Part of their Forest, and supplied *Scipio* with Fir-Plank, and a considerable Quantity of Wheat. The People of *Umbria*, and some Cities of the *Sabines*, signalized their Zeal, by making great Levies of Troops among them. The *Marfi* ¹⁷, *Peligni* ¹⁸, and *Marrucini* ¹⁹, enlisted themselves for Rowers, even with Emulation; and lastly, the Inhabitants of *Camarinum* ²⁰, tho' independent on *Rome*, furnished ²¹ *Scipio* with a Body of six hundred Men well armed. The young Consul therefore put twenty *Quinqueremes*, and ten *Quadrيرهmes* upon the Stocks; hastened the building of them as much as possible; and at the End of forty Days, after the cutting of the Timber, the Fleet was built, rigged, and launched. So that he was now in a Condition to set Sail, with a Fleet of thirty new Galleys, and about seven thousand ²² Volunteers; and we shall for the present leave him, to sail ²³ to his Province, and take a View of the Affairs of *Italy*.

§. VI.

¹¹ *Cære*, a City in Old *Hetruria*, stood near the Place now called by the Natives *Cerveteri*. See what we have said of this City, Vol. 1 and 2.

¹² The Ruins of old *Populonium*, one of the most considerable Cities in *Hetruria*, are yet to be seen near *Piombino*. It stood, according to *Strabo*, on a Promontory which jetted out into the Sea, and formed a kind of *Peninsula*. This Cape is now called *Capo di Campana*. The Port of *Populonium* was the same which the *Italians* now call *Porto Baratto*.

¹³ Some Footsteps of old *Tarquiniæ* are yet to be seen in the Neighbourhood of *Tarqueno*, a Mile above *Corneto*. See the first Volume.

¹⁴ *Volaterræ*, one of the chief Cities of *Hetruria*, is yet in being in the Territory of *Pisa*, and is now called *Volaterrano*. See the preceding Volumes.

¹⁵ We have already had frequent Occasion to speak of the City of *Aretium*. It is now called *Arezzo*. See our Remarks in the preceding Volumes, particularly in Vol. 2.

¹⁶ The Cities of *Perusia*, *Clusium*, and *Russellæ*, have been already sufficiently described. The Remains of them are at present to be found at *Perouse*, *Chiusi*, and a Place which the Natives call *Bagni di Roselle*.

¹⁷ The *Marfi* inhabited a Part of *The Further Abruzzo*, in the Neighbourhood of the Lake *Celano*, formerly the Lake *Fucinus*. See what we have said of the Origin of these People in the preceding Volumes.

¹⁸ The *Peligni* possessed a Country in *Italy*, which is at present a Part of *The Hither Abruzzo*, round *Sermona*, between the Rivers *Pescera* and *Sangro*. See Vol. 2.

¹⁹ The *Marrucini*, originally *Marfi*, settled in that Canton of *The Hither Abruzzo*, which is now the Territory of *Chieti*. We have spoken of it, Vol. 2.

²⁰ The City which *Cæsar* calls *Camarinum*; and *Appian*, *Cameria*, was a City of *Umbria*. The *Italians* now call it *Camerino*. *Strabo* calls its *caput*. Hence the Term *Camertes*, which signified the Inhabitants of the Territory of *Camarinum*. See Vol. 2.

²¹ Several other Cities also, according to *Livy*, signalized their Zeal for *Scipio*. Among others, the Inhabitants of *Nursia*, *Reate*, *Amiternum*, and all the Territory of the *Sabines*, furnished the Roman General with Soldiers for his *African Expedition*. We say nothing of these three Cities here, having sufficiently shewn their Situations already. The first, now *Norcia*, stands in the Duchy of *Spoleto*; the second is now called *Rieti*; and the third *Amiterno*.

²² If *Plutarch* is to be credited, the great *Fabius* had Interest enough to hinder the young Romans from going Volunteers with *Scipio*. But the Greek Historian understood *Latin* but indifferently, as we have elsewhere observed; and he probably gave a false Interpretation to these Words of *Livy*, *Ut voluntarios sibi ducere liceret tenuit*. He might think *Fabius* the Nominative that answered to the Verb *tenuit*, and might understand this Verb in the Sense the *Greeks* sometimes give the Verb *ἵκνω*, when they use it to signify to hinder. Whereas *Livy* plainly uses *tenuit*, as synonymous to *obtenuit*; and meant, that *Scipio* obtained leave to carry with him as many Volunteers as he could get: and in this he agrees with *Appian*.

²³ *Livy* tells us, that before *Scipio* departed, the Roman Republick had sent *Marcus Pomponius Matro*, and

§. VI. *LICINIUS*, and *Cæcilius*, the former *Consul* for the Year, the latter now *Pro-Consul*, after his *Consulship* the last Year, went ²⁴ together to make the Campaign in the Country of the *Bruttii*, and oppose *Hannibal*. And with them all the Generals of Armies set out, each for his Province. Great Sums of Money were wanting to pay so many Troops; and in order to raise it, the Republick ordered the *Quæstors* to alienate a large Tract of Ground, from a Place called ²⁵ *The Greek Ditch* to the Sea. It was also decreed, that if any of the *Campani* had appropriated to themselves any of these Lands, which belonged to the Exchequer, Informations should be given of it, and the Informer should have the Tenth of the Money, for which the Ground sold. And lastly, the *Prætor Urbanus* was ordered to take Care that no *Campanian* transgressed the Limits assigned him.

IN these Affairs the Republick was engaged, when News was brought to *Rome* that *Mago* was landed in *Italy*. His Fleet consisted of about thirty Ships of War, and a greater Number of Transports. He brought with him an Army of twelve thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, for the most part raised in *Minorca*, where *Mago* had wintered. This *Carthaginian* made his Descent at ²⁶ *Genoa*, an open City, which he found defenceless, and took without Opposition. From thence he coasted along *Liguria* with his Fleet, to solicit the Nations to revolt: And he found two of the *Ligurian* Nations at War. The ²⁷ *Ingaunians* had taken up Arms against the ²⁸ *Intemelians*; and the *Carthaginian* General thought this a proper Opportunity for the Execution of his Designs. He therefore landed at ²⁹ *Savona*, made it his Magazine, laid up his Provisions and Utensils there, and guarded the City with ten of his Galleys. The twenty others he ordered for *Carthage*, upon a false Report, that *Scipio* was sailing thither. As for himself, he joined the fourteen thousand Men he landed with the *Ingaunians*, whose Cause he preferred, and marched against the *Intemelians*. And on this Account his Army daily increased. A great Number of *Gauls*, eternal Enemies to *Rome*, came to his Camp, from all Parts of *Cisalpine Gaul*; and this News was not unknown to *Spurius Lucretius*, who was watching this Country with an Army, in Quality of *Prætor*. *Spurius* therefore immediately sent Advice of it to the *Roman* Senate, and the Alarm was general in the Senate-house. *In vain*, said the Fathers, *have we defeated Asdrubal, if his Brother comes to take his Place, and renew the same kind of War? The Race of Hamilcar is an Hydra, whose Heads grow up as fast as they are cut off.* In order to guard against this new

Year of
R O M E
DXLVIII.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, P. LI-
CINIUS CRAS-
SUS, Consuls.

Zonaras, B. 9.
c. 10
Liv. 3, B. 28.
c. 46.

and *Quintus Catius*, to the Temple at *Delphi*; to make an Offering there in the Name of the Citizens, of a Crown of Gold of two hundred Pounds Weight, and of several Silver Statues, weighing in all a thousand Pounds. Part of the Spoils taken from *Asdrubal* were applied to this Purpose.

²⁴ It therefore can't be true, that *Licinius Crassus* had spent the Year of his *Consulate* at *Rome*, as *Plutarch* seems to have expressly said, in his *Life of the Great Fabius*. Nor is the Reason he gives of the *Consul's* Inaction, less false than the Fact itself. *Crassus*, says he, continued in *Rome*, in Obedience to the Laws relating to the *Pontifices Maximi*. It is surprizing that *Plutarch* should forget himself so much. He could not but know, and *Livy* had said it before him, That the *Pontifices Maximi* were indeed, on account of their Office, forbidden to go out of *Italy*. But no Body ever said that Religion indispensibly obliged them not to go out of *Rome*.

²⁵ The *Latin* Historian has not said enough of it, to determine exactly the Place where this *Greek Ditch* was. Some place it beyond the *Vulturnus*, near the *Anio*, at a little Distance from *Trentola* and *Aversa*, anciently *Trebula* and *Atella*. But this is barely a Conjecture, void of any certain Proof.

²⁶ Several Historians, among others *Procopius*, give the City of *Genoa* the Name of *Janua*; as if it had been built by *Janus*. And why *Stephen of Byzantium* calls it *Stalia*, is not known. It is thought, with Reason, that his Text has been altered. Before *Strabo's* Time, *Genoa* was the largest City in all *Liguria*.

²⁷ The *Ingauni* inhabited the Territory of *Alben-*

ga, a little City on the Coast of the *Ligurian* Sea. It was then called *Albium Ingaunum*, or *Albingaunum*, from the Name of the *Alpes* which bordered upon it, and the People who inhabited it.

²⁸ The *Intemeli* inhabited the most Southern and most Western Part of *Liguria*. Their capital City was that which is now called *Vimimille*. It formerly had the Name of *Albium Intemelium*. According to the Text of *Livy*, it was not with the *Intemeli*, but with the *Epanterii*, that the *Ingauni* were at War. *Ingauni bellum ea tempestate gerebant cum Epanteriis*. But he is the only Historian who mentions the *Epanterii*. And if the Term *Epanterii* be not a Corruption, we must, with *Cluver*, place this Nation near the *Alpes*, above *Albenga*.

²⁹ Thirty Miles above *Albingaunum*, or *Albium Ingaunum*, stood the City of *Savona*, which retains the same Name to this Day. Few modern Geographers distinguish it from *Sabbata*; whence the Marshes in the Neighbourhood were called *Vada Sabbatia*. The Inhabitants now call this Place *Vadi*, and, by Contraction, *Vai*. *Cluver*, who confounds *Sabbata* with *Savone*, quotes, in Proof of their being the same, *Antoninus's Itinerary*, which reckons that *Genoa* was thirty two thousand five hundred Geometrical Paces South of *Sabbata*; and this is indeed the true Distance of the Capital of *Liguria* from *Savona*. And some have thought that *Sabbata* was indeed a neighbouring City to *Savona*, but different from it. And this at least is certain, that the latter was next in Rank to *Genoa*, of all the *Ligurian* Cities.

Year of Attempt, the Senate commanded *M. Livius*, the *Pro-Consul*, who governed in *R O M E* *Hetruria*, to advance with his *Volones* near *Ariminum* ³⁰, where the *Prætor Lucretius* lay encamped with his Troops; and gave the *Prætor Servilius*, who commanded in *Rome*, Leave to send, if he judged proper, the rest of the *Roman* Soldiers in the City, to enlarge the Armies of *Livius* and *Lucretius* in *Gaul*. Accordingly, *Servilius* gave *Lævinus* an extraordinary Commission; and the latter commanded in the Field the Troops that were appointed to guard *Rome*. These Precautions, and the Dilatoriness of *Mago*, who made no great Haste to relieve *Hannibal*, lessened the Fears of the People; and a fresh Piece of News dispersed them. It was reported, That *Cn. Octavius* the *Roman* Commander in *Sardinia*, had attacked a Convoy of eighty Ships of Burthen, which were coming from *Carthage*, to bring Ammunition and Provisions to *Hannibal* or *Mago*; (for the Ancients don't agree to ³¹ whom this Fleet was sent;) and, That of these eighty Barks, *Octavius* had sunk twenty, and taken sixty. This Report raised a little Chearfulness among the Citizens; but it did not last long. News soon came, that the two Armies of the *Consul Licinius*, and of *Cæcilius*, in *Bruttium*, were forced to languish away their time in Idleness. A Plague raged in their Camp, and produced an universal Languor among the Troops. The Distemper lasted the whole Campaign, and reduced the *Romans* so low, that they could attempt nothing against *Hannibal*. Indeed the *Carthaginian* General was likewise forced to suspend all Hostilities. Besides that his Army was afflicted with the same Distempers, it was also oppressed with the most grievous Famine. So that he was forced to pass the whole Summer near the Temple ³² of *Juno Lacinia*; and there he erected an Altar, and dedicated it to that Goddess. But the Inscription he engraved on this Altar, in the *Punick* and *Greek* Languages, shewed that he did not design it as a Monument for the Honour of *Juno*, but for his own Glory. It contained nothing but his own Titles and Praises.

§. VII. DURING this Inaction of the *Roman* Armies in *Italy*, the Eyes of the Republick were wholly fixed on *Scipio's* Conduct in *Sicily*. The People were passionately desirous of seeing him in a Condition to go over into *Africa*; as may justly be inferred, from the voluntary Contributions of the Allies of *Rome*, in order to forward his Expedition. Only *Fabius*, and some *Roman* Generals, from base Motives of Jealousy, still persisted in refusing him the Sums, and Troops, necessary for new Exploits. As for the young *Consul*, he accommodated himself to the Times, and was not too hasty in putting his Designs in Execution. He continued in *Sicily*; but made Preparations for seizing the first Opportunity that should offer to go and lay waste the Neighbourhood of *Carthage*. He made it his whole Business for the present to discipline the Troops he had brought into *Sicily*, or found there, after his own Way. He began with the Volunteers he had brought with him; and divided them into Battalions, and *Manipuli*; and appointed *Centurions* over them. He set apart three hundred of the most robust and best built young Men among them, to be always about his Person, and made them his favourite Troop. But he did not declare the Use he intended to make of them. His Design was to mount them, and make them an invincible Squadron for his Guard; and wanting Horses, he made use of the following Expedient to furnish himself with them. He ordered three hundred young *Sicilians*, distinguished by their Nobility and Wealth, to come, well armed and mounted, and serve under him, at their own Expence. Before he reviewed the young *Sicilians*, he foresaw the Uneasiness their coming into the Service would cause in the Island. He knew their Mothers and Relations would grieve at the Departure of their Children for a strange Country. They looked on *Africa*, whither these young Men were going, as a Climate which would prove fatal to these tender Hopes of their Families. And therefore, when the young Troop appeared in the General's Presence, he with the gra-

³⁰ *Ariminum* still, in some measure, retains its old Name, in that of *Rimini*, as has been observed.

³¹ *Valerius of Antium*, quoted by *Livy*, thought, upon the Credit of some false Tradition, or unfaithful Memoirs, that the Fleet here spoken of had sailed from one of the Ports of *Liguria* or *Hetruria*, to *Carthage*. It carried thither, says this eminent Author, all the Booty that *Mago* had taken in

these Countries, and the Mountaineers of *Liguria* that he had made Slaves.

³² We have spoken above, p. 170. of this Volume, of the stately Temple erected to *Juno Lacinia*. The Goddess took this Surname from the *Lacinian Promontory*, at the extreme Part of the *Gulph of Tarentum*. It is now called by the *Italians*, *Capo delle Colonne*. See Vol. 2.

cious Air which he gave to whatever he said, bespoke them thus. *I have been informed, that you are afraid of engaging in the War for which you are designed. If so, make no Scruple to confess it. I had much rather see you decline the Service at first, than hear you afterwards murmur at it. That would render your Services useless to the Republick. Speak your Minds therefore freely, and be assured, I will have regard to your Remonstrances.* At which Words, a young Man of the Troop told the General, without Ceremony, that if he had his free Choice, he would chuse to tarry in *Sicily*, rather than run the Hazard of serving in the *Roman Army*: And *Scipio* took him at his Word. *Very well*, said he; *follow your Inclinations then. I have a Man ready to supply your Place. Give him your Horse and Arms, carry him Home with you, and instruct him in the Exercises proper for an Horseman.* As soon as he had named one of his chosen Troop of three hundred, to take the young Man's Place, the rest of the *Sicilian Squadron* seeing that the General's Terms were easy, excused themselves upon the same Condition. *Scipio* accepted their Offers, and by that means equipped his favourite Troop without Expence. But he added, to the timorous *Sicilians*, *That if any one of them should neglect to instruct his Guest carefully in the Exercise proper for a Horseman, he should take the Field himself.* Thus the Consul formed for himself a Body of Horse, which ever after distinguished themselves in the *Roman Armies*, and did the Republick great Services.

NOR was this all. He chose out the bravest of the *Legionaries*, among all the different Bodies of *Roman Troops*, which had long resided in *Sicily*, and out of them formed his Army. *Scipio* chose the oldest Soldiers before the youngest; and preferred those who had formerly served under *Marcellus*, in the Siege of *Syracuse*, to all others. Men trained up to Sieges, were by him judged the most proper Persons to execute the Design he continually had in View, of taking *Carthage*. When he had chosen out what Troops he pleased, he cantoned them in the Villages in *Sicily*, demanded certain Quantities of Corn, of the Cities, to support them; and laid up in store the Corn he had brought from *Italy*. In order to put his marine Affairs in a good Condition, he refitted the old Gallies he had found in the Island, and brought the new ones which came from *Italy* with him, under Shelter of the Port of *Panormus* ³³. As soon as his old Ships were repaired, he made use of them; gave his dear *Lælius* the Command of them; and sent him to ravage the Coasts of *Africa*; whilst he himself repaired to *Syracuse*, and re-established Tranquillity there.

THE *Syracusans* complained of the Encroachments of some of the *Romans*; who extended without measure the Claims which had been given them to certain Lands formerly belonging to the *Syracusans*. But the Consul restrained the Avarice of these unjust Usurpers. He by an Edict, and by particular Sentences, caused the Lands which had been taken from the lawful Possessors, to be restored them; and thereby supported the publick Faith, as well as the Reputation of *Rome*, in *Sicily*. This also gained him the Affections of the *Sicilians*, who all contributed heartily to the War he was preparing to make in *Africa*. So that his Arms soon began to prosper.

§. VIII. His dear Friend *Lælius* led the Way to this important Expedition; and arrived before *Hippo*, in the Night. As soon as it was light, *Lælius* landed all his Men, both regular Forces and Rowers; and the Citizens were not upon their Guard, but lived in as great Security as if they had had no Enemies to fear. So that the *Romans* found it no difficult Matter to make a terrible Devastation in the Farms and Villages in that Neighbourhood; and the Alarm being general along the Coast, it at length reached to *Carthage*. It was there reported, that *Scipio* had made a Descent near ³⁴ *Hippo*, with an Army: And tho' the News was false, yet it was probable. The *Carthaginians* knew that the Consul was come to *Sicily*, and that it was no long Passage from thence to *Africa*. Besides, the Persons who brought the News having been exceedingly affrighted on the Spot, had not given

³³ *Panormus* is that City of *Sicily*, which is now known by the Name of *Palermo*. We have spoken of it, B. 24. p. 583. of Vol. 2. Note 18.

³⁴ The ancient Geographers mention two Cities of this Name in *Africa*; one called *Hippo Regius*, now *Bone*; and the other *Hippo Diarrhytus*. The

latter is here spoken of; and there are now but small Remains of it. It stood pretty near *Utica*, twenty five or thirty Leagues from *Carthage*. It is now only a Castle belonging to the Kingdom of *Tunis*. See Vol. 2.

themselves

Year of
R O M E
DXLVIII.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVIII.

P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, P. LICINIUS
CRASSUS, Consuls.

Livy, B. 29.
c. 4.

themselves time to number the *Roman* Ships, or the Troops that landed. So that nothing but Lamentations were heard, in all the Streets of *Carthage*. *What a Change of Fortune is here!* said the People; *the Misfortunes of Rome are transferred to us. But shall we have the same Courage, and the same Succours here, as the Romans had in Italy? Their Republick found inexhaustible Resources within her Capital. The Latins, and other Allies, furnished her with innumerable Troops for her Defence. But will that be our Case? We have no disciplined Soldiers in Carthage, but foreign Mercenaries, whose Fidelity is wavering. Can we depend on Syphax and Masinissa, our Neighbours? One single Interview with Scipio drew them from us. What is Mago doing in Italy? He is losing time in useless Wars, and makes no Advances towards Hannibal. Nay, this famous General himself begins to grow remiss in Bruttium, and his Glory declines.* Then these Clamours of the People brought the Senate of *Carthage* to such Resolutions as were suitable to the present Necessity. Levies were made with all Haste, both in City and Country. Succours were sent for from the neighbouring Nations; the City was fortified; Store of Ammunition and Provisions brought into it; and the Gallies in the Port were armed, to be sent to *Hippo*, against the *Roman* Fleet. All Hands were at Work, when News came, That the Descent of the *Romans* was not formidable; That *Lælius* had only landed Troops enough to lay the Country waste; and That *Scipio* was still in *Sicily*, wholly employed in Preparations for a Voyage to *Africa*. This therefore put a Stop to the Uneasiness for the present; but the *Carthaginians* doubled their Preparations upon it. The Storm which threatened them, on the Side of *Sicily*, would not suffer them to neglect any thing. They sent Ambassadors to *Syphax*, and the other little Sovereigns on the Coasts; and above all things, laboured to engage *Philip* King of *Macedon* to come to the Assistance of *Africa*; or at least to carry the War into *Sicily*. *Carthage* promised him two hundred ³⁵ Talents of Silver, if he would pursue either of these Schemes. Messengers were sent to *Hannibal* and *Mago*, with Orders to these two Generals to obstruct the Departure of the Troops *Scipio* expected from *Italy*, as much as possible. *Mago* was reproached, for not making more Haste to his Brother; and a Reinforcement was sent him from the Port of *Carthage* to *Liguria*, consisting of no less than twenty five Gallies, on board which were six thousand Foot, eight hundred Horse, seven Elephants, and vast Sums of Money, for hiring Troops in *Cisalpine Gaul*.

BUT whilst this Alarm filled the Senate of *Carthage* with Disquietudes, *Lælius* was preparing to sail off. It is scarce credible, what Booty he had gathered together, in this defenceless Country. But his Departure was delayed some Days, by the Arrival of a Prince whom he did not expect. *Masinissa* having learnt, that a *Roman* Fleet had made a Descent near *Hippo*, he immediately came to confer with the *Roman* Commander. His Zeal for *Rome*, and Hatred for *Carthage*, would not suffer him to deliberate. He came, attended only with some *Numidian* Horse, and addressed himself to *Lælius* in this manner. *Nothing was ever more surprizing than Scipio's Delays in Sicily! Never was a more favourable Opportunity to begin the War on these Coasts, than now! Carthage is alarmed, Syphax is engaged in Wars with his Neighbours, and wavers between Rome and Carthage. Should he be victorious, and conquer all his Difficulties, it is to be feared, that he may desert the Romans. Hasten, by all means, Lælius, hasten Scipio's Departure. He suffers by his Delays. The Moment the Consul lands, I will join him, with my Forces. Tho' I am, by Violence, dispossessed of the Throne of my Fathers, I am not destitute. I can bring a good Body of Horse and Foot to the Roman Camp. Be gone, Lælius, be gone, and delay not; at this very Instant, the Carthaginian Fleet is sailed out of Port, to intercept you in your Return; and it will not be for your Advantage to fight it in your Way.* *Lælius* thanked *Masinissa* for his Zeal, and wholesome Advice; got ready that Day; set Sail the next; and at length his Fleet, loaded with the Spoils of *Africa*, arrived safe in *Sicily*. There he related to *Scipio* his Conference with *Masinissa*, and heightened the Ardour of the Consul to put his Design in Execution.

§. IX. IN the mean time, the twenty five Gallies the *Carthaginians* had sent to *Liguria*, arrived on the Coasts of *Genoa*. *Mago* was then making War for the In-

³⁵ These two hundred Talents, according to our Computations, amount to the Sum of two hundred thousand French Crowns.

gaunians, and ten of his Ships lay under *Savona*, where he received the Orders of his Republick. Being directed to raise a great Army, and lead it without Delay to *Hannibal's* Assistance, he immediately called a Council of the Chiefs of *Liguria*, and *Cisalpine Gaul*, (many of whom were within reach of his Camp) and spake thus. *I brought my Army, and landed it here, with no Design but to deliver you from the Tyranny of the Romans; and you see the fresh Succours I have brought you from Carthage. It is your Business to supply me with as many more Men as you think are necessary to enable my Troops to perfect your Freedom. You know that two Roman Armies, one commanded by Lucretius, the other by Livius, are joined, to dispute our Passage; and you see how large an Army is necessary to oppose those two Commanders. It behoves you then to furnish me with Troops enough to make Head against the Enemy, and over-power them.* Thus spake *Mago*; and the Gauls made him this Reply. *You are not a Stranger to the Condition of our Countries. The Romans have beset us with two great Armies. One is in our Territories near Ariminum; the other encamps in Hetruria, almost in our Sight. What room is there for any of us to shew our Ardor, to join you in any effectual manner. If we openly declare, ever so little in your Favour, and raise Levies for you; the Romans will sack our Provinces, and our Houses will become a Prey to these merciless Neighbours. Be satisfied therefore with the Succours we can privately lend you. As for the Ligures, they are farther out of the reach of the Roman Arms, and may, if they please, openly declare against the Republick that tyrannizes over them.*

Year of
R O M E
DXLVIII.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, Consuls.

Livy, B. 29.
c. 5.

ACCORDINGLY, the *Ligures* did as was proposed. They only demanded two Months time for making Levies in their Country, and openly revolted. *Mago* contented himself with sending Persons, in whom he could confide, among the Gauls, to buy Troops there; and these Enrolments were privately made, tho' numerous. The *Gallic* Nations also furnished the *Carthaginian* with all Sorts of necessary Provisions, without Noise, and unknown to the *Romans*. So that *Mago's* Forces became considerable by these Means; and he was extremely impatient to draw near to *Rome*, and join his Brother.

As for the two Generals, *Livius* and *Lucretius*, they took their Measures according to the Preparations *Mago* was making. They encamped together near *Ariminum*, and put themselves into a Condition of meeting the Enemy, if he advanced towards *Rome*, or of shutting up the Gauls, and hindering their Motions, in case *Mago* continued in the Neighbourhood of the *Alpes*: and this Disposition of the two Armies had all the Effect that *Livius* and *Lucretius* expected from it. *Mago* continued in *Liguria*, and the *Romans* remained on the Confines of *Cisalpine Gaul*. By this means, *Italy*, tho' infested at both Extremities, by *Mago* and *Hannibal*, continued quiet in the Provinces nearest to *Rome*. All Motions to a War seemed confined to *Sicily* only.

§. X. INDEED *Scipio*, since the Advice he had received from *Masimissa*, had been wholly bent on his *African* Expedition. But the Greatness of the Attempt, and the Fear of failing in it, made it necessary to proceed with great Caution, and to make still greater Preparations. The Consul was not rash, tho' intrepid: And having a little Leisure, it came into his Thoughts to retake ³⁶ *Locri* from *Hannibal*, who had possessed himself of it. This great City belonged to the Country of the *Bruttii*, was a maritime City on the Coast of *Italy*, not far from *Sicily*, where *Scipio* was then residing; and an Accident excited the Consul to form a Design of crossing the Sea, and surprizing it.

WHILST *Scipio* was at *Messana* ³⁷, he was informed of a Plot, that the *Locrian* Lords, who were Exiles at *Rhegium* ³⁸, had form'd, to put *Rome* again in Possession of their native City. In an Incursion, a Party of *Romans* had found a Company of Masons and Carpenters, and brought them Captives to *Rhegium*. Upon this it was natural for the Exiles, who had been long from their native Country, to enquire of the New-Comers, in what Condition they had left *Locri*, at their Departure; and these shewed the Refugee *Locrians*, that it would be easy to put the

³⁶ The City of the *Locri* is called by the ancient Geographers *Locri Epi-Zephirii*, because it was near Cape *Zephirium*, which the *Italians* now call *Capo Bursano*. This City is thought to have stood where we now find the City of *Gierazzo*. See Vol. 2.

³⁷ We have already shewn the Origin of *Messana*, or *Messina*, as it is now called, Vol. 2.

³⁸ See what we have said of *Rhegium*, B. 21. p. 437 of Vol. 2. Note 67.

Year of
ROM E
DXLVIII.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, P. LICINIUS
CRASSUS, Consuls.

Place into the Hands of its first Masters. *The Garrison of the Hannibalists, say they, who defend Locri, have an entire Confidence in us. They employ us in repairing all the Works about the City. Had we our Liberty, we would return to Locri, and deliver it up to the Romans.* The *Locri* in the Interest of *Rome* did not neglect the Workmens Offers; but, being very desirous of returning soon to their old Habitations, chose rather to send notice of this to *Scipio*, than to *Licinius*, tho' *Bruttium* was his Province. And the young *Consul* did not think the Proposal impracticable. His Fleet lay idle; *Locri* had two Citadels, one to defend it on the Sea-Side, and the other on the Land-Side; and he thought it most practicable to surprize the Place by the Citadel next the Sea. It was agreed at *Rhegium* what Signals should be given the Workmen by Night, when they were returned to *Locri*: and the latter promised to deliver up the Town, in Exchange for their Liberty.

NEVERTHELESS, *Scipio* was not anxious to go himself upon this Expedition to *Locri*. He sent two *Legionary Tribunes*, *Sergius* and *Matienus*, to *Rhegium*, with Orders for the *Pro-Prætor Pleminius* to lead the three thousand Men he commanded at *Rhegium* before *Locri*, and give the Signals agreed on. Accordingly, every thing was ready on the Day appointed; and the *Romans* provided themselves with Scaling-Ladders answerable to the Height of the Walls of the Citadel which they were to scale.

ABOUT Midnight *Pleminius* arrived before *Locri*, gave his Signals, and planted his Ladders. Upon this, the Workmen who were in the Plot let down other Ladders from the Top of their Walls, and by their Assistance a good Number of *Roman* Soldiers were immediately upon the Ramparts, and were introduced into the Citadel. The rest of the *Roman* Troops continued at the Foot of the Wall, to wait the Issue of the Enterprize; which succeeded to *Scipio's* Desire. The *Roman* Soldiers admitted into the Citadel, cut to pieces the *Carthaginian* Guard in their Sleep; but this Massacre could not be made without Noise; and the Groans of the Dying were heard into the City. The *Carthaginian* Garrisons appointed to defend the City, and second Citadel, ran to Arms, and were numerous enough to have overpowered the few *Romans* who had climbed up the Walls; but those who continued at the Foot of the Walls making a great Shout jointly with their Companions, who were already Masters of the Citadel, it was thought that several thousands of *Romans* were already entered; and the *Hannibalists* therefore desisted from attacking them, and fled for Refuge to the second Citadel. By this means, the Inhabitants of the City were left sole Masters of it, and were invested by the *Romans* on one hand, and the *Carthaginians* on the other. In the Citadel next the Sea, *Pleminius* acted as Governor, and one *Hamilcar* did the same in the other Citadel. Both Parties fortified themselves, and each Commander brought into his Fort all the Succours he could gather from the Neighbourhood. *Hannibal* was not far off. His Camp was on the Banks of the ³⁹ *Alex*, a River which ran into the Territory of *Locri*, and divided it from that of *Rhegium*. He had not far to go, to assist *Hamilcar*, and he came, and would have driven the *Romans* out of their new Post, if the Inhabitants of *Locri*, who were tired with the *Carthaginian* Yoke, had not declared for *Pleminius*. But this was not enough to satisfy the *Pro-Prætor*. He sent Advice of the low Condition to which *Locri* was reduced to *Scipio*, then residing at *Messana*, and in a readiness to embark his Troops, whenever he should judge it necessary.

UPON this News, and the Report that *Hannibal* invested *Locri*, *Scipio* set sail, as soon as the Sea was passable; and came to *Pleminius's* Assistance, with inconceivable Expedition. But before the *Consul* arrived, *Hannibal* had sent Orders to *Hamilcar* to fall on the Citadel over-against his own, and attack it vigorously on the Side next the City, whilst he on his Part vigorously assaulted it behind. This was a well concerted Design; but *Hannibal* unfortunately wanted Scaling-

³⁹ The River *Alex*, now called by the Natives *Alece*, waters Part of *The Further Calabria*, and runs into the *Ionian Sea*. Some ancient Authors call it *Cacinos*, others *Carcinos*, and some *Cecinum*. According to *Livy*, *Hannibal* encamped on the Banks of the River *Butbrotus*. But neither ancient nor

modern Geographers know any thing of the Name of this River. They know of none but the *Alex* in the Neighbourhood of *Locri*. Nevertheless *Berri*, without any Proof, believed the *Butbrotus* to be the same River which is now called *Novito*.

Ladders. He therefore made a Sort of Tortoise of all the Baggage of his Army thrown up in Heaps, to mount the Wall over them; but this Attempt proved fruitless. And afterwards, *Hannibal* could do nothing more than patroll round the Place, and try to find out the weak Parts of the Ramparts; and he ventured to advance so near the Wall, that one of the Soldiers who marched by his Side was knocked down with a Dart thrown from the Wall; and this Accident affrighted him. He immediately sounded a Retreat, and went and encamped more than Bow-shot from the Place. All these Delays gave *Scipio* time to arrive; and he made his Descent privately, and without Interruption. He had just Day-light enough to enter the City, where the Inhabitants were disposed to favour him; and *Hannibal*, and his *Carthaginians* in the second Citadel, seem to have known nothing of his Arrival. But be that as it will; at Break of Day *Hamilcar* made an Attack on the Side of the City, whilst *Hannibal*, now furnished with Ladders, began to scale the Walls: and *Scipio* took this Opportunity to make a Sally against the Assailants. *Hannibal* expected nothing less: so that two hundred *Carthaginians*, on whom the *Romans* unexpectedly fell, were immediately cut in pieces. And then the *Carthaginian* General perceived, that *Scipio* was in Person at the Head of his Troops. Upon which he, without Delay, retired to his Camp near the *Alex*, and sent Orders to the *Carthaginians* in his second Citadel, to provide for their Safety as well as they could. The latter set Fire to the Houses in which they dwelt, and by Favour of the Fire escaped in haste, and rejoined *Hannibal* before Night. And then *Scipio* was sole Master of the City, and its two Citadels.

§. XI. THE Conquest of *Locri*, in *Bruttium*, streightned *Hannibal* more than ever; and all that now remained was to secure it for the *Romans*. Accordingly, *Scipio* gave good Orders for that Purpose, before he left it; and thought he had secured it against all the Efforts of *Hannibal*. He did not then imagine, that *Pleminius*, whom he left Governor there, could raise those cruel Disturbances in *Locri*, which we shall soon see embroil it. However, it was necessary in the mean time to determine the Fate of these *Locri*, newly conquered; and the *Consul* assembled them in the Market-place. There he first reproached them with their former Revolt, and cut off the Heads of the Authors of the Insurrection. When the City had surrendered to *Hannibal*, it had been divided into two Factions. One was for the *Romans*, the other declared for the *Carthaginians*. The Heads of the *Roman* Faction, being banished from their Country, had fled for Refuge, partly to *Rhegium*, and partly to *Scipio*, in *Sicily*. The *Consul's* first Care was therefore to reinstate them in the Possession of their own Lands, and to distribute among them those that belonged to *Hannibal's* Friends. But in this Judgment *Scipio* had regard to the Authority of the *Roman* Senate; and declared that his Determinations should be of no Force, till they were approved of at *Rome*. He likewise assured the *Locri*, that to whatever Condition the Senate should reduce them, it would be better than what they had experienced under *Hannibal*; and indeed, *Scipio* could not then foresee the contrary. He did not dream of the Commotions that the cruel and avaritious *Pleminius* would soon raise there; and therefore left this unworthy *Pro-Prætor* Governor of *Locri*, and returned to *Messana*.

It was very improbable that the *Locri*, how ill soever treated by their new Masters, could suffer more than they had done under the Government of the *Carthaginians*; but they found *Pleminius* a more untractable Governour than *Hamilcar* himself had been. As incredible as it may appear, the *Roman* Soldiers, under the Command of the unjust *Pleminius*, surpassed even those Barbarians the *Africans*, in Cruelty and Avarice. The unfortunate *Locri* were robbed by *Pleminius* and his Garrison, of every thing that the greedy and hungry Soldiers could think worth taking from them. The City seemed to be given up to be pillaged. The Wives and Children of these unfortunate Burghers suffered all the infamous Violences and Cruelties that are dreaded in an Assault. Nay, the Gods themselves, and their Temples, fell a Prey to these sacrilegious Men. They even ventured to seize the Treasure which was kept buried in the Sanctuary of *Proserpine*. *Pyrrhus* had⁴⁰ been the only Person who had hitherto dared to lay his Hands on so sacred a Depositum; and the Shipwreck of the Fleet of this famous King of

⁴⁰ See what we have said of the Temple of *Proserpine*, and *Pyrrhus's* Attempt upon it, Vol. 2.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVIII.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, P. LICINIUS
CRASSUS, Consuls.

Epirus, had been attributed to his Impiety. Nevertheless, *Pyrrhus* had had Religion enough to restore the Goddess the Treasure he had taken from her; and had taken Pains to appease her with Expiations. But *Pleminius's* Crime was as great, and not followed by any Repentance; and if we believe some superstitious Historians, *Proserpine* found Means to take Vengeance likewise on the Villanies of the *Roman* Garrison. They say, she infatuated them. This Garrison of *Locri* consisted of two Bodies of *Romans*, one of which obeyed *Pleminius*, and the other the two *Tribunes*, *Sergius* and *Matienus*; and both were equally rapacious. These greedy Soldiers often quarrelled among themselves, about the Prey they had taken from the Citizens: And one Day, as a Soldier, who had taken a Vase of Silver out of an House by Force, was running hastily away with it, he met the two *Tribunes*. They immediately ordered the Prey to be taken out of the Hands of this Robber, by their own Men; and this Soldier, who belonged to *Pleminius*, cried out, and begged the Assistance of his Fellows. On the other hand, the Soldiers of the two *Tribunes* ran together; a Battel ensued, in which *Pleminius's* Troops were beaten; and then they had Recourse to their Commander. They shewed him the Wounds they had received; and in the Heat of their Revenge, vented their Rage on him. They grossly insulted him; and the Audaciousness of the Soldiers transported him beyond himself. In his Fury, he came to the two *Tribunes*, (for, as *Pro-Prætor*, and Commander in chief, he had a Superiority over them,) and, without considering the Consequences, caused them to be stripped, that they might be beaten with Rods. The *Tribunes* would not submit to this Indignity, without Resistance; and whilst Endeavours were used to take off their Cloaths, they made such Outcries, that the Soldiers they commanded heard them, and fled to their Defence. The *Tribunes* had already received some Strokes with the Rods, when they came; and upon the Sight of this unworthy Treatment, their Soldiers were no longer Masters of themselves. Without any regard to the Dignity of the *Pro-Prætor*, they beat his *Liçtors*, took *Pleminius* himself from off his Tribunal, carried him into a private Place, and, after they had severely beat him, cut off his Nose and Ears, and left him weltering in his Blood.

THIS Adventure made too much Noise, for *Scipio* to be ignorant of it in *Sicily*; the chief of the *Locri* carried to him their Complaints against the *Roman* Garrison. Upon this, the *Consul* instantly left *Messana*, came to *Locri*, and there took Cognizance of the Affair. It was natural for a General to pronounce in favour of a Commanding Officer, thereby to keep up Order among the Subalterns; and the *Consul* declared for the *Pro-Prætor*, put the *Tribunes* in Chains, and ordered them to be carried to *Rome*, to be tried there. But the *Consul's* Sentence did not satisfy the *Pro-Prætor*. Every Man under Affronts, thinks himself the only fit Person to resent and revenge the Insults he has received, as they ought: And *Pleminius* set no Bounds to his Resentment. As soon as *Scipio* disappeared, he gave up the Reins to his Fury. The two unfortunate *Tribunes*, who had already been condemned by *Scipio* to be carried to *Rome*, were brought before him; and the *Pro-Prætor*, of his own Authority, condemned them to suffer the most cruel Punishments. No Part of their Bodies was spared; and their Torments ended only with their Lives. And even then the Cruelty of *Pleminius* was not satiated. He extended his Rage to their mangled dead Bodies, would not suffer them to be buried, but left them exposed, for a Prey to Dogs and Vultures. And lastly, the *Pro-Prætor* exercised the same Cruelties on those of the *Locri*, who had complained to *Scipio* of his Oppressions and Robberies. As one Crime naturally draws on another, *Pleminius* now committed much greater Violences and Brutalities in *Locri*, than he had done before. And these terrible Actions did not only affect his own Character; the Odium of them fell also upon *Scipio*, who had authorized them by a little too much Indulgence; and those who envied him, made their Advantage of it afterwards, and accused him for them before the Senate.

§. XII. But in the mean time, the brave *Consul* was continually hastening his Preparations in *Sicily*, for his *African* Expedition. He expected that his Republick would at least suffer him to carry the War into the Neighbourhood of *Carthage*, the next Year; and he employed his present Leisure in disciplining his Troops, exercising his Crews, and building Machines for Sieges. Nor did he neglect reading the *Greek Books* with which he found *Sicily* plentifully stored. He loved to improve

improve his Understanding; and his Taste for Letters led him to employ his vacant Hours from military Affairs, in Study. And now he received an Account of the State of Affairs in *Spain*. He had left this large Region in Peace; and had he continued there, his Presence would have preserved its Tranquillity. But he was now informed what new Troubles his Absence had occasioned. As soon as *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*, the petty Sovereigns of the *Lacetani* and *Ilergetes*, found that they were not under the Inspection of such Roman Generals as *Scipio*, they despised the new *Pro-Consuls*, *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Manlius Acidinus*. And from Contempt they, without any other Cause, soon proceeded to a Revolt. They spread Reports among their People, That *Rome* had no General left but *Scipio*; That *Hannibal* had slain all the rest; That *Scipio* had been sent for from *Spain*, only to oppose the invincible *Carthaginian*; That *Rome* had drawn all her old Troops out of *Spain*, and supplied their Places with only new Levies; and That this weak Army was commanded by Men, who were only the Shadows of Generals, and had no Experience. Formerly indeed, said they, we were under the fatal Necessity of submitting either to the Romans, or Carthaginians. But now *Scipio* has delivered us from the latter, and *Rome* has sent two Men of little Merit to supply his Place. The Time is come for setting *Spain* at Liberty, and making the Romans suffer the same Treatment the Carthaginians meet with from them. Let us clear our Dominions of these weak Conquerors; and restore our Countrymen their Manners, Customs, and ancient Liberty. These Discourses being spread abroad among the People, not only made an Impression on the *Lacetani* and *Ilergetes*; but also on the *Ausetani*⁴¹, and other neighbouring Nations. In a few Months *Indibilis*, the Author of the Revolt, got together thirty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; and the several *Rendezvous* of the Confederates was in the Country of the *Sedetani*, who continued faithful to the Romans.

THE two *Pro-Consuls*, for private Reasons, as well as out of Regard to the publick Weal, were obliged not to leave the Revolt of the two *Spanish* Kings unpunished. It was a Contempt for them, that alone had caused *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* to take Arms; and it was necessary to remove the Opinion, That *Spain* had no Roman Governours in it, who were capable of forcing it to pay its Conquerors their due Respect. *Lentulus* and *Acidinus* therefore joined their Forces, and marched together against the two rebellious Kings. They entered the Country of the *Ausetani*, but committed no Hostilities there; tho' they knew this People had gone over to the Revolters. They hoped to have brought them back to their Duty, by gentle Methods. At length, the *Pro-Consuls* arrived within Reach of the Rebels, and pitched their Camp at three Miles Distance from that of the Enemy. Ever since the Days of *Numa Pompilius*, the Romans had always, and in all Places, made it a Rule, never to begin War, till they had first tried pacifick Negotiations; and the *Pro-Consuls* therefore sent Deputies from their Camp, to persuade the two Kings to return to their Obedience. But the Revolters gave them no Answer, otherwise than by boldly sending out a Detachment against the Roman Forragers; and though nothing considerable happened in this Skirmish, which was only between the Horse, it was the Prelude to an open War. The next Day the whole *Spanish* Army appeared in good Order, about a thousand Paces from the Roman Camp.

§. XIII. The main Body of the Enemy consisted of the *Ausetani*. The *Ilergetes* were posted in the right Wing, and the Troops of the smaller Nations in the left. In the Middle of their Army, the two Kings had left a vast Space, for a free Passage for their Horse, who were to fall on the Roman Battalions that way. On the other hand, the *Pro-Consuls* did not decline the Challenge, but drew up their Legions after the usual Manner; with this only Difference, that they likewise, after the Example of the Enemy, left great Passages open for their Squadrons. *Lentulus* had observed, that the *Spanish* Horse would certainly fall on his Legions, thro' the great Openings in the Center of the Enemy's Army; and he therefore ordered the Tribune who commanded his Squadrons, to fly with all Speed against the Enemy's Horse, as soon as they should appear. The Battel was begun by the Infantry; and those of both Armies behaved themselves valiantly. The *Ilergetes*,

⁴¹ The *Ausetani* were so called from *Ausa*, or the *Spaniards* now call *Le Vic d'Osuna*. See p. 59. *Osuna*, their Capital, a City of *Catalonia*, which of this Volume, Note 17.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVIII.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, Consuls.

especially; signalized themselves. They pressed the twelfth ³² *Legion*, which was posted in the left Wing of the *Romans*, with great Vigour; and were just ready to break through it, when *Lentulus* ordered the thirteenth to advance. This came very seasonably, to the Relief of the twelfth; the Fight was thereby renewed, and the Strength on both Sides equalled. After these prudent Dispositions, *Lentulus* went and joined his Collegue, (whom he found busy in encouraging the Soldiers in the first Line,) and supplied the Places of the fatigued *Manipuli* with fresh Troops. *Lentulus* told him that all was well in the left Wing, and that the General of the *Roman* Horse had Orders to attack the Enemy on a sudden; and at that Instant the *Roman* Cavalry entered into the Spaces in the main Body of the Enemy's Troops. They fell on their Infantry, both to the right and left, and caused such Confusion among the *Spanish* Battalions, that they, in Disorder, filled up the Space thro' which their own Cavalry were to enter upon Action.

WHEN therefore they came to move, they found the Intervals filled up with their own Infantry; so that these brave Horse were of no Use, and the Battel was continued, on the Side of the Rebels, solely by their Foot. Then the *Pro-Consuls* excited their *Legions* to take Advantage of the Disorder the Cavalry had caused among the Enemy's Battalions; and said, *Break through them! break through them! before they have time to rally.* These Words raised the Courage of the *Romans*; the Enemy's Troops began to give way, and their Ensigns to totter; and a Rout had certainly been the Consequence, if the brave *Indibilis* had not dismounted, and all his *Spanish* Horse with him. These brave Men stood their Ground in their first Line, and fought like Men desperate. Even when they saw their King, wounded with a Javelin, fall on the Ground, and breathing his last, it did not abate their Ardour. They were all killed upon the same Place, and did not long survive the Head of their Revolt. Then the Rout was general, and all fled. And the *Romans* were so vigorous and active in pursuing the Fugitives, that they did not suffer the Cavalry to remount, or the Foot to recover their Camp. A very great Slaughter was made of them; thirteen thousand *Spaniards* were killed on the Spot, and eight hundred made Prisoners of War. The Camp of the two Kings was taken and plundered; and in short, the Victory was complete. The *Romans* lost only two hundred of their Men in the left Wing. The few *Spaniards* that escaped, rambled for some time about the Fields, or fled to the Villages for Refuge; till at length *Mandonius* assembled them together, to consult what Measures were to be taken. The *Spaniards* were not for running themselves into new Dangers; they turned their Complaints against the Authors of their Revolt; and the Result of the Debate was, That a Deputation should be sent to the *Pro-Consuls*, to obtain a Peace, and moderate Treatment. These poor vanquished People had nothing more to do, but to appear as Suppliants in the *Roman* Camp; and they desired only to have their Lives saved, and some small Remains of Liberty. They surrendered up their Country, to be disposed of as the *Roman* People should think fit; and promised to be always faithful Subjects for the future. They consented even to lay down their Arms, with a Promise never to take Arms again, but in Obedience to the Orders of the Republick. And lastly, they threw all the Blame of the Insurrection upon *Indibilis*, and those brave Nobles, who had fallen by his Side.

BUT the *Pro-Consuls* did not leave the Vengeance of *Rome* imperfect. They would not hearken to the Suppliants, but upon Condition that they should deliver up *Mandonius*, and his Accomplices in the Revolt, alive. In case they refused to do this, they were threatened with having their Country laid waste with Fire and Sword. The Deputies made a Report to the Assembly of the Confederate Nations, of the Threatenings and Promises of the Republick; and then the Council, without Hesitation, seized *Mandonius*, secured the Heads of the Sedition, and sent them, under a strong Guard, to the Camp of the *Pro-Consuls*. From thence, it is probable that they were sent Prisoners to *Rome*, and there punished. As for the *Roman* Army, it drew great Advantages from this Expedition. The conquered People were forced to give their Conquerors double Pay for the Year, and to furnish every Soldier with a Jacket, a *Sagum*, and Corn for six Months. And

42 Among the *Romans*, the *Legions* were distinguished by their Ancientness, and were called the *first*, *second*, &c. according to the Dates of their

Establishment. The eldest *Legions* took Place at *Rome*, as the oldest Regiments do in *France*.

lastly, the *Pro-Consuls* demanded Hostages of the thirty Nations that had mutinied. Thus *Lentulus* and *Acidinus* gave the *Spaniards* fatal Proofs of their Bravery. The Confederacy was broken, and *Spain* continued for some time in as much Tranquillity as immediately after its Conquest.

§. XIV. *SCIPIO* received this News in *Sicily*, with Joy; but at the same time learnt that his Colleague *Licinius* had made but an unfortunate Campaign against *Hannibal*, in the Country of the *Bruttii*. The Plague had infected both the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* Camps: And the Distemper had not gone off, even at the Approach of Winter, when it was time to assemble the *Centuries* at *Rome*, for electing the Great Magistrates. So that *Scipio* had great Reason to bless Heaven that he had not sunk under the Jealousy of *Fabius*. The Design of the old Man was to have kept the young *Consul* in *Italy*, and sent him against *Hannibal*. And what Glory could he have acquired there? As for *Licinius*, he was not in a Condition to return to the City, and preside in the Great *Comitia*. He wrote to the Senate, That it was time to withdraw the shatter'd Army of the *Pro-Consul* *Cæcilius* from *Bruttium*; That his own was sufficient to keep *Hannibal*, who had already withdrawn his Troops, in Awe; and lastly, That if the Senate pleased, he would nominate *Cæcilius Dictator*, to preside in the approaching *Comitia*. The *Conscript Fathers* approved of the Proposal; and he spent the rest of his *Consulship* in *Bruttium*, kept *Hannibal* in Awe, and nominated *Cæcilius Dictator*, only to assemble the *Centuries*.

§. XV. BUT as much afflicted as *Hannibal's* Camp was with the Plague, in the Summer, this formidable *Carthaginian* still struck Terror into the People of *Rome*. They could not be at perfect Ease, till this dangerous Enemy was driven out of *Italy*; and the Republick sought all possible Means to do it. One Method for it was discovered in the *Sybilline Books*; where the *Decemviri* found it written, That if ever any Foreigner came from another Country into *Italy*, to make War there, he could not be overcome, and driven out, otherwise than by bringing thither a strange Goddess from *Asia*. The City of ⁴³ *Pessinus* was the Place expressly named in the Oracle, and ⁴⁴ *Cybele* was the Goddess which was to be brought to *Rome*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVIII.

P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, Consuls.



Silver



⁴³ *Ptolomy* and *Stephen of Byzantium* place the ancient City of *Pessinus* in *Galatia*. But *Herodotus* and *Livy* say it stood in *Phrygia*. And *Ammianus Marcellinus* assures us, that it at first belonged to *Phrygia*, and afterwards was united to *Galatia*. Indeed *Pessinus* was the Boundary of both these Provinces; and this gave Occasion to the different Opinions of the Ancients, who sometimes make it to belong to one, and sometimes to the other. It is now only a small Village in *Natolia*, and is called *Possene*.

⁴⁴ It has fared with *Cybele*, as with most of the Pagan Divinities, which appear in as many different Shapes as the Ignorance, Impiety, or Imaginations of the Poets, thought fit to dress them in. All that the Ancients, especially *Diodorus Siculus*, *Apuleius*, *Lucian*, *Servilius*, &c. have said of her, in their Writings, is nothing but a confused Jumble of Fictions, childish Absurdities, infamous Actions, Inconsistencies, and Incoherences; which the Fathers of the Church have exposed, to the Advantage of the true Religion, and the Reproach of Paganism. Nevertheless, the *Greeks* and *Romans* worshipped her under the Title of *The Mother of the Gods*, *The Great Mother*, or *The Common Mother of all Beings*; which was the Appellation the Pagans gave to *Nature*, or the *Earth*, as we have observed,

Vol. 2. speaking of the Goddess *Tellus*. *Lucretius* gives it to *Cybele*, or *Rhea*, *B. 2.*

Quare, Magna Deum Mater, Materque Ferarum, Et nostri Genetrix hæc dicta est corporis una.

The Person meant by these Names seems to have been the *Isis* of the *Egyptians*. At least it's certain, she had the same Appellations, and the same Symbols.

The ancient Monuments generally represent the Goddess *Cybele*, under the Figure of a Woman crowned with a Tower; to represent the walled Cities that cover the Surface of the Earth. She appears on Medals seated in a Chariot, drawn by Lions, to shew the Empire of Nature, or the Earth, over even the most savage Beasts; because they receive Life and Nourishment from her. The Party-coloured Robe which she wears, is a natural Representation of that Variety of Flowers which bespangle the Fields and Meadows. The Key in her Hand, represents Winter Frosts, which as it were lock up all Seeds in the Bosom of the Earth; and the Heat of the Sun, which revives Plants, and opens a free Passage for their Buds. In several other Medals, she appears sitting down; which Posture is a proper Emblem of the Stability of the Earth. The Drum in

Year of
R O M E
DXLVIII.

P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, Consuls.

This Oracle was soon divulged, and all applied it to *Hannibal*, the Conqueror who was so formidable to *Italy*. Besides, the Superstition of the City was increased, by the frequent Storms of Hail which had spoiled the *Roman* Fields in the Summer, which ⁴⁵ these superstitious People interpreted as so many Admonitions of Heaven to get them a new Protectress. And lastly, the *Roman* Deputies lately returned from *Delphi* ⁴⁶, where they had presented a Crown of Gold, brought back word, that the God worshipped there had promised them a more important Victory than any with which the Gods had yet blessed the *Roman* Republic. From thence the *Citizens* of *Rome* ascribed the Zeal *Cornelius Scipio* had shewn to go and carry the War into *Africa*, to Inspiration: and said, *The Gods have revealed to him this important Victory, which is to put an end to all the Enterprizes of Carthage.*

in her Hand, is a symbolical Representation of the Winds, which are formed in subterraneous Gulphs.

The Mythologists have married the Goddess *Cybele*, sometimes to *Calus*, and sometimes to *Saturn*, or *Cronos*, to whom *Orpheus* gives the Name of *Protagonos*, or *The first Father*. This double Marriage is an Allegory, signifying *Time*, represented by *Saturn*, and the Influences of the Heavens, which concur in the Production of all things. In a Word, by comparing *The Mother of the Gods* with several other Pagan Divinities, it appears that the Pagan Mythologists have united in *Cybele*, as well as in *Isis*, all the different Properties that are ascribed to *Ceres*, *Juno*, the *Moon*, *Minerva*, *Proserpine*, *Thetis*, *Bellona*, *Diana*, *Venus*, *Hecate*, and especially *Vesta*.

This is the most rational Account that can be given of this fantastical Divinity. To which we may add, That she was called *Ops*, or *Rhea*, to shew that the Earth is an inexhaustible Source of Riches. *Terram Opem*, says *Cicero*, B. 3. *De Nat. Deor. Latini idcirco nominant, quod opes omnes a terra*. As for her Names of *Cybele*, *Berecynthia*, *Dyndimena*, *The Idæan Mother*, &c. they are taken from the Places where the Goddess was particularly worshipped. Such were Mount *Cybele*, and a City of the same Name in *Phrygia*, according to *Stephen of Byzantium*; and the Mounts *Berecynthus*, *Dyndimus*, and *Ida*, in the same Province.

Nevertheless, it strangely happens, that the Worship which the ancient Pagans paid this Goddess, was built on all the most extravagant Tales that Fable and Tradition could tell of a *Phrygian* Princess. According to *Diodorus Siculus*, she was the Daughter of *Meon*, King of *Phrygia*, and of *Dyndime*; and having been exposed after her Birth, on Mount *Cybele*, had been brought up by a Lioness. After this, some Shepherds in the Neighbourhood picked her up, educated her, and gave her the Name of the Mountain. As she grew up, her Beauty, Goodnature, and Skill in certain Remedies for sick Children, gained her the Love of all the People in the Neighbourhood. The *Phrygians* gloried also in having been taught by *Cybele* to touch the Flute, and dance to the Sound of the Cymbal: And for the Benefits they had received from her, they gave her the Title of *The Mother of the Mountains*. Then the Fame of the Princess soon reached *Meon's* Palace; and he owned his Daughter. But he discovered her unlawful Amours with *Atis*, which cost the young Shepherd his Life. The King pronounced Sentence of Death upon him.

As for *Cybele*, she was not able to bear the Loss of her Lover. She was overwhelmed with Sorrow, and in the Transports of her Grief ran about the Mountains of *Phrygia*, with her Hair dishevelled, and gave her self up to Fury and Despair. The Air resounded with her Shrieks and Groans, which she mixed with the Sound of the *Tympanum*. *Marsyas*, affected with her Misfortunes, accompanied her in her Rambles; and as she was thus roving, she knew not whither, *Apollo* saw her, and fell in Love with her. The new Admirer, drawn by his Passion, followed her in her Travels, quite into the

Northern Country, and there the Princess died. Some time afterwards, a terrible Plague raged in *Phrygia*; and the Oracle, upon being consulted, answered, That in order to put a Stop to the Contagion, it was necessary to bury *Atis*, and decree divine Honours to *Cybele*. The *Phrygians* could not recover the Body of the Shepherd; but they supplied that Defect, by erecting a Statue to him, after having expiated his Death with Tears, and instituted sacred Feasts to his Memory. And from that time they honoured *Cybele* as a Goddess. By the Direction of King *Midas*, a stately Temple was erected to her in *Pessinus*; and at the Foot of her Statue, were placed Lions and Leopards, in Memory of her Education.

Nevertheless, this Story does not appear in *Catullus's* Poem upon the Amours of *Cybele* and *Atis*. He only tells us, that the latter left the Place of his Nativity, retired into the Forests of *Phrygia*, and transported with some strange Fit of Rage, made an Attempt upon himself, so as to maim himself; and that the Goddess, out of Compassion, made him one of her Priests.

Others say, that this Shepherd whom *Cybele* loved, proved unfaithful to her; and being too much captivated by *Sangarida's* Charms, ran into that excessive Fury which has furnished Matter for so many indecent Pieces, among the ancient Heathen Poets. And they add, That this mad Lover was metamorphosed into a *Pine*, a Tree which, for this Reason, was consecrated to the Goddess.

But *Plutarch* himself, tho' a Pagan, openly acknowledges the Ridiculousness and Indecency of this ill-concerted Romance, by ranking it among the childish Tales which some credulous People told their Children for certain Truths. The Stories of *Atis* and *Endymion*, can impose on none but Fools, says this Historian. Besides, adds he, in his *Life of Numa Pompilius*, it were impious to believe that a Divinity could be captivated by the Charms of a mortal Beauty. Nevertheless, the Worship of this pretended Goddess prevailed in the chief Countries in the World, especially in *Syria*, where she was adored under the Title of *MATER DEORUM*, and *MATER PHRYGIÆ*, as we shall observe hereafter. In the mean time, the Reader may have Recourse to *Lucian's* Work, on the *Syrian* Goddess, and her Minister *Atis*. [See Sir *Isaac Newton's* Account of *Cybele*, p. 526. of Vol. 2. Note 12.]

⁴⁵ *Livy* tells us, that the Terror of the People was such, that they took those furious Storms of Hail, which laid the *Roman* Territory waste, in the Year 548, for Rains of Stones.

⁴⁶ See what we have said of the City of *Delphi*, Vol. 1. It stood on the Confines of *Phocis*, and *Boeotia*, towards the South Side of Mount *Parnassus*. So that the ancient Geographers have indifferently made it to belong to either of these two Provinces. This City, formerly so famous for the Oracle and Temple of *Apollo*, does not now retain the least Footsteps of its ancient Splendor. We find nothing near it, but a miserable poor Village called *Castris*.

NAY, all these Signs together, made even the *Conscript Fathers* desirous to bring the auspicious Image from *Asia*, (which was to procure their Country so many Advantages) without Delay. The only Difficulty was, how to bring the *Asiatics* to consent to it. *Rome* had little Commerce with them, and no Country in *Asia*, had yet entered into any Alliance with the *Roman* People. Nevertheless, the *Romans* remembered, that the *Greeks*, with whom they had very little Correspondence at that time, had been very willing to send to *Rome* the God *Æsculapius* ⁴⁷, which had been brought from *Epidaurus* ⁴⁸, where he was worshipped under the Figure of a Snake. Besides, *Attalus* ⁴⁹, King of the *Pergamenses* ⁵⁰ in *Asia*, was not unknown to them. He had made War with King *Philip* of *Macedon*, in Conjunction with them; and they therefore hoped, by his Interposition, to be able to bring from *Pessinus* this precious Treasure, with which they wanted to enrich *Rome*. And after all, this so much desired Monument was nothing more, than a shapeless Stone, which, as was pretended, had fallen down from Heaven on Mount *Ida* ⁵¹. Nevertheless, the *Romans*, in order to obtain it of the People of *Pessinus*, sent a formal Deputation to King *Attalus*, and equipped a Squadron of five *Quinqueremes*. The Head of the Embassy was that *Marcus Valerius Lævinus*, who had formerly made War with King *Philip*, in Conjunction with *Attalus*, and who had been twice *Consul* ⁵²; and the least dignified of his four ⁵³ Associates was an *Ædile*. So that the Squadron, and the Quality of the Deputies, were very capable to gain the *Romans* Credit in *Asia*. The five Ambassadors set Sail; and went by the Way of *Delphi*. There they consulted the Oracle, and received this Answer, *That by means of Attalus, the Romans should infallibly obtain what they desired; but That when they had brought the Goddess to Rome, they ought not to put her in the Hands of any Person but of the best Man in the whole Republick*. Then the *Roman* Squadron pursued its Voyage, and the Ambassadors landed at a Port in *Asia*, and came by Land to *Pergamus*, a City of *Mysia*. King *Attalus* gave them a favourable Reception; conducted them himself to *Pessinus* ⁵⁴ in *Phrygia*, on the Banks of the *Sangaris* ⁵⁵; and the Intercession of this neighbouring Prince facilitated the Negotiation of the Ambassadors. They obtained of the Inhabitants of *Pessinus*, the Monument they so earnestly desired: and the Piece of Stone, which was honoured with the Name of *Cybele*, the Mother of the Gods, was granted them. They carried it on Board the *Roman* Galleys, which did not arrive in *Italy* till after the *Consuls* were changed. But nevertheless, lest we should break the Thread of the Story, we will here give an Account of the solemn Reception the Goddess met with, at the Mouth of the *Tyber*, and at *Rome*.

§. XVI. ONE of the Ambassadors sailed away before the other Deputies, came to *Rome*, and reported that the Goddess would soon appear in the Port of *Ostia* ⁵⁶.

⁴⁷ See what we have said of the God *Æsculapius*, and the Circumstances of his Removal from *Epidaurus* to *Rome*, Vol. 2.

⁴⁸ There were two Cities in *Greece* called *Epidaurus*. That here spoken of stood in the Territory of *Argos*, near a Place called now *Cherronesi*, at a little distance from *The Saronic Gulph*, according to *Sophian*. See Vol. 2. *Niger* calls it *Pigiada*; and *Pinet*, *Esculapio*.

⁴⁹ We have said enough of King *Attalus* above, p. 314 of this Volume, Note 7.

⁵⁰ *Pergamus* was one of the most considerable Cities in *Great Mysia*, and the Capital of a Kingdom of that Name. It still subsists, and is called *Pergamo*, or *Bergomo*. See above, p. 314 of this Volume, Note 8.

⁵¹ Mount *Ida*, so famous for the fabulous Story of the Judgment of *Paris*, was in *Phrygia*. *Strabo* calls the highest Summit of it *Gargans*. *Ortelius* reckons up fifteen Rivers that rose among the Rocks of *Ida*. But the greatest Part of them are now dried up.

⁵² The first *Consulship* of *Marcus Valerius Lævinus* was in the Year of *Rome* 533; and he was *Consul* a second time, with *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, in the Year 543.

⁵³ Of the four Associates the Republick joined

with *Marcus Valerius Lævinus*, the first (whose Name was *Marcus Cæcilius Metellus*) had been *Prætor*; the second, named *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, had been *Ædile*; and the other two, *Gaius Tremellius Flaccus*, and *Marcus Valerius Falto*, had been *Quæstors*.

⁵⁴ According to *Herodian*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the *Greeks* took the Name of *Pessinus*, from the Verb *πίσσω*, which signifies *to fall down*; alluding to the falling down of the miraculous Stone, which the *Asiatics* thought fit to deify, and change into a *Cybele*.

⁵⁵ The River *Sangaris* is now called *Zangari*, or *Sangari*, according to *Leunclavius*. It rises in Mount *Dyndimus*, near the Town which *Strabo* calls *Sangia*, and places an hundred and fifty *Stadia*, that is, seven or eight Leagues from *Pessinus*. After it has passed through a Part of *Phrygia*, it runs into *Bithynia*, and falls into the *Euxine* Sea. *Constantinus Porphyrogenetes* speaks of a stately Bridge, which the Emperor *Justinian* built over this River.

⁵⁶ *Ostia* was then a considerable City of *Old Latium*, and one of the most frequented Ports in *Italy*. *Ancus Marcius*, the fourth King of *Rome*, laid the first Foundations of it, not far from the Mouth of the *Tyber*, as we have observed in the first Volume.

Year of
R O M E
DXLVIII.
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, P. LI-
CINIUS CRAS-
sus, Consuls.

App. in Annib.
Ovid. Fast.
B. 4.
Liv. B 29.
C. 11.

Year of Immediately after, the News came, that the Squadron that carried her appeared off
R O M E *Terracina* ⁵⁷. Then the Senate was assembled; and upon the Report, the Amba-
 DXLVIII. *sadors* made of the Answers given by the *Oracle of Delphi*, the *Conscript Fathers*
 P. CORNELIUS were much embarrassed. They were to determine, which of the *Romans* was the
 SCIPIO, P. LI- best Man; and to chuse out him, among so many Citizens of Virtue, who was
 CINIUS CRAS- most worthy to receive the ancient Monument of *Pessinus*. The Preference in
 SUS, Consuls. Point of Virtue which they were going to give, would be a Glory equal to that
 of the Triumphs of the most illustrious Heroes. It is not to be doubted, but
 many who were remarkable for Integrity of Life, presented themselves to the Se-
 nate, to obtain the most honourable Distinction that ever was gained. And at length,
 the Senators assembled declared in favour of *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, surnamed
Nasica ⁵⁸. He was Cousin-German to the great *Scipio*, and the Son of *Cneius*
Scipio, who lost his Life in *Spain*, as he was making War there, under his Bro-
 ther *Publius*. But it is now difficult to give a full Account of that most signal
 Probity, which procured *Nasica* this great Distinction; the Historians are defective
 in this Particular. They have not told us, what were those remarkable Virtues
 which distinguished the young *Roman*, among so many others, who professed to
 observe the most exact Regularity of Life. All we can say is, that *Scipio Nasica*
 was thus distinguished by a just, and an understanding, tho' a superstitious Senate.
 This virtuous *Roman* was deputed to the Port of *Ostia*, there to receive the Goddess of
Pessinus, and pay her the first Homage; and he was attended by such of the Ladies of
Rome, as were in the highest Veneration for their Virtue. Some of the *Vestals*
 accompanied them, and among these, one who is much celebrated in Story. This
 was the famous *Quinta* ⁵⁹ *Claudia*, whose Reputation had till this time been doubt-
 ful. Her excessive Love of Finery ⁶⁰, and a strange kind of Looseness in her Air,
 had made some call her Modesty in Question. The Company came to *Ostia*, and
 there waited for the Arrival of the Goddess. As soon as she appeared out at Sea,
Nasica went on Board a Galley, and received the Image from the Priests ⁶¹, who
 had guarded it during the Voyage. Then *Nasica's* Ship advanced slowly towards
 the

⁵⁷ We have spoken of the Situation and Antiquities of the City of *Terracina*, otherwise called *Anxur* in the Language of the *Volscei*, Vol. 2.

⁵⁸ *Livy* says, that *Scipio Nasica* was then too young to stand for the *Quæstorship*.

⁵⁹ In some Copies of *Livy*, the *Vestal* is called *Claudia Quinctia* instead of *Quinta Claudia*, or *Claudia Quinta*; which is a Mistake of the Copyists. They did not consider, that *Quinta* was the Priestess's *Prænomen*; probably because she was *Claudius's* fifth Child. Whereas the Word *Quinctia* was always used to signify a very different Family from that of the *Claudii*.

⁶⁰ The Dress of the *Vestals* was so managed, as to receive all the Ornaments that Gallantry, or a Desire to please, could invent. So far as we can judge of it, by the ancient Monuments as we have represented them in the first Volume, their Head-Dress was very like a Turban, or rather a plain Bonnet. Round their Heads they wore Fillets, or Ribbons, artfully disposed. This Dress added new Graces to those they received from Nature. *Ut vittæ earum capiti decus faciant*, says *Symmachus*, in the Remonstrance he made to the Emperor *Valentinian* in favour of the Priestesses of *Vesta*. Doubtless those who were least scrupulously regardful of Actions suitable to their Characters, valued themselves upon dressing their Heads in an elegant and polite manner. It is true indeed, that a *Vestal* (as we have elsewhere observed) the Moment she was initiated, cut off her Hair, to consecrate it to the Goddess. But afterwards they obtained, or took the Liberty to let it grow again. At least the Poet *Prudentius* tells us, that their Hair was set in every Fashion, which the Caprice or Vanity of the *Roman* Women had introduced among them.

*Perfundunt quia colla comis bene, vel bene cingunt
 Tempora taniolis, & licia crinibus addunt.*

Their usual Habit was a long *Tunick*, over which

they wore a kind of *Rochet*, the Whiteness of which represented the Purity and Innocence which their Ministry obliged them to preserve. And the long purple Mantle which they used to wear, gave them a majestick Air, which the looser sort of them turned to bad Uses. When they were exercising their Office, they covered their Heads with a Veil, which was not unlike an *Amict*. According to *Pestus*, it was white, bordered with Purple, and of an oblong square Form; and the two Ends of it were fastened under the Chin, with two Strings, or a Clasp, or Button. *SUFFIBULUM*, says he, *est vestimentum album, prætextum, quadrangulum, oblongum, quod in capite Virgines Vestales, cum sacrificant, habere solent, idque fibula comprehenditur*. And the same Author, on this Occasion, mentions an old Law, which was written in the Temple of the Goddess *Ops*, and which forbade any Person to enter into the inner Part of the Temple, except the *Vestal*, and the Sacrificer himself, and enjoined the latter not to appear there, without his *Suffibulum* on his Head. *HOC, PRÆTER VIRGINES VESTALES AC SACERDOTEM PUBLICUM, INTROIRE NEFAS ESTO. IS, CUM INTROEAT, SUFFIBULUM HABETO.*

⁶¹ In the Places consecrated to the Worship of *The Mother of the Gods*, and above all at *Pessinus*, she had Priests called *Galli* and *Archygalli*; and the most common Opinion is, that they were so called from the River *Gallus*. It was an established Custom among them, to drink some Water taken out of this little River, before they began the Celebration of the *Orgia*, and Feasts of *Cybele*. After they had drunk it, they were seized with Fury, as if they had been all on a sudden possessed with the Spirit of the Goddess. Then they gave themselves up to frantick Transports, which simple People took for a prophetick Enthusiasm, caused by the Divine Vapour, with which they thought they were intoxicated. In these Fits they ran about like Madmen, wherever their Fury led them. Their hideous Distortions of

Body,

the Mouth of the *Tyber*, and struck on a Bank of Sand, raised by the excessive Heat of the Year. And here prophane Authors, and even some of the Fathers of the Church, account for what they call a miraculous Event, on very different Principles. They both acknowledge, that the *Vestal Claudia*⁶² alone got the Ship off the Sand, on which it stuck. Having been suspected of polluting her Consecra-

tion

Year of
R O M E
DXLVIII.

P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, Consuls.
S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, B. 10.

c. 16.

Lucian. B. 2.
c. 8.

Body, Turnings of the Head, indecent Postures, and even their Howlings, accompanied with the Sound of Drums and Flutes, were a natural Representation of the Rage and Despair of *Cybele*, at the time that her dear *Atys* was taken from her by a violent Death. Or if you will, all these Actions were natural Imitations of his. And it was in Imitation of his Example, that the *Galli* voluntarily submitted to the same shameful Punishment, which this Shepherd had suffered, for having broken his Promise to the Goddesses. So that *St. Austin*, B. 1. *De Civitat. Dei*, represents the Priests of *Cybele*, as soft and effeminate Persons. They were a Society of Villains, says he, who without Sense of Modesty, gave freely into the most shameful Excesses. The Debaucheries of these infamous Priests were visible in their Countenances, Gestures, and Walk. Nevertheless, adds the same Father, they impudently appeared in the publick Streets, drew about them Crowds of silly People, abused their Credulity, under the Pretence of Alms, and raised considerable Sums among them, to expend on their Debaucheries. Even at *Rome*, the Magistrates suffered them to go all over the City, and beg from Door to Door. *Cicero*, speaking of them, B. 2. *De Legibus*, quotes a Law which allowed the Ministers of *The Idæan Mother* to beg on certain Days, and forbid all others. It runs thus. PRÆTER IDEÆ MATRIS FAMULOS, EOSQUE JUSTIS DIEBUS, NE QUIS STIPEM COGITO.

In order to represent the Travels of the Goddesses, the *Galli* made it their chief Business to run from City to City; carrying the Image of the Goddess with them, either in a Cart, or more commonly on an Ass. They gathered the People round them by their Drums and Flutes; every one was earnest to make his Offerings to *The Mother of the Gods*: and these Offerings were put into the Hands of these Cheats, who made the Superstition of the People their Gain. The Ass which is the Subject of *Lucian's* Fable, had born the Image of the Goddess of *Syria*, that is, *Cybele*: and the Author, as he proceeds, ridicules the foolish Agitations of the *Galli*, and their Chief, who had the Title of *Archigallus*. When they came to a Village, says *Lucian*, they stopped the Animal which carried the sacred Depositum. Immediately one of them, with an Air of Ecstasy, blew a Flute. Upon the first Sound of it, they all threw their *Tiara*, or *Phrygian* Bonnets, which they wore, on the Ground; affected convulsive Motions; and fell into furious Agitations round the Statue. After this, they drew out Ponyards, and cruelly cut themselves in all Parts of their Bodies; and it much affected the Villagers, to see their Blood flow so fast from their Wounds. These poor ignorant People, who had very little Sense or Understanding, were worked up to Compassion by this Sight; took the Fanaticism of the *Galli* for an Act of Religion; and under this Persuasion thought it a meritorious Act, to rob themselves of the Necessaries of Life, to give the Ministers of *Cybele* a Part of them. Some gave them Money, others dried Figs, others Wine, and others Cheese. Nay, the Ass himself partook of the Bounties of the Spectators, who brought him Corn in great Abundance. The Custom of these Impostors, travelling about with the Statue of *Cybele* on an Ass, is hinted at in these Lines of *Phædrus*.

*Galli Cybeles circum questus ducere
Assinum solebant, bajulantem sarcinas.*

The ancient Writers sometimes call these Vagabonds *Agyrtes*, *Metagyrtæ*, and *Menagyrtæ*, on ac-

count of their begging continually for the *The Mother of the Gods*; and all agree with the Fathers of the Church, in decrying this Company of base Men, who covered their Dissoluteness with the Veil of Religion. *Apuleius* treats them as the Dregs of the People. *Lucian* affirms, that they were more than once convicted of the most enormous Crimes, and especially of having stolen a Gold Vial out of the Temple of some Divinity, in which they had deposited the Image of their Goddesses. Nor does *Plutarch* give them more Quarter. These Sorcerers, says he, run about the Country to gather their Harvest there; and give themselves the Air of Prophets, before the weak Populace. They sing sorry Verses, and vend miserable Rhapsodies for Oracles. They make it their Trade to tell Fortunes, and calculate Nativities by Chiromancy, or by Lots. The deluded Mob assemble round these Hypocrites, consult them as inspired Men, and buy little Books of them, which they assure them will discover the Secrets of Futurity to them. But such infamous Wretches cannot impose upon Persons of any Understanding. Hence that arch Reply of one *Antisthenes*, whom *Clemens Alexandrinus* mentions. *I don't maintain the Mother of the Gods*, said he to the *Galli*, who asked an Alms of him in the Name of *Cybele*; *It is the Gods who maintain her*. The same Father also accuses them of carrying with them old *Magician* Women, who by the Efficacy of certain mysterious Terms, did a great deal of Mischief with their Charms, and set Families at Variance.

The extravagant Rage of these Madmen was likewise yet more apparent in the horrible Ceremonies they practised, at the Reception of a new *Gallus*. But we shall not shock the Reader with a View of the Abominations that were then committed, in the Sight of the whole World, according to *Lucian*, in his Treatise on the Worship of *The Goddesses of Syria*. He will surely be better pleased to have a Veil drawn over such Acts, as are shocking to modest Eyes and Ears.

It is not indeed at all surprizing, that such Villains, after they had perverted the Order of Nature, should dress themselves like *Phrygian* Women. A female Dress was most suitable to their Condition and Manners. And accordingly they wore no other. The *Archigallus*, who had the Preheminence over the rest, wore Purple; and to distinguish him, he never appeared in publick, but with a *Tiara* embroidered with Gold, on his Head. Nevertheless, we are not from hence to conclude, that *Cybele* had no Ministers but these *Galli* and *Archigalli*. She had other Priests, who were much superior in Condition to these Rascals. The Ancients agree in this with some old Inscriptions which *Gruter* has collected. *Strabo* speaks of a Temple at *Magnesia*, dedicated to *The Mother of the Gods*, under the Name of *Dyndimene*; and tells us, that the Wife, or according to *Plutarch*, the Daughter of *Themistocles*, officiated in it as Priestess; she is the same whom *Plutarch* calls *Mnesiptoleme*.

But from what has been said, we may safely conclude, against *St. Jerom*, that these *Galli* were not native *Gauls*, as he pretends in his *Commentary on the fourth Chapter of the Prophet Hosea*. It is certain, that the Institution of the Worship of the *Mother of the Gods*, was prior to the Irruption of the *Transalpine Gauls* into that Province of *Asia Minor*, which from them was called *Gallo-Græcia*. And it is not probable, that the *Asiaticks* should, before that time, seek for Ministers for their Goddesses, in a Country

them

Year of tion by Incest, she addressed herself, say they, to the Goddesses, and prayed her
R O M E to give some Proof of her Virginity. And then, to the great Surprize of all
 DXLVIII. Spectators, tho' several Yoke of Oxen, and a great Number of Men, had in vain
 endeavoured to draw the Ship back into the Water, and exhausted their Strength
 to no Purpose; yet no sooner had the *Vestal* tied her Girdle to the Ship, but she
 set her free without any Trouble. The Miracle has passed as unquestionable; and
 whilst the Pagan Writers ascribe it to the Efficacy of *The Mother of the Gods*,
Christian Authors impute it to the Omnipotence of the true God, who was pleased
 to give Testimony to her Virginity, and destroy the Calumny, by the Ministry of
 his Angels. But notwithstanding that there are so many Testimonies of the Fact,
 we have reason to believe, that the whole Story is fabulous, and one of those Fic-
 tions, which were invented by the Poets. One prophane Author fathers this pre-
 tended Miracle of the *Vestal*, only on the Theatre; and says, that from the Stage
 it was adopted by the Historians, and derived all its Authority from the Trage-
 dians. What Credit then is to be given to a Fable, invented by Poets, to enter-
 tain an Audience?

Ovid. Fast.
B. 4.

Livy, B. 29
c. 11.

BUT whatever becomes of the *Vestal Claudia*, and of the Miracle, the Image
 of the Goddess of *Pessinus* was carried to *Rome*, with the utmost Pomp. The
Roman Ladies contended earnestly with each other, for the Honour of carrying
 the Bier on which the mysterious Stone was laid; and as they walked on Foot from
Ostia to *Rome*, they relieved one another, and shared the Fatigue. All the Inha-
 bitants of the Country, without Distinction, ran out in Crowds to meet this sa-
 cred Monument; and in all Places where it came, every one set perfuming
 Pots before his Door, and spared no Incense or Perfumes. Prayers were made

then very little known to the Eastern Nations, and divided from them by a vast Extent of Land and Sea. It is more natural to say, with all the Ancients, that the *Galli* took that Denomination, either from the River *Gallus*, or from one of the first of these Priests, who was of this Name. What may have deceived *St. Jerom*, was the equivocal Meaning of the Word *Gallus*, which in *Latin* Authors signifies sometimes a Priest of *Cybele*, and sometimes a *Gaul*. But the *Greek* Writers have two different Words for these two things. They call the Ministers of the *Mother of the Gods* γάλλοι, and the *Gauls*, Κέλτοι, and Γάλαται.

62 This Miracle is of the same kind as that mentioned by *Tertullian*, and *St. Austin*, upon the Credit of the *Roman* Historians, particularly *Dion. Halicarnassensis*, *Pliny the Naturalist*, and *Valerius Maximus*. *Tuccia* the *Vestal*, say they, was falsely accused of having violated her sacred Vows by her Incontinence. The Proofs produced against her seemed express, and the *Vestal* expected nothing but to be condemned. In this Extremity therefore, she prayed thus to *Vesta*. O powerful Goddess! I have never dishonoured my Ministry by the shameful Crime of which I am accused. Confound my Calumniators therefore, and give some signal Proof of my Innocence, in the Sight of my Judges. Then she walked directly to the *Tyber*, followed by a great Crowd of People; with great Confidence dipped a Sieve into the River; took it up full of Water; carried it to the *Forum*, without spilling a Drop; and there poured it down at the Feet of the *Pontifices*. Being Eye-Witnesses therefore of so surprizing a Miracle, they immediately declared *Tuccia* innocent of the Crimes laid to her Charge, and ordered strict Search to be made after her Accuser; but he disappeared, and was not to be found.

Upon the same Foot, we ought likewise to rank what *Dion. Halicarnassensis* reports of another *Vestal*, named *Emilia*. She had left the Care of keeping in the sacred Fire, to one of her Companions, lately admitted a *Vestal*; and the latter, knowing little of the Duties of her Priesthood, suffered it to go out. The News was soon spread in the City: And this Accident was deemed the Fore-runner of the

Anger of Heaven, and raised a general Consternation. Such was the Superstition of the ancient *Romans*, that they inseparably annexed the Safety or Ruin of their Republick, to the Preservation or Extinction of the Fire which was burning in the Temple of the Goddesses. The Affair was brought before the Tribunal of the *Pontifices*; the pressing Instances of an alarmed People were not to be resisted; and Informations were brought against *Emilia*. Her Judges presumed her guilty, tho' she protested she was innocent; and the *Vestal*, enraged at Suspicions so prejudicial to her Honour, addressed her self to *Vesta*, for her Protection. In Presence of the *Pontifices*, and the other *Vestals*, she stretched out her Hands over the Altar of *Vesta*, and with Eyes lifted up to Heaven, pronounced this Prayer. O Goddess, Protectress of *Rome*! if my Manners have been blameless for the thirty Years that I have been devoted to thy Altars, give some sensible Proof of your Presence here this Day. It is to you I apply for Favour and Protection. Suffer me not then, I conjure you, to end my Days by an infamous Death. If I am guilty, sacrifice me here to your Vengeance. In order to preserve my Fellow Citizens from the fatal Effects of your Rage, I am ready to submit to the horrible Punishments appointed for sacrilegious *Vestals*. As soon as she had ended her Prayer, she tore off a Piece of the fine Linnen of her Robe, and threw it upon the Fire-place; and then, adds this Author, the Cynders grew warm all on a sudden, a bright Flame arose out of them, and consumed the Piece of Linnen. So that there was no Occasion to have Recourse to the usual Ceremonies, to rekindle the Fire on the Altar of *Vesta*; or to appease the Anger of the Goddesses, by the several Expiations appointed on such Occasions.

To which we may add, that it were needless to enquire whether these Sorts of Facts were Fictions invented by the Priests, whose Interest it was to deceive the Multitude; or by the Historians who relate them. Nothing can be drawn from them to the Advantage of Paganism. If they were true, all that can justly be inferred from thence is, that God was pleased to produce these extraordinary Effects in Vindication of oppressed Innocence.

to the pretended Goddess; and she was intreated to be ever propitious to the City of *Rome*. And lastly, she was deposited in the Temple ⁶³ of *Victory*, on the Hill ⁶⁴ *Palatinus*. Hereafter, we shall see a particular Sanctuary erected to *Cybele*; and from this time, the Day on which the Goddess arrived, became a solemn Festival, which was fixed to *The Eve* ⁶⁵ of the *Nones of April*. All *Rome* joined in the Celebration of it; and every one then made his Offerings to *The Mother of the Gods*. A sacred ⁶⁶ Banquet was prepared for her; and this Festival was distinguished by *Games*, called *Megalenses* ⁶⁷. And it was chiefly in Honour to *Cybele*, that Comedies and Tragedies were acted at *Rome*; where they were now

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⁶³ The Temple of *Victory*, was one of the most venerable Places in *Rome*, for its Antiquity. It was said, upon the Credit of an old Tradition, that the *Arcadians* brought into *Italy* by *Evander*, had first laid the Foundations of it, on the Hill *Palatinus*. *Dion. Hal.* says, *Antiq. B. 1.* that they instituted Sacrifices in Honour to the Goddess, and renewed them every Year. This Practice long subsisted among the *Romans*; and, as our Historian testifies, was continued to his time. But it is probable, that this Temple had been repaired, or rebuilt, since *Evander's* Time.

⁶⁴ See what we have said of the Hill *Palatinus*, *B. 1. p. 20. of Vol. 1. Note 72.*

⁶⁵ *Ovid*, in his fourth Book of *Fasti*, and most of the Calendars of old *Rome*, fix the Feast of *Cybele* to *The Eve of the Nones of April*; which answered to our fourth Day of *April*. Nevertheless, *Livy* seems to postpone it to *The Eve of the Ides of April*; that is, with us, the twelfth Day of that Month. *In adem victoriae, quae est in Palatio, pertulere Deam, pridie Idus Aprilis;isque dies festus fuit.* But we are inclined to believe, that the Copyists of the *Roman* Historian mistook the Dates, and took the *Ides* for the *Nones*. Or perhaps *Livy* might mean that the *Ides* was the Day of the Translation of the Goddess; and not that the *Games*, called *Megalesia*, were celebrated on that Day. *Spartian* places this Festival on *The Eighth of the Ides*, which coincides with the *Nones of April*. And if then we adhere to the old Calendars, and *Ovid's Fasti*, we must conclude, that *Spartian* was mistaken by one Day.

⁶⁶ See what we have said, *Vol. 2.* of the religious Feasts, which the *Romans* made in Honour to their Gods, and called *Lectisternia*.

⁶⁷ According to *Cicero*, in his Treatise, *De Aruspiciis responsis*, *The Megalesian Games* were annually celebrated at *Rome*, on the Hill *Palatinus*, in Honour to *The Mother of the Gods*, or *MEGALE MATER*, that is, *The Great Mother*; and near her Temple. This was the Appellation the *Greeks* gave her, and from thence this Solemnity was called *Megalesia*; a Term which the *Romans* retained, says *Cicero*, to shew that the Worship of *Cybele* was brought into *Italy* from *Greece*: *Quid ego de illis ludis loquar, quos in Palatio nostri Majores, ante Templum, in ipso MAGNAE MATRIS conspectu, MEGALENSIBUS fieri celebrarique voluerunt. Qui uni ludi ne verbo quidem appellantur Latino, ut vocabulo ipso, & appetita religio externa, & magnae Matris nomine suscepta, declaratur.* Others derive the Name of *Megalesia*, from a Temple called *Megalesion*, which the *Pessinuntii* erected to *Cybele*, in their City. And therefore it is very strange, that some Authors should have confounded the Celebration of *The Megalesian Games*, with that of *The Great*, or *Roman Games*. The Person most reproached with this Mistake is *Donatus*. He did not consider, that the former were always celebrated in *April*, and the latter only in *September*; as *Cicero* observes, in his first *Oration against Verres*. The latter were solemnized in Honour to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, and, in a word, *The Great Gods*, or all the Gods of the first Class: The former only in Honour to *Cybele*. And in these, says *Dion. Hal. Antiq. B. 2.*

the Priests appeared at *Rome* in their richest Habits, sacrificed to the Goddess, and celebrated the *Games* to her Honour; but without deviating at all from ancient Custom, or exceeding the Bounds prescribed by the Laws. So that the Ceremonies observed there, on these solemn Days, were stripped of all those Vanities which Fable had introduced into the Worship of *Cybele*. The *Romans* left these foreign Superstitions to be practised by a *Phrygian* Priest and Priestess; who were both employed in the Sacrifice offered to *Cybele*. They were suffered to walk thro' the City, and beg, as usual, for *The Mother of the Gods*. The two Ministers carried on their Breasts, Images which represented some of the Adventures of the Goddess: And in their March, they sung Hymns to her Praise, and played on Flutes, and beat Drums. To which *Dion. Hal.* adds, that no *Citizen* ever so far demeaned himself, as to discharge the proper Offices of a Priest of *Cybele* in partycoloured Habits, after the *Phrygian* Manner. And upon this Occasion, he remarks the inviolable Attachment of the *Romans* to the Religion of their Fathers. The Senate, says he, were always upon their Guard against foreign Ceremonies, and took the most effectual Care to exclude every thing out of the Worship of the Gods, that was either indecent, or had the least Appearance of Novelty. So that the *Roman* Republick, adds he, always rejected with Horror, those impious Fictions which subjected the Gods to shameful Passions, and made them guilty of the most enormous Crimes. She treated in the same Manner, all that Fable had reported of *Saturn's* Rage against his own Father; of the cruel Methods he took to maintain himself upon the Throne; and of the Rigours of his Imprisonment, when his Son *Jupiter*, after he had mounted his Throne, shut him up in the Bottom of Hell. The Stories of the Wars of the Gods, their Battels, Wounds, Captivities and Banishment, were all put upon the same Foot. None of those mournful Solemnities were ever celebrated at *Rome*, wherein the lamenting Mothers accused the Gods of Cruelty, to represent *Ceres's* Complaints, upon the Rape of *Proserpine*. As much corrupted as the *Romans* were, adds our Author, they banished out of their religious Shews, the foolish Agitations of the *Corybantes*, the secret Assemblies which screen the most monstrous Abominations, the Licentiousness of the *Bacchanals*, and the Liberties which abandoned Men and Women took in the most venerable Places.

Thus far *Dion. Halicarnassensis*. And from this Account, who would not conclude, that the *Romans* distinguished themselves from other Nations by the Purity of their Worship? Whereas all that ought to be inferred from these Matters is, That the Polytheism of *Rome*, as mad as it was, kept free from the Fanaticism of the *Greeks*.

But to return to the Festivals instituted in Honour to *Cybele*. It was customary for the *Roman* Ladies to sing and dance before the Statue of the Goddess, according to *St. Austin, B. 2. De Civit. Dei. c. 4.* The Citizens of *Rome*, during these rejoicing Days, gave each other mutual Marks of Affection and Love. They met together, and invited one another to Entertainments, at which Care was taken to revive

Year of now played in a much more decent and handsome Manner than heretofore. But
 R O M E to return.

DXLIX.

M. CORNELI-
 US CETHEGUS,
 P. SEMPRONI-
 US TUDITA-
 NUS, Consuls.

§. XVII. As soon as *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus* had been nominated *Dictator*, by the *Consul Publius Licinius*, he came to *Rome*, assembled the *Comitia by Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*, and they chose *M. Cornelius* ⁶⁸ *Cethegus*, and *Publius Sempronius Tuditanus*, *Consuls*. The latter was absent, commanding the Army that was in *Greece*, and watching the Steps of the King of *Macedon*.

AFTER the *Consuls*, *Prætors* were chosen; and the Suffrages fell, on *Marcus Marcius Ralla*, to whose Lot it fell to have the Jurisdiction of Causes between the *Roman Citizens*, and to govern the City; on *Lucius Scribonius Libo*, who was first appointed to hear the Causes of Foreigners, and afterwards went to command an Army of two *Legions*, in *Cisalpine Gaul*; on *Marcus Pomponius Matho*, to whose Lot the *Prætorship* of *Sicily* fell; and on *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, who became *Prætor* of *Sardinia*. And as soon as these six chief Magistrates were chosen, the Assembly of the People dispersed, and *Cæcilius* laid down the ⁶⁹ *Dictatorship*.

THE

revive the ancient Frugality. The *Theatrical Sports* which were then presented, contributed much to the publick Joy; and the Magistrates appeared at them in purple; and no Slave was admitted to them, according to *Cicero*, in his *Discourse on The Answers of the Aruspices*. Only Persons of free Condition could enjoy the Pleasures of this Sight. But it is hard to guess, upon what Reasons this Exception was founded.

The Ancients likewise speak of some other Solemnities, established at *Rome*, in Honour to *Cybele*. Such was the Ceremony which was constantly practised, of carrying the Image of *Cybele* in State, out of the City, near the Place where the little River *Almon* loses itself in the *Tyber*. This is the Rivulet which is now called *Accia*, or *Aqua d'Accia*. The Priests of *Cybele*, the *Quindecimviri*, who were the Guardians of the *Sybilline Books*, and the Magistrates of *Rome*, according to *Lucan*, *Pharsal. B. 1.* all come to this Place, and there washed the Chariot that carried the Image of the Goddess, the Image itself, and all the Ornaments which the Priests used to wear. It was a received Tradition, that the Statue of *Cybele* had been washed by one of the *Galli*, or *Archigalli*, who brought this sacred Depositum from *Pessinus* to *Rome*, before it was placed in the Temple of *Victory*. And the *Romans* made it a constant Rule, to renew the same Ceremony every Year, on *The Sixth of the Calends of April*, or the 27th Day of *March*.

Herodian, in his *Life of the Emperor Commodus*, mentions the Homages which the *Romans* paid to *Cybele*, about the End of the Month of *March*. Her Statue was solemnly carried into the Streets of the City, on a rich Bier. The Emperor and Grandees made it Matter of Duty, to hang out, during the Procession, their richest and most valuable things. This stately Apparatus drew the Eyes of all Spectators, and made a most magnificent Sight. The rest of the Day was spent in Masquerades of all sorts. Every one was then permitted to disguise himself; so that some of the Dregs of the People appeared at this Festival, in the Habits, and counterfeiting the Dignity, of Magistrates. And *St. Austin* tells us, that these metamorphosed Animals acted their Parts in the Processions of *Cybele*. This Father, who was an Eye-witness of all the Obscenities that were committed in these licentious Times, cried out with Indignation against the Impudence of some Buffoons who accompanied the Statue. They did not blush, says he, to sing the most obscene Songs, and openly violate the Rules of Modesty, by lascivious Postures. This is the same Festival that *Macrobius* calls *HILARIA*, in his *Saturnalia, B. 1. c. 21.* He places it on *The eighth of the Calends of April*, that is, the twenty fifth Day of *March*. The Sun then entered the *Equinox*, according to the common Opinion of

those Times, began a new Career, and brought fine Weather. The Earth, which is represented by *Cybele*, feels the kindly Warmth of that Planet, at the Return of the Spring, and seems to open her Bosom, to enrich the World with her Gifts. And hence these Demonstrations of Joy, at a time when more mild and serene Weather rejoiced all Nature. *The ninth of the Calends of April*, or the twenty fourth of *March*, the Day before the Festival of the *Hilaria*, was spent in Mourning. The People, according to *Macrobius*, put on Appearances of Grief, perhaps to represent the gloomy Clouds of Winter. And this sudden Transition from Sorrow to Joy, was probably a Representation of the Vicissitudes of the Seasons, which succeeded one another. *Terullian* in his *Apology*, and *Trebellius Pollio*, in his *Life of the Emperor Claudius*, tells us, that the *Archigallus*, who was devoted to the Worship of *Cybele*, made cruel Incisions in his Arms, on this Day of Mourning, caught the Blood which run out of his Wounds, and offered it to the Goddess by Way of Libation. And therefore the last mentioned Author calls *The ninth of the Calends of April, Dies Sanguinis*, or *The Day of Blood*.

And as Pines were consecrated to *Cybele*, it was an established Custom to carry one of these Trees into the Temple of the Goddess, in the Beginning of the Spring. The Emperor *Julian* mentions this Custom in his *Discourse on The Mother of the Gods*. He tells us, that on the Day of the *Equinox*, the Pine-tree was cut down, and then offered to the Goddess. And *Arnobius* has preserved some Traces of this Custom in the following Passage of the fifth Book. *Quid enim sibi vult illa Pinus, quam semper, statis diebus, in Deum Matris intromittitis Sanctuarium?* The Trunk of the Tree was bound round with Wool, and adorned with Crowns of Violets. In the middle was placed the Figure of the Shepherd *Atis*, whom *Cybele* most tenderly loved. And some *Calendars* of old *Rome* point out this Ceremony, by the Words *Arbor intrat*. It is fixed to *The eleventh of the Calends of April*, that is, the twenty first Day of *March*.

⁶⁸ *Ennius* in his *Annals*, and *Cicero* in his Book *De Clar. Orat.* both commend *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*; and say he was one of the most eloquent Men of his Age.

⁶⁹ The End of this Year 548 was remarkable for the Celebration of *The Roman*, and *The Plebeian Games*. The former were represented for three Days together, at the Expence of the *Curile Aediles*, *Cneius* and *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*. The latter was then General in *Hither Spain*, with the Title of *Præ Consul*; and was absent, when the People advanced him to the *Aedileship*. So that his Employments abroad did not suffer him to come to *Rome*, to exercise his Office there. As for *The Plebeian Games*, the

THE *Pro-Consuls* were chosen afterwards; and it is probable that one of the new *Consuls* presided at their Election, which did not come on till *Publius Sempronius* was returned to *Rome*. He was then in *Greece*, where he had found the Affairs of *Rome* in a bad State, thro' the Negligence of *Publius Sulpicius*, his Predecessor. The King of *Macedon*, ever intent upon settling Peace in *Greece*, that he might be at Liberty to go and relieve *Hannibal*, or *Carthage*, had taken Advantage of the Inaction, in which *Sulpicius* had suffered the *Roman* Troops to languish away two Years: And at length he had reconciled the *Ætolians* to him, or rather, had forced them to make Peace with him. These faithful Allies of *Rome*, being left destitute of any Succours, entered into a Treaty with the *Macedonian*. And *Sempronius* did not come soon enough to repair the Faults of *Sulpicius*. It was not till after the Peace was concluded between *Macedon* and *Ætolia*, that *Sempronius* appeared off *Dyrrachium* ⁷⁰, with a Fleet of thirty five Ships of War, on board which he had ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. This Reinforcement would have been sufficient to have preserved *Ætolia* from the Oppressions of the King of *Macedon*; but it came too late. However, *Sempronius* thought it proper to create new Business for King *Philip*, in his own Kingdom. In order to keep him there, he stirred up the *Parthini* ⁷¹, and some other *Macedonian* Nations, which bordered on *Illyricum*, and besieged the City of *Dimalles* ⁷². This News drew the *Macedonian* against the *Romans*, with all his Forces. He came near *Apollonia* ⁷³, and there encamped. He knew that *Sempronius* had shut himself up there, and had sent *Lætorius*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, with fifteen of his Gallies, to *Ætolia*, to break the new Peace. *Philip* therefore took Advantage of their Absence, ravaged the Territory of *Apollonia*, and came and offered *Sempronius* Battel. But the *Roman* General was too wise to hazard a Battel with unequal Forces. He kept within the Walls of *Apollonia*. He had Strength enough to sustain a Siege, tho' he was too weak to keep the Field. But the *Macedonian*, on the other hand, had neither Provisions enough, nor a sufficient Number of Forces, to attempt to take *Apollonia*. *Philip* therefore formed a more prudent Scheme, and which was more for his Interest. He had just concluded a precarious Peace with the *Ætolians*; and his great Desire at present was to come to a Treaty with the *Romans*, in order to obtain a Peace of them, or at least a Truce. That therefore he might not irritate them by new Hostilities, he immediately decamped, and retired into the Center of his Dominions.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.
M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.

Livy, B. 29;
c. 12.

PHILIP's Designs were also seconded by the *Epirots*. Tho' they were for the most part in the Interest of *Rome*, they began to be weary of this tedious War with *Macedon*; and therefore, with the Consent of *Sempronius*, they sent a Deputation to King *Philip*, to bring him to a Peace, both with them and the *Romans*. One single Conference, said they, between you and *Sempronius*, will put an End to the Affair, and restore Tranquillity to our Countries. And this very thing the *Macedonian* most earnestly desired. His Engagements with *Hannibal* no longer flattered his Ambition as formerly. The Condition of the *Carthaginian* was no longer such, as to be a Temptation to *Philip* to come into *Italy*, to share his Glory, and the Fruits of his Conquest. And in short, it was his Interest to reconcile himself with *Rome*.

PHILIP therefore immediately set out for *Epirus*; and the City of ⁷⁴ *Phænice* in *Chaonia* was the Place where the Conferences were held. The King of

the two other *Ædiles*, *Tiberius Claudius Asellus*, and *Marcus Junius Pennus*, entertained the People with them no less than seven times.

⁷⁰ The City of *Dyrrachium*, now *Durazzo*, stands on the Coast of the *Adriatick* Sea, on the Confines of *New Epirus*, or *Albania*. See what we have said of it, B. 25. p. 21. of this Volume, Note 44. It was formerly the Capital of the Territory of the *Taulantii*, which some now call *Talanti*, others *Tamoriza*. *Le Noir* gives this little Country the Name of *Musachia*.

⁷¹ The *Parthini* inhabited that District of *Illyricum*, which was watered by the River *Aous*, and then belonged to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, of which it was a Part. They bordered upon the

Elymiotæ and *Dassaretæ*. See B. 25. p. 22. of this Volume, Note 48.

⁷² See what we have said of the Situation of *Dimalles*, or *Dimallum*, a City of *Illyricum*, then belonging to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, p. 172. of this Volume, Note 151.

⁷³ This was that City of *Apollonia*, which the ancient Geographers call *Apollonia Taulantiorum*. It stood on the Western Coast of *Macedon*. See what we have said of it, as well as of the other Cities of that Name, above, p. 22. of this Volume, Note 47.

⁷⁴ *Phænice*, which some Authors call *Phanates*, is the same City which was afterwards called *Hadrinopolis*.

Macedon,

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.
M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.

Macedon, and the Chiefs of the *Epirots*, came thither first; and as soon as some Preliminaries were settled, *Sempronius* came, and after him *Aminander*, King of the *Athamanes* ⁷⁵, and the Deputies of the *Epirot* Cities, and of those of ⁷⁶ *Acar-nania*. One of the chief Men of *Epirus* spoke first, addressing his Discourse to King *Philip*, and then to *Sempronius*, exhorting both to entertain pacifick Sentiments, and restore their Countries Peace; which he demanded, in the Name of all the *Epirot* Nation. Then *Sempronius* assumed the Discourse, and proposed the Conditions of the Peace. He insisted, that *Parthini*, *Demales* ⁷⁷, *Bargulum*, and ⁷⁸ *Eugenium*, should immediately become subject to the *Romans*; and consented (in case the *Roman* Senate approved of it) to give up ⁷⁹ *Atintania* to the *Macedonians*. *Philip*, on his Part, included in the Treaty *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, and also *Achaia*, *Bæotia*, *Theffaly*, *Acarnania*, and *Epirus*. And *Sempronius*, on the other hand, comprehended in it, the *Ilians* ⁸⁰, King *Attalus*, King *Pleuratus*, *Nabis* King of *Lacedemon*, the *Ælians*, the *Messenians*, and the *Athenians*. The Articles were fairly engrossed, and signed by both Parties; and then a Truce was declared for two Months, to give the Deputies at the Congress time to carry the Treaty to *Rome*, get it confirmed by the Senate, and bring it back to *Phœnice*. And it may be observed of *Philip*, now newly reconciled to *Rome*, that he would have saved himself a great deal of Uneasiness, if he had been as constant in keeping the Peace, as he had been prudent in making it. His Levity afterwards brought all his Misfortunes upon him.

§. XVIII. WHEN the Peace with *Macedon* was concluded, *Sempronius* returned to *Rome*, and entered upon the *Consulship*. Then the *Comitia by Tribes* were assembled, and *Pro-Consuls* chosen. The two *Consuls* for the last Year were continued at the Head of the Armies they had commanded the last Campaign. *Publius Licinius* again made War in *Bruttium*, where he commanded two *Legions* against *Hannibal*, till the *Consul* thought fit to recall him. *Scipio* remained in *Sicily*, still continuing his Preparations for a Voyage to *Afric*. *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, were continued in their *Pro-Consulates*. And lastly, *Livius*, with two *Legions*, watched *Mago* in *Cisalpine Gaul*. And besides these *Pro-Consuls*, *Pro-Prætors* ⁸¹ were also chosen, who commanded different Bodies of Troops, in different Provinces.

BEFORE the *Roman* Generals took the Field, the City was wholly taken up with Games, and Works of Peace. *Marcellus* the Son had the Charge of dedicating the Temple of *Virtue*. His illustrious Father had made a ⁸² Vow, in the time of his first *Consulship*, to erect a Temple To HONOUR AND VIRTUE: and the Design of the great *Marcellus*, when he made this Vow, in the Battel he fought with the *Gauls* near *Clastidium*, was, to place both Divinities under the same Roof. But the superstitious *Romans* opposed it. The *Pontifices* declared, That it was not lawful to worship more than one God, in one Temple. They urged, that if Lightning fell upon this Building, or any other Prodigy happened, it would not be possible to discover, to which of the two Divinities the expiatory Duties prescribed by Religion on such Occasions were to be paid. Besides, the Sacrifices would have been confounded together, and the Gods would have had little Regard to partial Homages. Upon these Representations therefore of the *Pontifices*, the Temple

⁷⁵ *Athamania* was a little District of *Epirus*, situated beyond the River *Achelous*, between *Theffaly*, *Acarnania*, and *Ætolia*. *Pliny* places it in the last mentioned Country, which bounded it to the South.

⁷⁶ *Acarnania* was formerly a Canton of old *Epirus*. Nevertheless, *Strabo* makes it a Province of *Achaia*.

⁷⁷ The Situation of *Bargulum* is not known; unless *Livy* meant by it the City of *Pyrgus*, which stood near the Mouth of the River *Gennusius*, on the Confines of *Macedon*, and *Illyricum*, in the Neighbourhood of *Dyrrachium*, of the Country of the *Parthini*, and of *Apollonia*.

⁷⁸ The ancient Geographers say nothing of the Situation of *Eugenium*; and of the Moderns, some conjecture that it is *Leusinium*, a City of *Dalmatia*, mentioned in *Antoninus's Itinerary*; others confound it with *Æginium* in *Stymphalia*, a Country near that of the *Atintanes*.

⁷⁹ The *Atintanes* possessed that Country which lay between *Epirus*, and the most Western Part of *Macedon*. We have spoken of them already, B. 25.

⁸⁰ The *Ilians* took their Name from a City called *Ilion*, which the Geographers place in *Eordea*. See the fourth Volume.

⁸¹ One of these *Pro-Prætors* was *Spurius Lucius Gallus*, who shared the Command of the Troops, in the Neighbourhood of *Ariminum*, with the *Pro-Consul Marcus Livius*; and the other was *Caius Hostilius Tubulus*, whose Lot fell in the Territory of *Capua*, as it had done the last Year. *Titus Quinctius Flaminius* was confirmed in the Government of *Tarentum*, and the Country of the *Salentini*. The Inspection of the Sea-Coasts of *Sardinia*, and a Fleet of forty Gallies, were committed to *Cneius Octavius Nepos*, for the Year 549.

⁸² See p. 325 of this Volume, Note 42.

which was at first built for both Divinities, was dedicated only to the Worship of Year of
HONOUR; and another was built, in all haste, to VIRTUE. But *Marcel-* R O M E
lus the Father could not dedicate them in his Time. This Honour was reserved
for *Marcellus* the Son, seventeen Years after the Vow to build them had been
made. DXLIX.

THE same Spirit of Superstition had likewise discovered Prodigies in many
natural Events, which were said to have happened in different Places. It was said,
That two Suns had been seen in full Day; and That an extraordinary Light had
appeared in the Night: That at *Setia* a Gleam of Fire had been seen which reach-
ed from the East to the West; That one of the Gates of *Terracina* had been struck
with Lightning; That one of the Gates of *Anagnia*, and a part of the Wall, had
been beaten down with Thunder; and That an extraordinary Noise had been
heard in the Temple of *Juno*, at *Lanuvium*. Upon these Reports, publick Prayers
were ordered to be offered up, and all the Temples were opened and visited on a
Day appointed. Sacrifices were also offered up for nine Days together, to avert
the ill Consequences of the Prefage of a Shower of Hail, which was taken for
a Shower of Flints. Thus the *Romans* ran again into an Excess of Superstition.
Hannibal was still dreaded in *Italy*, and the fear of him increased the Respect
paid to the Gods.

§. XIX. BUT *Rome* was likewise as careful to make proper Preparations for the
War, as to render her Gods propitious to her. The *Consuls* proposed to the Senate
to raise Recruits for the Armies in the several *Provinces*; and whilst this Affair
was debating, one of *The Conscrip*t Fathers declared his Opinion, that the Time
was come for putting a Stop to some Abuses, which the Necessities of past Times
had introduced, to the Injury of the Publick. At these Words great Silence was
made, and the Senator proceeded thus. *Six Years ago*,⁸³ *twelve of our Colo-*
nies in Latium, usurped the Right of not furnishing their Contingents of Troops
for the Roman Armies. They now glory in this Exemption, and look on their be-
ing continued in the Enjoyment of it, as a distinguishing Privilege of their own.
The Fear of an Insurrection forced us to tolerate this Usurpation, and the Necess-
ity of the Times obliged us to dissemble it. Nevertheless, our other Colonies, who
are more faithful, and more obedient, suffer by the Exemption of these refractory
*Cities. Will you then suffer this, Conscrip*t Fathers, *at a time when the Weak-*
ness of our foreign Enemy ought to make us the more formidable to our Subjects?

THIS Discourse put the Senators in mind of what they had utterly forgotten;
and all thought it necessary to force the ungrateful *Colonies* to discharge their
Duties. The Senate decreed, that the *Consuls* should bring the *Decurions*⁸⁴,
who composed the Body of the Magistrates of the twelve *Colonies*, to *Rome*;
where they were required to give in an Account of the Number of Men each
of their Cities had furnished for the Republick, in the Times when they furnished
most, about the beginning of the Wars with *Hannibal*. And it was also decreed,
That they should raise in their Districts, double the Number of Foot demanded
of them, and Six-score Horse; That if any of the *Colonies* was not in a Condi-
tion to enlist so great a Number of Horse, it should furnish three Foot-Men for
one Horse-Man; That these Soldiers should be chosen out of the best and richest
of the Citizens in those Cities; That the Republick should have a Right to send
these Recruits out of *Italy*, to any Ports she pleased; and That, if the *Decurions*
of the twelve *Colonies* persisted in refusing to grant the Senate these Demands,
they should be detained at *Rome*, and not admitted to an Audience, till they
submitted. Nor was this all. The Senate likewise required, That a Tax should
be annually raised in each of those Cities, for the Subsistence of the Soldiers re-
quired of them; and lastly, That the *Censors* of those *Colonies* should, before their
Offices expired, send to *Rome* Accounts of the Numbers of their Citizens, who
were fit to bear Arms. This Decree of the Senate was put in Execution by the
Consuls. The *Decurions* of the twelve *Colonies* came to *Rome*, and all complained

⁸³ *Nepete, Sutri, Ardea, Cale, Alba, Carseoli,*
Sora, Sueſſa, Setia, Narnia, and Interamna, were
the twelve *Colonies*, which six Years ago had re-
fused to furnish the *Roman Republick*, with their

just Quota of Troops. We have shewn the Situa-
tion of them already.

⁸⁴ See what we have said of the *Decurions*, of
whom the Senators of the *Colonies* and *Municipia*
consisted, p. 50. of *Vol. 2. Note 3.*

Year of of the Severity of the Decree, but some in a more, others in a less, obstinate
 R O M E manner. *We cannot possibly, said they, furnish double the Number of Troops we*
 DXLIX. *formerly did. Why must we be thus utterly ruined? What Crime have we com-*
 M. CORNELI- *mitted? Let us at least lay our Reasons before the Senate.* But the *Consuls* were
 US CETHEGUS, inexorable. They still refused to procure these refractory Men an Audience. The
 P. SEMPRONI- *Decurions* were detained at *Rome*; some Magistrates were sent into their *Colonies*
 US TUDITA- in their stead, to raise the Levies demanded; and the Number required by the
 NUS, Consuls. Decree was immediately completed. During six Years Inaction, the Number of
 the Youth was exceedingly increased in the Cities, which had refused to furnish
 their Contingents; and they were by these Means deprived of the Privilege which
 they had usurped.

Liv. B. 29.
c. 16.

THIS severe Decree was followed by another, which was more favourable to
 the *Citizens of Rome*. *Marcus Valerius Lævinus* gave Rise to it. In his *Con-*
sulship many Persons had been generous enough to lend the publick Treasury the
 Sums it wanted; and as long as the Wants of the State had been pressing, no
 one had demanded to be paid, and these publick Debts were almost forgotten by
 the Senators. But *Lævinus* put the House in mind of them. The Times were
 now better, and the Expences of the War diminished. As soon as *Lævinus* had
 spoken, the *Conscript Fathers* allowed the Reasonableness of his Motion, and
 passed a Decree, requiring, that the publick Debts should be discharged at three
 Payments. One third of what had been borrowed was to be paid down imme-
 diately; another in three Years; and the last, two Years after the second. By
 this Means the Senate supported the Credit of the Exchequer; and by their Ho-
 nesty, provided against disastrous Accidents for the time to come.

Plut. Life of
Cato Major.

§. XX. UPON this, the Equity of the *Consuls* emboldened all that were op-
 pressed, to demand Justice: And the *Locri*, who had been so ill treated the last
 Year, through the Tyranny of *Pleminius*, came to *Rome*, and there made their
 Complaints. The Affair engaged the Attention of the whole City; and how
 unpardonable soever the Violences of *Pleminius* were, the Accusation was to fall
 heavier upon *Scipio* than him. This Contrivance was carried on by two Men, of
 Credit and Reputation enough to enable them to impose on the People. We
 have already shewn the secret Jealousies the great *Fabius* entertained of this Hero,
 whose Glory began to eclipse his: And now the envious *Fabius* was assisted by
 another Person, who has not yet appeared on the Stage, but who will hereafter
 act great Parts. This was the famous ⁸⁵ *Cato*, the first of the *Porcian* Family
 who distinguished himself in *Rome*: And in order to know his Character, it is
 necessary to look a little farther back into his Birth and Life. *Marcus Cato* was
 born at ⁸⁶ *Tusculum*, of Parents, who had indeed signalized themselves by their
 Valour ⁸⁷ in Arms, but had never obtained those Offices in the Republick,
 which gave Men Rank and Distinction, and consequently had not obtained the Right
⁸⁸ of setting up the Images of their Ancestors in the Porch of their House. In a Word,
Cato was what the *Romans* called ⁸⁹ *A New Man*. His Youth was spent, partly
 in the Profession of Arms, partly in the Labours of Husbandry, and partly in
 the Study of Eloquence ⁹⁰, according to the Notions the *Romans* then had of
 it.

⁸⁵ The *Romans* gave *Porcius* the Surname of *Cato*, or *Catus*, to shew the Reputation he acquired
 for Wisdom, when he was concerned in the Ad-
 ministration of Affairs. This Surname was substi-
 tuted in the room of that of *Priscus*, which he had
 before.

⁸⁶ *Cato* was born in the Year of *Rome* 519. as
 appears from *Tully*, when he says, in his Book *Of*
Old Age, that *Cato* was born the Year before the
Consulship of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*. Now ac-
 cording to the Chronology of the *Fasti Capitolini*,
Fabius was *Consul* for the first time in the Year
 520. He was not therefore born five Years before
 it; which is a Mistake that will naturally follow
 from the Calculations of *Livy* and *Plutarch*, who
 make him to have died in his 90th Year, as we shall
 observe hereafter.

⁸⁷ If *Cato* himself may be credited, his Father
Marcus distinguished himself by his Valour in the

Roman Armies more than once. He says, that he
 often shared the Rewards which the Generals used
 to bestow on military Virtue. It was, added he, to
 do Honour to this brave Warrior for his Services,
 that the People shewed him an uncommon Mark
 of Distinction, by adjudging him the Reward of
 five Horses, which he had lost in several Battles.

⁸⁸ This was what the *Romans* called *Jus Im-*
ginis. The right of shewing the Images of their
 Ancestors, was among them a Mark and Proof of
 Nobility, as that of bearing Coats of Arms, is of
 Gentility among us.

⁸⁹ The *Romans* called him *A New Man*, who
 was the first of his Family that had been 'promoted
 to the *Curule* Magistracies, and who could produce
 only his own Picture or Statue.

⁹⁰ The Authority and Esteem *Cato* had acquired
 at *Rome* by his Eloquence, procured him the Title
 of *The Roman Demosthenes*. So that, according to
 Plutarch

it. The Art of speaking in publick was not regulated after the Model of the *Greeks*, and reduced to certain Rules. It consisted only in a ready and bold Expression, uttered in an authoritative and affecting manner. In order to acquire a Talent so necessary in a Republick, *Cato* employed all the Time he could spare from Agriculture, and military Exercises, in pleading ⁹¹. Sometimes he accused the Guilty; sometimes defended the Oppressed; and went from Village to Village, to appear in the lowest Courts of Justice: Till at length, by much Exercise, he became able to ⁹² express himself with Gracefulness and Ease. And besides the Talents of an Orator, the young *Tusculan* was in great Reputation for his Virtues. He was every where extolled for his Continence ⁹³, his Moderation, his Frugality ⁹⁴, his Equity ⁹⁵, his Fidelity, his Magnanimity ⁹⁶, and his great ⁹⁷ Oeconomy. All these excellent Qualities, both natural and acquired, gained him the Esteem of an illustrious *Roman*, his Neighbour in the Country, whose Name was *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*. He encouraged young *Cato* to make a proper Use of the Endowments he had received from Nature, and cultivated

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.

M. CORNELI-
US CATTI-
GUS, P. SEM-
PRONIUS TU-
DILANUS,
Consuls.

with

Plutarch, he had formed himself upon the Model of the *Athenian* Orator. And *Quintilian* says, he wrote a Treatise of Rhetorick. He was probably the first *Roman* who laid down Rules for Oratory. But neither this Treatise, nor another on the military Art, which *Pliny* and *Vegetius* ascribe to him, is come to our Hands.

⁹¹ *Cato* did himself no less Honour, by his Zeal in defending the Interests of those who had recourse to him, than by his Disinterestedness. He made it a constant Rule, says *Plutarch*, which he always observed, never to take any Fee for pleading any Man's Cause.

⁹² The Talents for a publick Speaker which he received from Nature, and improved by continual Application, paved the Way for his Advancement to the first Dignities, according to *Plutarch*.

⁹³ Nevertheless, he was not insensible of the Charms of a young Slave, even in a very advanced Age. The Son he had had by his first Wife discovered this unlawful Commerce; and old *Cato*, who feared the Reproaches of his Family, and the Discourses of the Publick, abandoned the Slave, and married for his second Wife a Woman of mean Extraction. *St. Jerom*, B. 1. *against Jovinian*, says, that he did not find the Satisfaction he expected from this unsuitable Match. This Father brings *Cato's* Wife as an Instance, that poor Women, and Women of mean Condition, don't always treat their Husbands best. He says, that the *Censor*, with all his Severity, could not conquer the ill Humour and Insolencies of his Wife, though of obscure Birth, and no Fortune. *Marcus Cato Censorius habuit uxorem Actoriam Paulam, humili loco natam, violentam, impotentem, & quod nemo posset credere, Catoni superbam. Hoc ideo dico, ne quis putet, si pauperem duxerit, satis se concordie providisse.* It is certain that *Cato* was not married more than twice; and this Passage of *St. Jerom* cannot be understood of his first Wife; for she was a Woman of a good Family, as we have elsewhere observed. The Father's Reflection then can only be applied to the second. Nevertheless, it must be owned, that this Name of *Actoria Paula* does not very well agree with *Plutarch's* Account. He says, this second Wife was the Daughter of *Salonius*.

⁹⁴ We may judge of his Frugality by his Contempt of all the Conveniencies of Life. According to *Seneca* in his 87th Letter, when *Cato* travelled, he had but one Horse for his Baggage and himself, and he used to dress it himself. He chose rather to save his Domesticks this Trouble, than take them off from the useful Business in which he usually employed them. He took Pleasure in manuring the Earth, in a rural Habit, with his Slaves; and after he had shared their Work with them, he

sat down at Table with them, and was content with their plain and coarse Food. When he marched, it was on Foot with his Armour on, and he had only one Servant to carry his Provisions. Plain Meat, without any seasoning, satisfied his Wants, and was preferred by him to the most delicate Dishes. It was by an abstemious and temperate Life that he acquired a Strength of Constitution, which made him Proof against all the Fatigues of War. In the Army he generally drank nothing but Water: But sometimes, when his Strength was exhausted, and he was burnt up with a violent Thirst, he drank a little weak Wine to repair his Strength, and Vinegar to cool him; and the Modesty and Plainness of *Cato's* Dress were suitable to his Temperance and Frugality. He never wore a Robe that cost more than 100 * *Drachmae*, even when he commanded

* 3 l. 4 s. 7 d.
Arbutnot.

⁹⁵ *Cato* was an Enemy to Vice, and persecuted it, without Intermision. He was a zealous Defender of the Oppressed, and a dangerous Enemy to Extortioners. His Equity was such, that he never abused his Power as General, to raise unjust Contributions on the Provinces. Whilst he was at the Head of the Army, he was satisfied with three † *Attick Minae* per Month, for himself, and all his Household; and thought himself obliged not to demand more than three half *Minots* of Barley a Day for his Horses, and Beasts of Burden.

† 9 l. 13 s. 9 d.
Arbutnot.

⁹⁶ His Greatness of Soul and Disinterestedness were very observable, especially in his military Expeditions. He never reserved any thing for himself, out of the Spoils he had taken from the Cities and conquered Provinces: He let his Troops and the publick Treasure enjoy all the Fruits of his Conquests. It was his Maxim, that a General ought to owe all his Lustre to his Valour.

⁹⁷ *Cato* took as much Care to govern his own Family well, as to suppress the Disorders in *Rome*. He was a good Father, and a good Husband; and used to say, that it was Sacrilegious for a Man to use his Wife or Children ill. It was, according to him, a Violation of the most sacred Laws of Nature. For this Reason, he preferred the Wisdom of a patient Husband, who could dissemble his Vexations, to the Wisdom of a Senator well versed in the Art of Government. As much prejudiced as he was against *Socrates*, he could not but admire this Philosopher's Calmness and Serenity of Soul, in the midst of the domestick Vexations which he received from the Capriciousness of an imperious Woman, and the bad Dispositions of his Children. Nor did *Cato* shew less Skill in the Management of his Slaves. He formed them early to an exact Discipline, and they were always ready to obey his Commands. By a long Custom, it was grown so habitual

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.
M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.

with Care; and advised him to quit his ⁹⁸ Cottage, and repair to *Rome*, where his Merit would doubtless advance him to Honours. As great a Philosopher as *Cato* was, he was ambitious; and Vanity was a Defect he never suspected in himself. He loved Glory to such a Degree, as to render himself contemptible by the Praises ⁹⁹ he gave himself. Nevertheless, the Austerity of his Manners gained him great Veneration in *Rome*, as soon as he appeared there.

THE Virtues of the first *Romans* were already a little upon the Decline. The Concourse of so many Nations from all parts of *Italy*, from *Sicily*, and from *Spain*, had already corrupted the Manners of their Successors, by a Mixture of the Customs of so many different Countries. Nevertheless it must be owned, that *Rome* had still a Taste for Virtue, and admired these singular Men who revived the Remembrance of ancient Times. *Cato* made himself known in the Capital, as a Man formed upon the Models of the *Brutus's*, the *Poplicola's*, the *Curius's*, and the *Fabricius's*. Under the Countenance and Protection of his Benefactor *Valerius*, he was first advanced in the Army, and signalized ¹⁰⁰ himself by his Valour. After he had made his first Campaigns, one particularly in *Fabius's* Army, when he recovered *Tarentum* ¹⁰¹, he rose by Degrees to the Office of *Legionary Tribune*. This high Station was enough to give him Access to *Fabius*, now extremely old; and then, I know not what Sympathy, or rather Conformity of

habitual to them, that they found no Trouble in observing the Laws he established, to preserve good Order among them. He generally chose such as were not far advanced in Age, and were therefore the more capable of receiving such Impressions as he thought fit to make upon them. It is a very common Fault with Servants to divulge the Secrets of the Family, but *Cato* found Means by his Austerities, to bridle the Tongues of his Domesticks.

His Address in fomenting Quarrels and Divisions among them is boasted of, as a piece of the most refined Policy. They were, by this Means, so many dangerous Spies upon one another; so that their Misunderstandings in some measure secured their Fidelity; and the Fear of being accused before an inexorable Master, kept them in their Duty. Such of his Slaves as had deserved Death he caused to be executed in sight of their Companions. He thought the Terror of these Examples of Severity, would most effectually prevent future Disorders.

⁹⁸ The Hut in which *Cato* lived, joined, according to *Plutarch*, to that which was the Retreat of *Manius Cneius*, the Conqueror of the *Samnites* and of *Pyrrhus*. There this great Man, who had been honoured with three Triumphs, used to strip himself of all his Glory, to undergo the Labours of a Country Life. The sight of this poor House put *Cato* in mind of the Virtues of the Hero who inhabited it, and of the Simplicity of the first *Romans*. With this Thought he reviewed his Field, his Slaves, and his Expences, from time to time; and after the Example of *Cneius*, regulated his Desires by his Wants, and confined himself to mere Necessaries.

⁹⁹ *Plutarch* says, that *Cato* had so high Notions of his own Merits, that he thought himself the chief resource of the Republick in difficult Times. He said of himself, with an Air of Assurance, that the Senate and People fixed their Eyes on him, in the Dangers which threatened the Republick, as Passengers do on the Pilot in a violent Tempest. But *Cato* might have avoided the Reproach of commending himself with too much Vanity: Others have taken care enough to publish his Praises, and transmit them to Posterity. Nothing can be added to the Encomium *Pliny* gives us on him in his 33^d Book. *Cato*, says he, was the best of Orators, the best of Generals, and the best of Senators. *Optimus Orator, Optimus Imperator, Optimus Senator*.

¹⁰⁰ Before he was advanced to military Honours,

he bore the Marks of his Valour on his Body, which was covered with Wounds. He made his first Campaign when he was but seventeen. *Italy* was then a Prey to the furious *Hannibal*.

¹⁰¹ *Fabius* recovered *Tarentum* in the Year of *Rome* 544. being his fifth Consulship. *Cato* was then about twenty four Years of Age. It was in this City that he took Pleasure in hearing the Discourses of a *Pythagorean* Philosopher, in whose House he lodged. *Nearchus* was his Name; and he first gave *Cato* a Taste for Philosophy. *Cato* admired his Precepts and Maxims. They were agreeable to the Plan of Life he had laid down for himself, to keep himself upon his Guard against the delusive Charms of Pleasure. The Knowledge of these Rules of Morality, so agreeable to his Inclinations, made him desirous of reading the Works of an Author so much respected among the *Greeks*, and so avowed an Advocate for Virtue. Nevertheless, some thought, according to *Plutarch*, that *Cato* did not apply himself to the Study of *Greek*, till he was of a very advanced Age: And *Cicero*, and *Valerius Maximus* were of the same Opinion. *Tully*, in his Treatise *Of Old Age*, makes *Cato* speak agreeably to this Persuasion. *Quid quod etiam ad discunt (Senes) aliquid, ut Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se quotidie aliquid addiscentem senem fieri dicit, ut ego feci, qui Græcas Litteras senex didici. Quas quidem sic avidè arripui, quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens.* He applied himself with such Application to this kind of Learning, says *Valerius Maximus*, that he read *Greek* Books in the Senate-House, while he was waiting there for the House to assemble. But it is not easy to reconcile these two Authors with *Aurelius Victor*. The latter says, that *Ennius* taught *Cato* *Greek*, in his *Prætorship* of *Sardinia*, that is, in the Year of *Rome* 555; and then he could not be so old as *Cicero* seems to make him, since he was not more than thirty six Years of Age. Nor is the Authority of *Plutarch* in the Case less decisive. Some have affirmed, says this Historian, that *Cato* spoke a *Greek* Speech to the People of *Athens*, to keep them in the *Roman* Confederacy, when all *Greece* seemed inclined to favour *Antiochus the Great*; and they add, that this Speech was preserved to their time. But *Plutarch* himself is so far from allowing this to be true, that he confidently affirms that the Speech was a *Latin* one, and that the Orator spoke only by an Interpreter to the *Athenians*, who admired the Energy, Strength, and Conciseness of his Expressions.

of Inclinations and Genius, produced a very strict Friendship between old *Fabius* and young *Cato*. The latter devoted himself wholly to the former, studied and pursued his Inclinations, and seemed actuated by the same Soul. By *Fabius's* Interest *Cato* obtained the *Quæstorship*¹⁰², which was his first Step to the superior Dignities; and unfortunately for *Scipio*, he was *Quæstor* or Treasurer-General of his Army, when he was yet in *Sicily*, making Preparations for his *African Expedition*. It is easy to judge, that a *Quæstor*, of so untractable a Disposition, and a Friend to *Fabius*, would shew little Complaisance, or indeed, Civility, or decent Regard to *Scipio*. Nature seems never to have formed two Men of more opposite Tempers. *Scipio* was naturally liberal, even to Magnificence. *Cato* was of a¹⁰³ covetous Disposition, and his Education had made him sordidly thrifty. The former maintained his Continence, by keeping his Senses in due Subjection to Reason. The latter seemed insensible to Pleasure, but privately gave himself

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.

M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls

pressions: Not, continues *Plutarch*, that the Orator could not have spoken in *Greek*, but it was his Maxim always to adhere to the Language of his Fathers. He thought a *Roman* degraded himself, who had recourse to a foreign Language: And upon this Principle he loved to ridicule those, who commended and admired nothing but what was *Greek*. Thus he rallied one *Postumius Albinus*, who had written an History in *Greek*, and made an Apology for any Improperities which he might have been guilty of, in a Language, which was not his Mother-Tongue. Yes, doubtless, said *Cato*, he ought to have been forgiven, if he had been forced to write, by a Decree of the general Council of Greece. So that *Plutarch* was of Opinion, that *Cato* understood the *Greek* Tongue, when he harangued the People at *Athens*; which was in the Year of Rome 562. and he was then but forty two Years of Age. Add to this, that *Plutarch* also affirms, that *Cato* formed his Stile, and perfected himself in the Art of Speaking well, upon the Models of *Thucydides* and *Demosthenes*. But no one will say, that he who had in his Youth acquired at *Rome* the Reputation of being the most eloquent Person of his Age, did not study Eloquence till he became decrepit. And lastly, the Author of his Life tells us, that he collected out of the *Greek* Writers, a great Number of Maxims and Facts, with which he adorned his Books of Morality. This last Work is what some have very improperly confounded with a Collection of moral Disticks, which go under *Cato's* Name. Nor is it less false, that this Collection was written by one *Dionysius Cato*, of whom the *Criticks* have given us but a very ambiguous Account. It is probable enough, that this Book was intituled *Cato*, in Imitation of the Ancients, who borrowed the Names of famous Men, to put them at the Head of their Treatises. *Plato* in his Dialogues, *Cicero*, *Lucian*, &c. all do this.

From these contradictory Testimonies therefore it is natural to conclude, that if *Cato* did begin to study the *Greek* Tongue early, he never preferred it to the *Latin*. He ever affected to treat with Contempt the most famous Performances of the *Greeks*, in all Kinds of Learning. He was sometimes heard to declaim with Bitterness against *Socrates*. This great Man, whose rare Endowments had gained him so much Veneration, was, according to *Cato*, nothing but a great Talker, and a very furious Man, who endeavoured, by his seditious Harangues, to play the Tyrant over his Country, and overturn all Order, and all the ancient Laws, to introduce new ones agreeable to his own Humour. Sometimes he laughed at *Isocrates*, who forced his Disciples to labour hard in his School, before he would produce them in publick, to make any use of their Talents. They heard the Rhetorician, said *Cato*, with so much Constancy and Sedulity, only to qualify themselves to plead Causes well in the other World.

But *Cato*, above all, declared himself a sworn Enemy to the *Greek* Philosophers. This extravagant Prejudice was very visible in the Discourse he spoke against the famous *Carneades*, when the *Athenians* had sent an Ambassador to the Senate of *Rome*; and we shall hereafter give an Account of the Motives, upon which he desired the *Conscript Fathers* to dismiss without delay, a Man whose Philosophy he thought contagious. According to *Lactantius*, B. 5. c. 16. he hated *Carneades*, only because he had in one of his Harangues attacked the Foundations of the *Roman* Policy. Under the Appearance of Equity and Justice, it concealed a boundless Ambition; and the *Greek* Philosopher was not afraid to discover the Mystery, according to the last cited Author. He was not afraid to say in publick, that the *Romans* would soon be reduced to their old Huts, if they would resolve to confine themselves to the Rules of Equity; that is, if they would restore the conquered People the Cities and Nations they had unjustly seized. *Omnibus populis qui florent imperio, & Romanis quoque ipsis, qui totius orbis potirentur, si justii velint esse, hoc est, si aliena restituant, ad casas esse redendum, & in necessitate, ac miseriis jacendum.*

¹⁰² Supposing, as we have shewn above, that *Cato* was born in the Year of Rome 519. it is plain that he was about thirty Years of Age when he obtained the *Quæstorship*.

¹⁰³ Nothing escaped *Cato's* Ardour and Vigilance in increasing his Revenues, and heaping up Money. He said of himself, that one of his Friends having left him by Legacy a rich piece of Tapistry, he sold it, the same Day it was delivered to him. In order to save himself the Expence of whitening his Houses in the Country, he placed them in a thick, unwholesome Air, which was offensive at first Sight. This thrifty Spirit so far prevailed on him, as to stifle all Regards to Decency, and all humane Sentiments. He looked on the past Services of a faithful and laborious Slave, whose Age and Infirmities had disabled him from serving his Master any longer, as nothing; and he had the Cruelty to sell him as an useless Moveable. Whatever was more than barely necessary, was by him thought a criminal Superfluity; and it was therefore a Maxim with him, that if the most rare and valuable Things could have been bought for a Farthing, they would have been too dear, because they only added to the Conveniencies and Pleasures of Life. This is indeed the true Spirit of a covetous Man. He denies himself every thing for the sole Pleasure of heaping up. Every thing else he thinks trifling, and esteems as nothing. Nevertheless, *Cato* concealed his Avarice, under the specious Names of Prudence and Oeconomy; and his Partizans, deceived with that Air of Austerity which was natural to him, persuaded themselves, that his only Aim, in his way of Life, was to revive, by his Example, the ancient Simplicity of the *Romans*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.

M. CORNELI-
US CÆTHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.

a Loose in it. The former had no Distaste, either for Shows, or chearful Conversation; and purely, by way of Amusement, made one at both. The latter was ¹⁰⁴ gloomy and reserved, and never appeared either in private Meetings, or at publick Diversions. He abstained from them out of Ostentation. *Scipio* professed solid, but sociable Virtues. *Cato* set up for excessive Rigour ¹⁰⁵, in which there was more of Humour, than of real Inclination. In short, *Scipio's* Philosophy was suitable to his Birth. He was above being so very circumspect, as to be always upon the Rack, for fear of little Mistakes; his superior Merit freed him from numberless Fears in trivial Things. But *Cato's* Ambition not being supported by the Eminence of his Birth, he had recourse to Artifices, and supplied the want of Blood, by an affected Gravity, and an excessive Regard for the Interests of the Publick, even in the minutest Particulars. With these so very different Qualities, it could not but be difficult for the *Quæstor* and the *Pro-Consul*, long to live together in a good Understanding. And indeed, as soon as *Cato* arrived in *Sicily*, to have the Inspection of the military Chest, he made it his Business to observe narrowly his General's Conduct, only in order to find Fault with it. It seems probable, that he had taken his Instructions from *Fabius*, that eternal Rival to *Scipio*. But be that as it will, the ill Humour of *Cato* soon broke out into Complaints against the *Pro-Consul*. He blamed him for his Profuseness to his Soldiers, and even haughtily

¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, he had his Intervals of Gaiety and good Humour. *Plutarch* has collected several smart Sayings, which he dropped in his Harangues, and in Conversation. The Reader will judge of his Character and Manners, by the Instances that follow.

How hard a Matter is it to make one's self heard by those who are all Belly, and have no Ears? Said he one Day, to the Roman People, who persisted in requiring the Magistrates to distribute some Corn among them.

The vast Expences of the Grandees of Rome in their Tables, made *Cato* say, *That that City must certainly be on the brink of Ruin, where a Fish sells for as much as an Ox.*

He looked on those who canvassed for the Dignities of the Republick, only as *Men who had lost their Way, and called for Mace-Bears, and Tipstaves, to set them right.*

He could not bear to see the *Comitia* almost always make choice of a certain Number Citizens to raise them to great Offices. *You either seem*, said he to the Roman People, *to set no great Value on these Employments, or else can find but few Persons fit to fill them.*

A Man in much disrepute for his Voluptuousness was very desirous of *Cato's* Company: But he, far from complying with his earnest Intreaties, declared, *That he would not keep Company with a Man, whose Palate was better than his Heart.*

A Tribune of the People who was suspected of dealing in Poisons, obstinately insisting on the Ratification of an unjust Law, *Cato* told him, *That it was a Question, whether it was more dangerous to drink what he prepared, or authorise what he proposed.*

Speaking of a Spendthrift who had spent a considerable Estate which lay on the Sea-Coast, he said, *That this Squanderer was stronger than the Sea it self, since he had devoured at once what the Waves could not swallow up in a great Number of Ages.*

According to *Cato*, *Wise Men learn more by Fools, than Fools by wise Men; because wise Men avoid the Faults of Fools, but they will not follow the Examples of the Wise.*

Of the three Ambassadors that the Roman Republick sent to the King of *Bithynia*, one had the Gout in his Feet, another was thought a Fool, and the third had been trepanned: Which made *Cato* say with some Pleasantness, *That this Embassy had neither Head nor Feet.*

He interested himself in favour of a thousand

Achaïans who were imprisoned at Rome, under pretence that they had had a Design to deliver up their Country to *Perses*, as we shall observe hereafter. They had grown old in Prison: And at length, after many Debates, a Jest of *Cato's* procured them their Liberty, and Leave of the Senate to return Home. *We spend our Time, indeed*, said he to the Ambassadors, *to mighty good Purpose, in deliberating, whether some useless old Achaïans, shall be buried by our Grave-diggers, or by those in their own Country!*

Polybius, who had solicited the return of his Countrymen, was not content with that only, but had formed a Design to appear before *The Conscript Fathers*, to demand that the Exiles should be re-established in the same Honours and Privileges which they enjoyed before their Disgrace. However, he would not venture to take this Step, without consulting *Cato*; and therefore went to him, and imparted to him his Design. But *Cato* smiled, and told him he was going to hazard all, to get little or nothing. *You don't imitate the Wisdom of Ulysses*, said he to him; *You are for going back again to the Den of the Cyclops, to fetch a Girdle you left there.*

¹⁰⁵ *Cato*, besides his extravagant Severity, was very free of his satyrical Reflections, which made him very odious to the Nobility of Rome. Several of the most distinguished Citizens whom he had satyriized, without any reserve, conspired to ruin him. According to *Plutarch*, he was accused near fifty times; *Pliny*, and *Aurelius Victor*, say but four and forty. But be that as it will, *Cato* was immovable in the midst of the Storms his Enemies raised against him; and defended himself with a Steadiness of Soul, which made all his Accusers tremble. By the Solidity of his Reasons he made his Judges confess his Innocence. Being blameless in his Conduct, he defied the most clear-sighted and most rigid Censor. In one Prosecution which was brought against him, he was so sure of the Goodness of his Cause, that he offered to submit it to the Judgment of one of his most avowed Enemies. But those who persecuted him, during his Life, did not spare his Memory after his Death, as appears by this Epigram, which *Plutarch* has preserved. *Here lies a Man with red Hair and greenish Eyes. This Porcius, whose ill Nature made him formidable to the Romans, cannot even find a Place in Hell. Proserpine is afraid of him, though he is dead, and will not suffer him to enter into her Kingdom, lest she should become the Subject of the satyrical Wit of so mischievous a Shade.*

reproved him. *Your Expences, said he, are excessive; and you are liberal to your Soldiers without Discretion: By that means you not only exhaust the publick Treasury, but slacken the Reins of military Discipline. You furnish Materials for the Voluptuousness which is among the Troops. Why don't you stint them to bare Necessaries?* But Scipio was not a Man of so mean a Spirit, as to pay any Deference to the Remonstrances of a troublesome *Quæstor*, whom he despised. He replied. *Sir, I don't like so very exact a Quæstor. I am not accountable to the Republick for my Expences, but for my Exploits. By my Bounties I secure the Affections of the Army, and dispose them to conquer. Pray obey my Orders, and keep your Advice to your self.*

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.
M. CORNELI-
US CETHE-
GUS, P. SEM-
PRONIUS TU-
DILANUS,
Consuls.

THE *Quæstors* in the Roman Armies seem to have been so many Spies for the Republick on their Generals. They narrowly observed their Conduct, and gave an Account of it to the Senate. *Cato*, full of Resentment, for the Answers and Behaviour of *Scipio*, left him and *Sicily* all on a sudden, and returned to *Rome*. There he joined with *Fabius*, and those two Enemies of the *Pro-Consul* were very liberal of their Invectives against him. *What a General*, said they, *have we put at the Head of the Army that is to go over into Africa! His Expences are both immensely great, and at the same time useless. He spends the whole Day in the Theatre, and the Time which should be dedicated to military Affairs, is lost in Sports and Amusements.*

§. XXI. THESE Discourses made at first some Impression on the Citizens of *Rome*; and soon after, the Affair of the *Locri* was revived, and exasperated the Senate as much against *Scipio* as *Pleminius*. Ten Deputies from the City of *Locri* came to *Rome*, dressed in Mourning, with Olive-Branches in their Hands, and threw themselves prostrate before the *Consuls*. The Subject-Matter of their Complaint was, That the *Roman* Garrison had treated their fellow-Citizens with more Severity, than *Rome* had shewn even to *Carthaginians*: And they prayed the *Consuls* to procure them an Audience of the Senate, that they might have an Opportunity to represent their Grievances. The *Consuls* could not refuse the Justice they demanded, and introduced them into the Senate, where the chief of the Deputies spoke thus. *Perhaps it might be necessary, Conscript Fathers, to give you some Account, both of our former Revolt, and our Return to our Duty. Nevertheless, we shall at present only solemnly protest to you, That when we separated from your Interests, our Magistrates were not at all concerned in the Revolt of the People; and That when we again submitted to your Government, we were unanimous. If Scipio was here, he would testify the Sincerity of our return. But how have we been treated by the Commander of your Troops in Locri? We acknowledge, we thought the Oppression of Hamilcar and his Carthaginians exceeding heavy; but the Rigour of Pleminius and his Soldiers has been much greater, and completed our Misery. In one Word, the City that judges of the Romans only by the Violences they have committed in Locri, will never deliberate whether they should prefer the Carthaginian Dominion to the Roman. Nevertheless, in the midst of all Oppressions, we have not carried our Complaints to any other Tribunal, but that of the August Senate of Rome. We desire no other Avengers but you; nor will we so much as apply to the Gods for Justice. What a Governor have we had in this Pleminius! The Barbarian has nothing of the Man, but his Figure; nothing of the Roman, but his Dress and Language. He is a wild Beast, and more voracious than that ¹⁰⁶ Monster, which swallows so many Ships in the Streights of Sicily; and yet, had he been the only one we had had to satisfy, we might perhaps have found means to glut his Avarice, and satiate his Lust. But, to our irreparable Misfortune, every one of the Soldiers of his Garrison is a Pleminius. They plunder, they beat, they assassinate us. Our Wives and Daughters are not safe from their Violences. They take them from us by Force, and dishonour them. Every Day of our Lives is like the Day in which a City is taken by Assault, and given up to be plundered. Every Moment, even in the Night, our Streets and Houses are full of Outcries and Lamentations. It is indeed scarce conceivable, either That we should have had Patience to bear so many Calamities so long; or That your Soldiers should be hard-*

¹⁰⁶ The Poets represent the famous Rock of Sylla, which was so formidable, to the Ships that passed from Italy to Sicily, as a Monster. We have spoken of it elsewhere.

Year of *hearted enough not to be touched with them. It is not possible to give you a De-*
tail of all the Violences we have suffered; and therefore I shall only observe to you
 R O M E *in general, That the Oppression has been universal; That not one of our Citizens*
 DXLIX. *has been exempt from it; and That no kind of Rapine, Cruelty, or Brutality has*
 M. CORNELI- *been spared. Nor is the Rigour of our Sufferings at all abated to this Day. Ple-*
 US CETHEGUS, *minius and his Soldiers are now as furious as ever. Their Fury reaches even to our*
 P. SEMPRONI- *tutelary Gods. At Locri we have a Sanctuary dedicated to Proserpine; which*
 US TUDITA- *sacred Place is known to you by the Misfortunes of Pyrrhus¹⁰⁷, who plundered it.*
 nus, Consuls. *Though the King of Epirus had Religion enough to repair the Injuries he had done*
the Goddess, yet he was unfortunate ever after; and Pleminius cannot be ignorant
of Pyrrhus's Misfortunes. But nevertheless, he is so little apprehensive of any Mis-
fortunes to himself, or his greedy Soldiers, that he has committed the same Sacri-
lege as Pyrrhus did, without any Attempts to expiate his Guilt. How different is
his Conduct from the Piety that reigns here! We with Pleasure observe, that here
at Rome, the greatest Dignity is preserved in the Ceremonies of Religion, and the
greatest Respect is shewn to the Gods; and this gives us Reason to hope, that
your Armies will not undertake any thing, either in or out of Italy, till you have ex-
piated the Prophanations of the Temple of Proserpine. Have you not Reason to
fear, that the Goddess will spread the same Spirit of Infatuation among your Troops,
as has already seized the Soldiers of your Garrison at Locri? We have seen them
take up Arms against each other, kill one another, murder two of their Tribunes,
and maim their Commanders. These are the Effects of the Anger of Proserpine;
and her Vengeance will never be satisfied, till her Treasures are restored. What re-
mains then, Conscript Fathers, but to implore your Justice against the Tyrant who
oppresses us? We don't desire he should be condemned without being heard. Let him
justify himself if he can, and give his Answer to our Accusation at your Tribunal!
If he can clear himself of all the Crimes we lay to his Charge, we readily submit
to be once more under his Government, which is the greatest Misfortune we can
possibly suffer.

THUS spake the Head of the Deputation. *Fabius* was then *Prince of the Se-*
nate, whose Business it was to answer the Request of the *Locri*: And he think-
 ing this a proper Opportunity to load *Scipio* with part of the Odium, which the
 Senate had conceived against *Pleminius*, asked the Deputies, whether they had
 not already made their Complaints to *Scipio*. The *Locri* answered, That they
 went to *Syracuse* on Purpose to inform the *Pro-Consul* of the Proceedings of the
 cruel *Pleminius*, but that they had found him too busy in making Preparations for
 the *Carthaginian War*, to attend to their Complaints. *Perhaps*, said they, *he*
has, by this time, transported his Troops into Africa. Besides, we have already ex-
perienced what Interest Pleminius has with Scipio. In the Sentence he passed at
Locri, in the Cause between him and the two Tribunes, he imprisoned them, but
restored Pleminius to his Office. This was enough for a prejudiced Judge to begin
a criminal Accusation against Scipio. Fabius shewed more Bitterness of Spirit
 against him than became his Age, and the Gravity of a *Prince of the Senate*.
 After he had ordered the Deputies of *Locri* to withdraw, he gave an ill Turn to
 their Depositions, and spake thus. *The Pro-Consul, which we have at the Head*
of our Troops in Sicily, seems to be born to destroy military Discipline in our Ar-
mies. How many notorious Disorders were our Legions guilty of in Spain? What
Seditions did they raise there? And to what ought they to be imputed, but the For-
bearance of the General? His effeminate Complaisance has done our Soldiery more
Mischief, by making them neglect Order and Duty, than his Victories have done
us good. Scipio makes War as a King would do, and has no Regard to the Customs
established among our Troops. He is indulgent, or severe, or both, just as it happens
to suit his present Temper, or present Views. I consider him as the Corrupter of the
old Way, in which our Generals always made War. As for Pleminius, he is a
Villain, who is countenanced and hardened in his Crimes by Scipio's Favour. In
the first Place therefore, I am of Opinion, with regard to Scipio, That he ought to
be recalled to Rome, for having quitted his Province, and besieged Locri; and That

¹⁰⁷ See what we have said of the Temple of Proserpine, and its Prophanation by King Pyrrhus,
 p. 467. Vol. 2. Note 103.

proper Measures ought to be taken with the Tribunes of the People, to get him deposed from the Pro-Consulate by the Comitia. Secondly, with regard to Pleminius, I think he ought to be loaded with Chains, brought to Rome, heard, prosecuted, and if the Depositions of the Locri prove true, executed in Prison, and his Estate confiscated. And Thirdly, with respect to the Locri, I am of Opinion that the Senate ought to disavow the ill Treatment they have received. I vote for giving them the Title of Friends, and faithful Allies; for restoring them their Wives and Children, and every thing that has been unjustly taken from them; for paying back to the Treasury of the Temple of Proserpine, double the Sum of Money that has been stolen from it; for expiating the Offences committed against the Goddesses, by such Sacrifices as the Pontifices shall approve of, and direct; and for transporting the Soldiers of the Garrison of Locri to Sicily, and filling up their Places with Auxiliaries from Latium.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.
M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.

NOR was Fabius the only Man in the Assembly who accused Scipio. Either Cato, or some other Senator upon his Reports, brought a new Accusation against him, concerning his Conduct in Sicily. The Pro-Consul (said the Accuser) seems to have unlearned among the Greeks, the Manners and Customs of the Romans. He does not even dress himself after the Roman manner. The Toga and Sagum no longer suit his Taste. He appears in publick in a Greek Cloak ¹⁰⁸, or Pallium, and Greek Sandals. His usual Walk is in the ¹⁰⁹ Palæstra. He applies himself with Assiduity to the Study of Greek Books. In short, he seems to have forgotten both Hannibal and Carthage. Licentiousness reigns among the Troops, and their General is less formidable to the Enemies, than to the Allies, of Rome, in Sicily. Indeed it cannot be said, that these Reports were absolutely false; but the Truth was artfully represented in false Lights; and the Probability the Calumniators gave their Accusation, had the same Effect on the Mind, as Truth.

NEVERTHELESS, Scipio was not destitute of Friends and Defenders; so that the Decree could not be passed, till after several Sitzings. At length Quintus Metellus brought over all the Senators to his Opinion, which seemed most prudent and most moderate. The Business was to come to some Determination concerning the Punishment to be inflicted on Pleminius for his Crimes; the Satisfaction that was to be made the Locri; and the recalling of the Pro-Consul from Sicily. And with respect to the two first Articles, Metellus was of Fabius's Opinion, but he was more tender in relation to Scipio's Affair. Is it reasonable, said he to the Conscript Fathers, to stop a young Hero in his Career, who has done Honour to the Republick, and on whom her Hopes are built? She looks on him as a certain Stay. His Conquest of Spain promises that of Africa; and Italy hopes to be delivered from

¹⁰⁸ The ancient Cloak of the Greeks was called Pallium. It was open before, and wore over the Tunick. We judge, by two ancient Monuments, that it was much like ours, only fuller and larger.

As for the Sandal of the Greeks, which Livy calls *Crepida*, it consisted only of one Sole, which guarded the Soles of the Feet, and was fastened by Strings, which were brought several times over the Foot, cross one another, and tied sometimes at the Ankle, and sometimes as high as the Calf of the Leg. We shall have occasion to speak of the different Sorts of Sandals used by the Greeks and Romans hereafter.

¹⁰⁹ Those Places, where the young Men were taught all sorts of Exercises of Body and Mind, were indifferently called, either *Gymnasia*, from the Nakedness of the *Athletæ*, or *Palestræ*, because the Youth were there taught to wrestle. And the Romans sometimes called the publick Schools *Therma*, because there were hot Baths and Stoves in the same Building. We ought not therefore to form a Judgment of these *Gymnasia*, or *Palestræ*, by our Universities. The publick Buildings appointed for these Exercises, contained several Parts, which may be reduced to these twelve. 1. The outward Porticoes, where the Philosophers, Rhetoricians, Geometricians, &c. assembled, either to instruct their Disciples, or to read their Works. 2. The *Eph-*

beum, which was appointed for the young Men, who were taught their Exercises in private. 3. The *Gymnasterium*, which was a sort of Wardrobe, where they undressed, either to go into the Bath, or to prepare for Wrestling, or Running. 4. The *Elæothesium*, where was kept a Mixture of Oil and Wax called *Ceroma*, with which the Wrestlers and Boxers used to anoint all the Parts of their Bodies. This made their Limbs more pliant and slippery, and consequently their Adversaries could have the less hold in them. 5. The *Conisterium*, where was kept the Sand and Dust, with which the Wrestlers covered their Bodies, to dry up the Oil and Sweat. 6. The *Spheristerium*, or Tennis-Court. 7. The *Palestra*, properly so called, or the Place appointed for several Exercises, particularly Boxing and Wrestling. 8. The great Walks between the Porticoes and the Walls of the Building. 9. The *Xystæ*, which were Porticoes, in which the *Athletæ* exercised themselves in Winter, or rainy Weather. 10. Other *Xystæ*, which were open Walks, some of which were planted with Trees, and in which the Academists assembled in the Summer-time. 11. The Baths. 12. The *Stadium*, which was a semicircular Place, covered with Sand, and surrounded with Seats, ranged one above another for the Convenience of the Spectators. This Piece of Ground was an hundred and twenty five geometrical Paces, or six hundred and twenty five Foot long.

Year of R O M E
DXLIX.
M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.

Hannibal by his Means. What an Indignity would it be to the brave Pro-Consul, and what Injustice in ourselves, to recall him from his Government, and condemn him, before he has been heard ! Would it not lessen his Credit among the Troops, and dishonour him among our Enemies ? Is it right, to confound the Accusation brought against the Pro-Prætor Pleminius, with the slight Charge that has been made upon Scipio ? The one is accused of Thefts, Robberies, Sacrilege, and infamous Brutalities : And it is proper that he should be recalled to be tried. But the other is only charged with a little too much Indulgence, and Idleness. Not that I would excuse these Faults in a General of an Army. But after all, ought uncertain Informations to be taken for granted, and an illustrious Commander to be recalled upon dubious Reports ? Surely, nothing is more easy, than to make Enquiry into the Conduct of Scipio, in a judicial manner, and upon the Spot. Marcus Pomponius is preparing to go for Sicily, in quality of Prætor. Let us join with him ten Commissioners chosen out of the Senators, with two Tribunes of the People, and one Ædile, and oblige them to set out in three Days. If they find Scipio in Sicily, they may there judge whether he is an Accomplice in the Crimes of Pleminius ; and if they find him guilty, send him to Rome. If he is gone for Africa before they arrive, and after due Examination he appears to have been guilty, the two Tribunes of the People, and their Ædile, with two Senators of the Commission, may go to his Camp, and force him to leave it, and return ; and the two Senators may take upon them the Government of the Army, till Rome sends a new General.

THIS Advice of Metellus was universally applauded, and the Senate passed a Decree accordingly. The College of Tribunes drew by Lot two ¹¹⁰ of their Body to go to Sicily, there to act in concert with the Prætor, and the ten Commissioners appointed to enquire into Scipio's Conduct. By which it appears, that the Tribunes of the People were not so much confined to the City, but they might leave it, on extraordinary Occasions, and great Emergencies. And lastly, the Pontifices were consulted to know, what Ceremonies were proper to expiate the Sacrileges committed in the Temple of Proserpine, at Locri.

§. XXII. IN three Days time all these Preparations were made ; and the Commissioners left Rome, to go and embark at Rhegium ¹¹¹. But they came first to Locri, to begin the Process against Pleminius ; and according to some Historians, Scipio had already prevented the Judgment of the Commissioners. He had sent a Lieutenant General from his Camp with thirty Roman Knights of the best of the Nobility, to pronounce Sentence on Pleminius, and the chief of his Accomplices : And according to them, Pleminius had been already laid in Irons by these Deputies sent by the Pro Consul. But be that as it will (for other Historians ¹¹² pretend that the Villain was not arrested, but by Orders of the Prætor Pomponius) it is at least certain, that Pleminius was carried to Rhegium ; and there kept in Prison, till he could be conveyed to Rome.

AFTER the Imprisonment of the guilty Governor of Locri, the Prætor and Commissioners in the next Place applied themselves to repair the Injuries and Prophanations done to the Temple of Proserpine. They made a strict Enquiry into what had been stolen out of the Treasury of the Goddess ; obliged all those whom they found to have sacrilegiously robbed it, to restore what they had taken ; and Restitution was made for the rest of the Rapines out of the Gold and Silver the Commissioners had brought from Rome. Then the Anger of the Goddess was appeased by Sacrifices : And all the Soldiers of the Garrison were ordered to leave the City, and encamp in the Plain. They were forbidden, under very severe Penalties, either to continue in Locri, or to carry away any of the Effects of the Inhabitants : Proclamation was made, that if any Locrian found any of his Goods among the Baggage of the Soldiers, he might seize it, and carry it off ; and demand whatever the Robbers might have concealed. And lastly, the Romans were for-

¹¹⁰ The first of these two Tribunes was, according to Livy, one Marcus Claudius Marcellus ; the other, Lucius Cincius Alimentus.

¹¹¹ Rhegium was a maritime City, and one of the most considerable in Bruttium. See B. 21. p. 437. of Vol. 2. Note 67.

¹¹² Some say, That Scipio being informed of

what had been done at Rome with respect to the Pro-Prætor Pleminius, determined at last to banish him to Naples ; and add, that Quintus Metellus, one of the ten Commissioners, met the Offender on the Road, and carried him back to Rhegium, which he had been forced to leave, to repair to the Place of his Banishment.

bidden to carry away with them any Person of free Condition. All the *Locri*, whom the *Romans* had made Captives, were set at Liberty. Then, after he had cleared *Locri* of its Robbers, the *Prætor* assembled the Townsmen in the *Forum*; and declared to them, that the *Roman* Senate and People restored them their Liberty, and gave them Leave to live according to their own Laws. To which he added, That if they had any new Accusations to bring against *Pleminius*, they should come to *Rhegium*, and confront him there; and That if any of them knew that the *Pro-Consul* of *Sicily* had been concerned in the Plunder of the Treasury of *Proserpine*, he should come to *Messana*¹¹³, where the Commissioners would take Cognizance of that Affair. The *Locri* answered the *Prætor*, That they would willingly come to *Rhegium*, to inform against *Pleminius*: But as for *Scipio*, they testified, That it was notorious; That the Sacrilege was committed without his Knowledge; That the *Pro-Consul's* only Fault, was his having been too credulous in favour of *Pleminius*, and neglected their Complaints; and That *Scipio* abhorred these Disorders, but had not been ready enough to believe them, or zealous enough in revenging them. *Besides*, added they, *Scipio's Birth and Character are such as silence all Complaints: And shall we then be so rash, as to incur his Displeasure?* The Commissioners were well pleased with these Declarations of the *Locri*, as being thereby discharged from all Obligations to begin a Process against the most venerable Person in the Republick. But they prosecuted *Pleminius*, and thirty two of the most guilty of his Soldiers, and sent them in Chains to *Rome*. And now, having no more Business in *Italy*, they set out for *Sicily*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.

M. CORNELI-
US CETH-
GUS, P. SEM-
PRONIUS TU-
DIPANUS,
Consuls.

THE two *Tribunes of the People* and their *Ædile*, had Orders to arrest *Scipio*, and convey him from *Sicily*, or *Africa*, to *Rome*, if the Commissioners judged him guilty: And they were probably to put in execution the Sentence pronounced by the *Prætor*, and the Senators his Associates, be it what it would. And indeed, the whole Proceedings in this new Affair were very extraordinary; no *Roman* General having yet been judged by any Commissioners, out of *Italy*. But *Scipio*, who was not ignorant that a Deputation, representing the *Roman* Senate and People, was coming to enquire into his Conduct, neither gave way to Resentment, nor harboured Distrusts. True Valour and a good Understanding shine with most Lustre in Adversity. *Scipio* paid his Judge all due Respect, even in the midst of an Army which adored him. The *Pro-Consul* did not indeed meanly go out to meet the Commissioners, but tarried for them at *Syracuse*: Neither did he prepare to justify himself by studied Harangues. He was willing to convince the Deputies by their own Eyes, of the Pains he had taken to prepare for his Expedition.

SCIPIO assembled all his Troops together from the several Parts of the Island, in which they were quartered; and ordered all his Fleet to repair to *Syracuse*. So that on the Day the Commissioners arrived, both Fleet and Army were drawn out, as if ready to give Battel. The Deputies were well received and entertained by the *Pro-Consul*, and the whole Day was spent in Rejoicings. The next Day *Scipio* exercised and reviewed his Land-Forces, in the Presence of the Commissioners: Then he ordered his Gallies to feign Attacks upon each other, and represent a Sea-fight. After this the *Pro-Consul* conducted the Commissioners to the publick Granaries, Arsenals, and Timber-Yards, where Machines for Sieges were building; and by these vast Preparations, it was very visible to the Commissioners, that the General had not spent his Time only in Shows, and Amusements. *These*, said he to the Deputies, *are the Produce of the Expences with which I am reproached. These are the Fruits of my Cares. Judge ye, by the good Order of my Troops, whether Discipline has been neglected. I acknowledge, I have had my Amusements at my leisure Hours, but I have made even my Diversions subservient to the publick Good. I have thereby made the Republick many Friends, and gained the Hearts of my Soldiers.*

Plut. in *Caro*
Major.

THE *Prætor Pomponius*, and the Deputies from *Rome* were struck with Admiration at what they saw, and said to one another; *If Carthage is not invincible, she must sink under so fine an Army. Go*, said they to *Scipio*; *Fly to Africa, the*

¹¹³ *Messana*, called originally *Zanele*, is now of the most considerable Cities in *Sicily*. See p. 470. known by the Name of *Messina*, and is still one of Vol. 2. Note 6.

Year of *Moment your Orders come from Rome. You will fully answer the Expectations*
R O M E the People had from you, on the Day they chose you Consul. As for us, we will
 DXLIX. *return to the Capital, and not declare our Hopes of some uncertain Advantage, but*

M. CORNELI-
 US CETHEGUS,
 P. SEMPRONI-
 US TUDITA-
 NUS, Consuls. *proclaim certain Victory.* Accordingly, the Commissioners re embarked, and re-
 turned to *Rome*, to publish *Scipio's* Glory; and it is to be presumed, that the
Jealousy of Fabius, and the Animosity of Cato were confounded, at the News
 they brought from *Sicily*.

WHEN the Commissioners were returned, they finished the Prosecution of *Ple-*
minius, and his Accomplices. They had been brought to *Rome*, and kept in Pri-
 son there; and the College of the *Tribunes* now produced them before the Peo-
 ple. The first Time these Criminals appeared before the *Comitia*, the assembled
 Citizens seemed inflexible. They had not yet forgotten the Complaints the *Locri*
 had made to the Senate. But afterwards, the Rage of the People abated. The
 Deformity of *Pleminius*, whose Nose and Ears were cut off, raised their Com-
 passion. Besides, they loved *Scipio*, and remembered that he had had some Re-
 gard for the miserable *Pleminius*: So that, tho' he was often produced before the
 People, he was never condemned to Death by a sufficient Number of Suffrages.
 He was carried back to Prison, and there died of some Distemper¹¹⁴, which alone
 preserved him from the Rigours of a definitive Sentence, which would have dis-
 honoured him. At the same time the *Pro-Consul* of *Sicily* was acquitted in the
 Senate, in the most honourable manner. After the Commissioners had made their
 Report, the Senators, *Tribunes of the People*, and all the *Conscript Fathers* passed
 a Decree, which was very glorious for this Hero. The Purport of it was, That
 the *Pro-Consul* should immediately repair to *Africa*, and should be at Liberty to
 chuse such of the *Roman* Troops in *Sicily* as he thought fit for his Expedition;
 and leave the rest to guard the Island. So that this Decree determined the Im-
 barkation of the brave *Pro-Consul*: But an unforeseen Accident had like to have
 retarded it.

§. XXIII. WE have before observed, that whilst *Scipio* was making War in
Spain, he had gained over to his Republick, *Syphax* and *Masinissa*, two *Numidian*
 Kings, whose Territories bordered on those of *Carthage*. The latter was con-
 stant to the Party he had embraced; his Misfortunes, and his want of the Assis-
 tance of the *Romans*, made him faithful to them. But the former, not to men-
 tion his *African* Levity, was drawn over to the *Carthaginians*, by the most vio-
 lent Passion. Indeed *Syphax* had had some Conferences with *Scipio*, which seemed
 to have determined him never to break with him. In that famous Interview,
 when *Asdrubal* and *Scipio* were present at the same Entertainment, *Syphax* had,
 without Hesitation, given the *Roman* General the Preference to the *Carthaginian*.
 And ever since that time, the *Numidian* had kept a Correspondence with *Scipio*.
 But Love broke through all the Ties of Friendship and Esteem. *Asdrubal* the
 Son of *Gisco* had a Daughter, whose Beauty was celebrated all over *Africa*.
 He was himself one of the greatest Lords in *Carthage*, and *Hannibal* only excepted,
 had as great a Reputation for Valour, as any Officer of his Nation. *Asdrubal*
 had long rivalled *Scipio* in *Spain*; but at length the *Carthaginian* had yielded
 to the superior Genius of the *Roman*. After he had been driven out of *Spain*,
 and was returned to *Carthage*, he made it his whole Business to destroy the old
 Negotiations of his Rival. He knew that *Scipio* had brought *Syphax* and *Masi-*
nissa to enter into Engagements with *Rome*. These two Kings then divided *Num-*
idia between them; and *Numidia* was too near *Carthage* for her to look upon

¹¹⁴ *Claudius Licinius*, quoted by *Livy*, gives a different Account of the Death of *Pleminius*, in the third Book of *The Annals of Rome*. According to this Historian, *Pleminius* being closely shut up in Prison, formed the horrible Design of procuring his own Liberty by the Ruin of his Country. *Scipio Africanus* was then *Consul* the second time. The Villain, weary of his Chains which he had worn for ten Years, thought he had found the Opportunity he wanted, in the Celebration of the *Games*, which were represented in the Year 559. He therefore hired a Company of *Bauditti*, to set Fire to the chief Parts of the City. This detestable

Plot was to be executed in the Night; the furious *Pleminius* concluding, that the Darkness of the Night would favour his Escape, and that in the general Consternation of the Citizens, when busy in extinguishing the Fire, he should be able to escape the Vigilance of his Guards. But his Accomplices themselves, who had agreed to execute the Fury of the Prisoner, were shocked at the Attempt; and discovered to the assembled Senate the Secret, and the Author of the Conspiracy. Then *Pleminius*, as soon as convicted by the Depositions of the Conspirators, was immediately thrown into a Dungeon, where he was privately executed.

the Measures these Kings took with Unconcern. She thought them very formidable, in case *Rome* should bring the War into *Africa*.

ASDRUBAL therefore undertook to raise a Quarrel between the two Kings, and draw off one of them at least from the Interests of *Rome*. The properest Person he could find to set the two *Numidians* at Variance, was his Daughter *Sophonisba*. Antiquity has represented her, as a Woman equally capable of raising the most violent Passion, and feeling the Force of it. Her Beauty was excellent, her Genius sublime, her Manners engaging, and her Courage above her Sex. Education, and the Study of Letters, had perfected her natural Endowments. She was Mistress of Musick, and ravished the Ears, as well as charmed the Eyes, of those who saw her. Her Discourse was irresistibly winning: She spoke with all the Gracfulness, that a fine Carriage and Politeness give: And in short, to use our Historian's own Words, *The most insensible of Men could not but love her, after he had once seen, or heard her*. It is very necessary to give this true Picture of her after one of the best Painters of *Greece*. The Part we shall see her act, is so tragical, that we think ourselves obliged to give her Character, the Moment she appears on the Stage.

THE charming *Carthaginian* was the Object of many Suitors; but her Father rejected all Addresses, which did not tend to the general Benefit of his Republick. He hoped by his Daughter's means to save *Carthage* from the Invasion of the *Romans*. He expected by her to draw off *Masiniſſa* or *Syphax* from *Rome*, and his Scheme succeeded; at least, in part. *Masiniſſa's* Heart was soon caught in the Snare that *Asdrubal* laid for him. He saw *Sophonisba*; fell desperately in Love with her; demanded her of her Father; and obtained his Promise that she should not marry any other Person. But *Masiniſſa* should not have laid so much Stress on the Promises of a *Carthaginian*. After they were made, his Affairs changed. He was dispossessed of the Throne of his Fathers, and had no Hopes of recovering his Dominions, but through the Protection of the *Romans*. And then, notwithstanding the Bravery of the *Massylian*, and his Ability in the Field, and in the Cabinet; he saw the Inclinations of *Asdrubal* and *Sophonisba* change with his Fortune. Nevertheless his Passion was not destroyed by his Repulses. His first Flame was never extinguished. We shall soon see it break out afresh.

§. XXIV. In the mean time *Asdrubal* seeing the ¹¹⁵ *Massylian* King dethroned, cast his Eyes on the ¹¹⁶ *Massylian* Prince, who was yet prosperous and flourishing. The illustrious *Carthaginian* had long kept a Correspondence with *Syphax*, and mutual Acts of Hospitality had passed between them. *Asdrubal* therefore went to *Numidia*, and paid the King a Visit. In this Conversation he revived the Remembrance of *Sophonisba* his Daughter, and gave such an Account of her, as greatly enflamed the King's Desires. No Nation in *Africa* was more susceptible of the tender Passion, than the *Numidian*; and *Syphax*, in a sudden Transport, entreated *Asdrubal* to bring *Sophonisba* to his Palace. The Marriage was soon concluded; and in the first Heat of his Passion, *Syphax* easily forgot his Engagements with *Rome*. He not only entered into an Alliance with *Asdrubal*, but with the whole Republick of *Carthage*. He signed an offensive and defensive League with her. Nevertheless, he was still to keep some Measures with *Rome*, not judging it proper to break out into an open Rupture so soon. And *Asdrubal* by his Reasons, and *Sophonisba* by her Careſſes, wrought so much upon the Mind of the King, that he wrote a Letter to *Scipio*, to divert him from coming so soon into *Africa*, in the Language of a Prince, who scarce retained any Regard for him. *If you depend on the Assistance of Syphax for the Success of your new Enterprize*, said he in his Letter to *Scipio*, *I advise you to suspend it. I have married the Daughter of Asdrubal, and made a Treaty with Carthage. Keep therefore at*

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.

M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.
Zon. B. 9. c. 11.

Livy, B. 29.
c. 23.

¹¹⁵ *Strabo* gives us Reason to believe, that the *Massylians* possessed the Eastern Part of *Numidia*, from the Promontory of *Tritum*, or *Tretum*, now *Capo Ferrato* to *Tbabarca*, a City formerly situated between *Ilippo* and *Utica*. This Country contains what was afterwards called *The Constantine Province*, and part of the Kingdom of *Bugia*.

¹¹⁶ *Ptolomy* places the *Massylians* in an inland Country, in the western Part of *Mauritania Cesa-*

riensis. And according to the Description *Strabo* gives of their Country, they must have inhabited a Tract of Land of seven hundred thousand geometrical Paces, or at least two hundred great Leagues long, from the River *Molocath* to the Promontory of *Tretum*. *Marmol* calls this River *Malucham*. This Region bordered on *Mauritania Tingitana*. See what we have said of it, p. 245. of this Volume, Note 8.

Year of a Distance from Africa, and don't lay me under the hard Necessity of taking up
 R O M E Arms against you. Whoever attack the Carthaginians make me their Enemy. I
 DXLIX. am an African myself, and the Queen of Masælyia is a Carthaginian. If therefore
 M. CORNELI- you make a Descent on our Coasts, you will oblige me to join in the Cause of my
 US CETHEGUS, Wife, my Father-in-Law, and our Dii Penates.
 P. SEMPRONI-
 US TUDITA-
 nus, Consuls.

THE Messenger who brought the Letter saw *Scipio* at *Syracuse*, and the News surprized him; but *Scipio* was not to be terrified by having one Enemy the more, or one Ally the less. All his Concern was to conceal from his Army the Contents of the Letter he had received from *Numidia*. To this end, he wrote in haste, and in very few Words, to *Syphax*, desiring him not to violate those Ties which they had entered into; and putting him in mind, that it was dangerous for him to injure both Gods and Men, by Deceit, and Breach of publick Faith. And as soon as he had written this, he immediately sent back the Courier with it.

It was of Importance not to suffer the News he had received from *Numidia* to be divulged. His Troops might have been discouraged by it; and perhaps, this alone might have been sufficient to have put a Stop to the *African* Expedition. But then, neither was it expedient, on the other hand, to be wholly silent; he might thereby have betrayed his Secret, and jealous Minds, might have discovered the Rupture with the *Numidian*. The *Pro-Consul* therefore had recourse to Artifice; and by a well-devised Fiction, filled his Army with Confidence. He assembled his Troops, and addressed himself to them thus. *Let us immediately embark, and set sail for Africa. The two Kings of Numidia press me to hasten my Departure. Formerly Masinissa complained of my Dilatoriness, to Lælius. Now Syphax advises me by Letter, not to delay my Departure. He tells me, that if I have changed my Resolution, he shall be obliged to enter into Measures with Carthage. Let us be gone then, without losing one Moment. Every thing is ready. May the Gods and Winds prove favourable to us! I am now going to order my Fleet to rendezvous in the Port of ¹¹⁷ Lilybæum, and all my Troops to repair thither by Land.*

THE Proposal of this great Design was approved of by the Army; and then *Scipio* was wholly bent on hastening the Imbarkation. He wrote to the *Prætor Pomponius*, desiring him to come to *Lilybæum*. His Deference for this Magistrate was such, that he was resolved to take his Opinion in the choice of the Troops he was to carry to *Africa*, and of those he was to leave in *Sicily*. Then *Scipio* sent Orders to all the Coasts of the Island, to bring all the Ships that could be found in the Ports, the smallest Barks not excepted, to *Lilybæum*; and so many Troops and Ships arrived there, that the City and Port could not contain them. The Soldiers and Seamen were both equally desirous of having their Share in this Conquest. They did not consider it barely as an Attempt, but as a certain Victory; and this made them so earnest to be chosen to attend the *Pro-Consul*. But none of the Troops shewed a greater Ardour to follow *Scipio*, than the unfortunate Remains of the *Roman Legions*, who escaped at the Battel of *Cannæ*. *Rome* had condemned them to continue in *Sicily*, as long as *Hannibal* should be in *Italy*: And *Scipio* seemed to them to be going to put an end to their Banishment. On the other hand, the *Pro-Consul* did not disdain to take these Soldiers with him. *After all*, said he, *though they are branded with Infamy, out of Policy, they are not contemptible Troops. They are old Corps, long inured to Battels, and experienced in taking Cities.* *Scipio* therefore declared, he would take the fifth and sixth *Legions* with him; which were the very Troops that had been partly induced by a bad Example, and partly driven by Necessity, to fly at the Battel of *Cannæ*. Then the General reviewed his other Troops, left those behind him whom he did not think for his Purpose, and embarked those which he had brought from *Italy*. And lastly, he augmented the Number of Men in each *Legion*, to six thousand two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse. And *Scipio* likewise gave those of the Auxiliaries the Preference, which had escaped in the Battel of *Cannæ*. His Discernment and Ability raised him above vulgar Prejudices. With this Army of truly brave Men, whom a slight Disgrace would have made others dislike, *Scipio* went to finish a War that seemed endless, to conquer *Hannibal*, and to subdue *Carthage*.

¹¹⁷ The Name of *Lilybæum* was common to a City and Promontory of *Sicily*, as we have before observed, Vol. 2. p. 499. Note 4.

§. XXV. But what Number of Men *Scipio* embarked, we will not pretend to determine. Some ¹¹⁸ of the Historians extremely diminish it, and others magnify it to as great Excess. Much less will we venture to affirm, that there was so many Soldiers and Mariners on board the Fleet, that their Shouts made the Birds in the Air fall down; and that *Sicily* and *Italy* seemed deserted. Such Exaggerations are fit only for Poets. But whatever the Numbers were, never was Imbarkation made with more Order. The *Pro-Consul* took upon himself the Care of this important Affair. He ordered *Laelius*, whom he created Admiral of the Fleet, first to carry the Seamen on board, and set every one in his proper Place. The *Prætor Pomponius* was charged with shipping the Provisions, Machines of War, and Utensils for removing Ground. And *Scipio* distributed his Land-Forces among his Ships. When all things were ready on board the Gallies and Transports, the General sent some Officers in Sloops, to command all the Masters of Ships and Pilots, and two Soldiers out of every Ship, to be in the *Forum of Lilybæum* at an Hour appointed, there to receive his last Orders. *Scipio* asked them whether each Ship was sufficiently furnished with Water for the Men and Horses; commanded the Officers to keep Peace between the Soldiers and Seamen; ordered the Land-Forces to obey the Pilots, if required to assist in working the Ships; and lastly, enquired whether there was Corn enough on board the Transports, to support the Army forty Days, and Biscuit enough for fifteen. Then the *Pro-Consul* drew up his Fleet in order of Battel. He and his Brother *Lucius* took the Command of the right Wing, consisting of twenty Ships of War. *Laelius*, and *Cato*, now returned from *Rome*, to be *Military Quæstors* in *Africa*, commanded the left Wing, consisting likewise of twenty Ships of War. And in the Center, were the Barks and other Transports, which were covered by the two Wings. *Scipio* had before ordered three Lanthorns to be lighted on board each of the Gallies which carried the Commanders, two in each *Flute*, and one in each Bark: And the Orders now given to the Pilots were, to sail to ¹¹⁹ *Emporia*, pretty near ¹²⁰ *The Little Syrtis*. Whether this was a false Order, or whether the General altered his Mind in the Voyage, is uncertain; but it is certain, that the *Roman* Fleet did not land at *Emporia*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.

M. CORNELIUS CETHIGUS, P. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS, Consuls.
Cælius apud Liv.

MANY *Roman* Fleets had been seen to sail from the Ports of *Sicily*, but none with so much Solemnity. Not that it was more remarkable than others for the Number of Ships. The Fleets of the *Consuls Manlius* ¹²¹, and *Atilius Regulus*, were formerly as numerous as this of ¹²² *Scipio*. But what gave Lustre to this new Armament, was the Hopes that were conceived of it. *Scipio* commanded it; and his Conquest of *Spain* made the People expect that of *Africa* from him. His Design was to cause *Hannibal* to be recalled to *Carthage*, to deliver *Italy* from so bad a Guest, and put an end to a War that had brought so many Calamities on the *Roman* Republick. These were all Mens Thoughts, and their Expectations made the Fleet appear more august at its Departure. And indeed, never was a greater Concourse of People seen on the Sea-Shore. Besides the Inhabitants of *Lilybæum*, Deputies came from all the Cities in *Sicily*, on purpose to wish the *Pro-Consul* a happy Voyage, and glorious Expedition. Besides, the *Roman* Troops that were left in *Sicily* lined the Shore. So that the Spectators were as fine a Sight to those on board the Fleet, as the Fleet was to them. The Night was spent in viewing it; the great Number of Lanthorns made a fine Illumination on the

¹¹⁸ Some Authors, according to *Livy*, made them amount to no more than ten thousand Foot, and two thousand two hundred Horse. *Appian* reckons them to have been sixteen thousand Foot, and sixteen hundred Horse. And lastly, others pretend that the Army *Scipio Africanus* led into *Africa*, amounted to thirty five thousand Men.

¹¹⁹ *Emporia* was anciently the Name of a little Country in *Africa*; which, according to *Polybius* and *Livy*, bordered on *The Little Syrtis*. This Country belonged to *The Byzacene Province*, which is now a Part of the Kingdom of *Tunis*. See what we have said of the Fruitfulness of this Country, Vol. 4.

¹²⁰ *The Little Syrtis* lies between *Tunis* and

Tripoly. It is vulgarly called *The Gulph of Gabes*. See what we have said of *The Great and Little Syrtis* (now known by the Name of *Seches de Barbarie*) Vol. 2.

¹²¹ This Fleet which the two *Consuls*, *Marcus Manlius Longus*, and *Marcus Atilius Regulus*, carried from *Sicily* to *Africa*, consisted of three hundred and thirty Sail, and carried a hundred and forty thousand Men. See Vol. 2. under the Year of *Rome* 497.

¹²² Besides the fifty, or fifty two armed Gallies, according to *Appian*, *Scipio* carried with him four hundred Transports, besides the Sloops and Brigantines that attended him.

Year of Water. As soon as it was Day, *Scipio* appeared on the Poop of his Galley, and after an Herald had proclaimed Silence, addressed this Prayer to Heaven. O all ye Gods of Earth, and Sea, I implore you to make whatever I have done, am doing, or shall do, at the Head of Armies, tend to the Glory of the Roman Senate and People, and the Latin Confederates! Let the Gods, who favour my Departure, render it prosperous by Sea, by Land, and upon the Rivers, by favourable Auspices! Preserve my Troops from Danger, and grant them Victory. Enrich them with the Spoils of the Enemy, and bring them back in Health, to be honoured with a glorious Triumph. And lastly, Avenge the Insults offered us by Carthage, and bring on this proud Republick all the Calamities that we have suffered?

R O M E
DXLIX.
M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.
Livy, B. 29.
c. 27.

WHEN he had ended his Prayer, *Scipio* ordered a Victim to be slain, and threw the Entrails into the Sea. The Trumpets sounded, the Anchors weighed, and the Wind favourable, but a little fresh. The Fleet soon lost sight of Land; and about Noon a Fog arose, which had like to have put the Ships into Disorder. They struck against one another in the Dark; but the Wind soon sunk, and Sailing became less dangerous. So that they pursued their Voyage in the Night without Fear: though the same Fog continued, and added to the Darkness of it. At Sun-rising, the Mist went off, the Wind blew fresher, and Land already appeared. The first Pilot brought *Scipio* Word, that they were but about five Miles from *Africa*; and that he could see *The Promontory of* ¹²³ *Mercury*. Then *Scipio*, upon sight of the end of his Voyage, renewed his Prayer. O ye immortal Gods, said he, prosper my Arrival in *Africa*! This said, he ordered the Sails to be hoisted, and sought for a convenient Station for his Ships below *The Promontory of Mercury*. The Wind was favourable; but by means of a Fog, like that of the Day before, he lost sight of Land. Besides, the Wind sunk all on a sudden, and Night coming on, it was dangerous to draw too near to Land; and therefore there was a Necessity for casting Anchor, lest the Ships should beat against one another, or the Currents drive them on the Shore. But at length, a favourable Wind returned with the Sun, the Fog was dispersed, and the *Romans* had a full view of *Africa*. *Scipio* asked, what was the nearest Promontory; and being told that it was *The Fair* ¹²⁴ *Promontory*, his Heart leaped for Joy. This Name, said he, is a good Omen; let us land there. And accordingly, the Troops did so, without any Opposition. But we shall not affirm, upon the Credit of one single Author, That *Scipio*, in his Passage, felt the Anger of the Sea, the Winds, and the Gods; That his Fleet was driven from the Coasts of *Africa*, towards the Island of ¹²⁵ *Ægimurus*; That his Ships were almost shattered to pieces there; and That the *Romans* were forced to go ashore in Sloops, as is usual after a Shipwreck. These Circumstances seem to have been forged, and are not supported by authentick Testimonies. And therefore we, who are not fond of going out of our Way to adorn our History with the Description of a Tempest, shall only say, that *Scipio* arrived in *Africa*, without any ill Accident by the Way, and landed there, without Disorder. And on this Shore we shall now leave him for a little time, to return to the Affairs in *Italy*.

Cælius apud
Liv.

§. XXVI. *HANNIBAL* and *Mago* continued to molest the *Romans*; one in the East of *Italy*, and the other in the *Provinces* nearest the *Alpes*. *Hannibal* was still in *Bruttium* ¹²⁶, where his Troops, though pent up, were yet dreaded by the Enemy. *Liguria* had openly declared for *Mago*, and *Hetruria*, as well as *Cisalpine Gaul*, was earnestly solicited to follow the Standards of this *Carthaginian*. So that *Rome* was forced to send Generals and Armies, to act against *Hannibal* and *Mago* at the same Time. The two *Consuls* for the Year drew their *Pro-*

Livy, B. 29.
c. 36.

¹²³ The Cape or *Promontory of Mercury*, is that which is now called *Capo Buono*, or *Cap Bon*. It lies on the Coast of the Kingdom of *Tunis*, over against *Sicily*, ten Miles from the ancient Port of *Lilybeum*. See Vol. 2.

¹²⁴ We have spoken of *The Fair Promontory*, Vol. 2. Some make it the same with a Cape near *Utica*, to the North of *Carthage*, now called *Ras al Gibera*. But others think it was that which the *Arabs* now call *Ras al Kebir*, that is, *The Great Promontory*.

¹²⁵ *Ægimurus* is a little Island between *Sicily*,

Sardinia, and *Africa*, twenty eight thousand seven hundred and fifty geometrical Paces from *Carthage*, according to *Antoninus's Itinerary*. It is now called *Galata*. But some Moderns think the Situation of *Ægimurus* agrees better with that of an *African* Island called *Zimbala*. Their Authority is *Pliny*, who seems to distinguish *Ægimurus* from *Galata*. But be that as it will, the great Number of Goats bred in it, was what gave it the Name of *Ægimurus*.

¹²⁶ *Bruttium* is that Province of South *Italy*, which is now called *Calabria*. We have spoken of it more than once.

vinces by Lot; *Hetruria* fell to *Cethegus*, and *Bruttium* to *Sempronius*; and each Consul seems to have had more than one Army in his Province. *Sempronius* led one into *Bruttium* against *Hannibal*; and *Publius Licinius*, the last Year's Consul, now *Pro-Consul*, commanded another there. The Consul *Cethegus* was not solely appointed to act against *Mago*; the *Pro-Consul Licinius* assisted him with a second Army. The former encamped in *Hetruria*, the latter near ¹²⁷ *Ariminum*, in *Cisalpine Gaul*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.
M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US LUDITANUS,
Consuls.

As soon as *Sempronius* arrived in his Province, he marched towards ¹²⁸ *Croton*, where *Hannibal* was encamped: But the Consul was opposed in his March. *Hannibal's* Army fell upon his; and he was forced to fight, though not in order of Battel. It was a tumultuous Action between some *Roman Manipuli*, and *Carthaginian* Battalions; and the Consular Army was worsted. The Romans lost twelve hundred Men, and retired to their Camp. But *Hannibal*, though victorious, did not think himself in a Condition to besiege it, and render his Victory complete, by forcing it: Neither did the Consul think proper to continue in the same Post, where he had been beaten. He decamped the Night following, and posted himself at some Distance from the Enemy. Nevertheless, he did both lay aside all Thoughts of Revenge, and repairing his Losses by a second Battel. He ordered the *Pro-Consul Licinius* to join him with his Army, and this new Reinforcement emboldened the Consul. He went and bid his Conqueror Defiance: And *Hannibal* was too proud of his late Victory, not to accept the Challenge. *Sempronius* posted his own Legions in the first Line, and kept those of *Licinius* only as a Corps de Reserve to support the Consular Army; and the Honour of the Consul depending on the Event, he had recourse to Religion, and made a Vow to erect a Temple to ¹²⁹ *Fortune*, if he came off victorious. Then the Valour of his Soldiers supplied the Place of that Assistance which he expected from the Goddess; and they fell so furiously on the *Carthaginians*, that they routed them. *Hannibal* lost above four thousand Men on the Spot; and the Romans made about three hundred Prisoners, and took eleven Standards. So that this Victory confined *Hannibal* more narrowly. He was forced to retire to *Croton*, and appeared no more in the Field the whole Campaign.

Appian. in
Hannib.
Liv B. 29. c. 36.

BUT *Sempronius* made the best use of his Victory, and of the Inaction of the *Carthaginian*. He besieged ¹³⁰ *Petelia*, and took it by Assault. ¹³¹ *Clampetia*, *Cosentia* ¹³², and *Pandosia* ¹³³, trembled at the Approach of the Consul, and surrendered at Discretion. After these Exploits, the Consul, much pleased at having obliterated the Shame of his first Defeat, returned to *Rome*, and agreed with Workmen to build the Temple he was obliged by his Vows to erect to *Fortune*.

§. XXVII. ON the other hand, the Consul *Cornelius Cethegus* gained a kind of Victory over *Mago*, which though less glittering, was more useful. *Hannibal's* Brother did not yet think himself strong enough to hazard a Battel. He had not yet done any thing, but endeavour to raise Insurrections in *Hetruria* and *Cisalpine Gaul*, by secret Intrigues. So that the *Roman* General had nothing to do but to keep the *Hetrurians*, and *Italian Gauls*, to their Duty by force of Law. But his Sentences were mild. Agreeably to the Instructions he had received from the Senate, he tempered the Rigour of the Punishments he was to inflict on the Mutineers of his Province. Many Persons of Distinction in *Hetruria*, had either

¹²⁷ *Ariminum*, which the *Italians* now call *Rimini*, is at a little Distance from the River *Rubbion*, on the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea. See what we have said of this ancient City, and of a City of the same Name which watered its Territory, Vol. 2.

¹²⁸ The City of *Croton* is still in being in *Further Calabria*, and is called *Crotona*. See Vol. 2. p. 419. Note 30.

¹²⁹ See what we have said of the Attributes the Pagans gave to *Fortune*, and the Worship they paid her, Vol. 1. p. 135. The Temple *Sempronius* erected to her, was in the *Forum Romanum*, on the side of the *Capitol*.

¹³⁰ *Petelia*, a City of old *Bruttium*, which

Cluver places where *Belcastro* now stands, between *Cortona* and *Squillaci*. See above p. 160. of this Volume, Note 109.

¹³¹ *Clampetia*, or *Lampetia*, was a maritime City in that part of *Bruttium*, which is now a part of *The Hither Calabria*. Cluver thinks its Situation agrees with that of *Anamtea*.

¹³² *Cosentia*, now *Cosenza*, is to this Day one of the most considerable Cities in *Hither Calabria*. See Vol. 2.

¹³³ Some think they find some Traces of *Pandosia*, an ancient City of *Calabria*, in the Place where we now see *Catel Franco*. But *Hollstenius* will have it to be near *Mendocina*. See Vol. 2.

Year of *R. O M E* gone in Person, or sent Deputies to *Mago*, to begin a Correspondence with him; and the *Consul* immediately commenced Processes against them, and condemned them; but gave them time to repent. They voluntarily went into Banishment, without waiting for the execution of the *Consul's* Sentence. Then they were condemned for Contumacy; so that they saved their Lives, but lost their Estates. By this means *Cethegus* preserved Peace in his *Province*, and broke all *Mago's* Measures, without fighting him.

DXLIX.

M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.

§. XXVIII. Thus the *Romans* conducted themselves with Prudence in all the *Provinces*; but at *Rome* two Magistrates of the first Rank drew Contempt on themselves, by a very unworthy Behaviour. They were then *Censors*, and their Office was near expiring. The *Romans* had raised to this Dignity, *Livius*, and *Claudius Nero*, the two Conquerors of *Asdrubal*, who had been chosen *Consuls* in the most critical Year of *Rome*, and who had hitherto exercised their Office of *Censor* pretty peaceably. Though their Quarrels had formerly been very great, the Distress of the Republick, during their *Consulship*, had reconciled them for a time; but their Hatred broke out afresh, when they were ready to lay down the *Censorship*. These two Men, whose Office ought to have taught them to behave themselves with Temper, and inoffensively, gave great Scandal to the Republick. It was customary for the *Censors*, which were going out of their Office, to draw up a List of the Senators, review the *Roman Knights*, assemble the *Tribes*, and set a Mark of Infamy on such Persons as deserved it; and in the List of the Senators, *Livius* and *Nero* had a Regard to Equity. They continued the Great *Fabius*, then near a hundred Years old, *Prince of the Senate*; and only seven Senators, none of which had yet arrived at any *Curule* Magistracy, were left out of the List. But when they came to review, and reform the *Knights*, the Enmity of the Collegues became but too notorious. They were both of this Body; and when *Livius* was named among them, in his Place, *Nero* ordered, That his Name should be struck out of the List; and That he should restore the Republick the Horse she furnished him with, as a *Roman Knight*. The Reason that *Nero* gave for this scandalous Censure was, that *Livius* had formerly been condemned by the People. Then *Livius* also took his Turn. When the Name of his Colleague was called over, he cried out, *Blot it out of the List, and let him likewise sell his Horse. My Reasons for excluding him out of the Number of the Knights, are, That he has born false Witness against me; and That his Reconciliation with me was not sincere.* And the mutual Animosities of the two *Censors*, yet more signally appeared, when they came to take an Account of the *Tribes*. It was customary for the *Censors*, to deprive those *Citizens*, who had behaved themselves ill, of the Rights annexed to *Roman Citizenship*; and then they were deprived of all Privileges, and the right of Suffrage, though still obliged to pay the publick Taxes; for which Reason they were called ¹³⁴ *Ærarii*. *Nero* ranked his Colleague among those whom he deprived of the Rights of *Citizenship*; and ¹³⁵ *Livius* not only did as much for *Nero*, but carried his Resentments and ill Humour to the utmost Excess. He remembered, that all the *Tribes*, which were now ¹³⁶ thirty five in Number, had formerly condemned him, except the *Mæcian* ¹³⁷; and he deprived all the rest of the *Tribes* of the Rights of *Citizens*, and only left them to bear the Burden of the Taxes. By this means *Nero*, who was of ¹³⁸ one of these *Tribes*, underwent the same Disgrace as he had thrown upon his Colleague; and *Livius* added, that if he had had any Precedent for it, he would have degraded his Colleague twice, once by Name, and once inclusively in his *Tribe*. As to *Livius's* degrading this great Number of *Tribes*, he had a plausible Reason for it. *If they condemned me justly, said he, why did they afterwards honour me with the Consulship and Censorship? If they afterwards found Reason to advance me to those Dignities, they*

¹³⁴ A Man so degraded could not make a Will, or inherit. He had no right of Suffrage, either in the *Comitia by Centuries*, or *Tribes*; and lastly, he was not admitted among the *Legionaries*.

¹³⁵ We have related this Fact above, under the Year of *Rome* 534.

¹³⁶ The Number of the thirty five *Tribes* was complete in the Year of *Rome* 512. during the *Consulship* of *Quintus Lutatius Cerco*, and *Anulus*

Manlius Aticus; as we have observed, Vol. 2.

¹³⁷ *Livy*, B. 8. fixes the Establishment of the *Mæcian Tribe* to the Year of *Rome* 421. It took its Name, as *Festus* observes, from a Castle situated between *Lanuvium* and *Pometia*.

¹³⁸ *Claudius Nero* had been incorporated into *The Tribe of the Arno*, according to *Livy*. His Colleague belonged to *The Pollian Tribe*. See Vol. 2.

certainly condemned me unjustly. At least their Sentence was foolish, if not unjust, and let them take their choice, which to call it ! This Reasoning seemed indeed to carry an Appearance of Truth, but it was at bottom only the Product of a lowered Mind, and an immoderate Rage. And among the Effects of *Livius's* Resentment, ought also to be reckoned a Law, which he made in his *Censorship*. He laid a Tax ¹³⁹ upon Salt, and ordered, that it should be sold dearer in some Places, than in others: And from thence he had the Nickname of *Salinator*, which he bore all his Life, and which was continued in that Branch of the *Livian* Family, which descended from him. But nevertheless, it must be owned, that whilst these two *Censors* kept up a good Understanding between them, they took some prudent Steps. They ordered, that the Tribute appointed for the Reparation of the Temples, and other publick Buildings, should be punctually paid. They made a Street from the *Ox-Market* to the Temple of *Venus*. They contracted with Workmen for building the Temple of *Cybele*, whose Image had been brought from *Pessinus*. They likewise made a *Census*, and a *Lustrum*. This Ceremony was indeed deferred for some time, because the *Censors* were willing to know exactly the Number of the *Roman Citizens* who were in the *Roman Armies*. To this end, they sent Men even to the most distant Camp: And the Number of the *Citizens*, fit to bear Arms, amounted in the whole to ¹⁴⁰ two hundred and fifteen thousand. And lastly, *Censorial* Lists were also drawn up of all the *Colonies*, and exact Accounts taken of all those who were able to serve in the Wars. By this means, *Rome* guarded against any *Colony's* refusing for the future to furnish Men for the *Roman Armies*, as several of them had done six Years before.

¹³⁹ *Pliny* observes, *B. 31. c. 7.* that *Ancus Marcius*, the fourth King of *Rome*, was the first who laid a Tax upon Salt. But this Tax was abolished upon the Birth of the Republick, immediately after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*. And from that time, no *Censor*, before *Marcus Livius*, had thought fit

to renew a Tax which the *Romans* had thought burdensome.

¹⁴⁰ In some MSS. we read only two hundred and fourteen thousand. But we follow *Livy's* Epitome, which reckons two hundred and fifteen thousand *Citizens*, fit to bear Arms.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XXXVI.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.

M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.

§. I. **T**HE Eyes of the World were now fixed only on young *Scipio*. *Hannibal* had had his time ; but his Victories, like Torrents, were of short Duration. Great Ravages had been committed in the Plains of *Italy*, in this *Carthaginian's* first Campaigns ; but after all, they had produced no lasting Benefit to his Republick. Whereas, the *Roman* Senate and People, who employed *Scipio*, only left to him the execution of his Exploits, and expected soon to reap solid Advantages from them. And indeed, the Fate of the three known Parts of the World, seemed to depend on the Success of the *Pro Consul's* Descent in *Africa*. The Defeat of *Hannibal*, and the taking of *Carthage*, must necessarily bring the Coasts of the *Mediterranean*, at least, into Subjection to the *Romans* ; and this drew the Attention of all Nations to that great Event. But the *Africans* were most nearly concerned in it. *Numidia* especially, as being the nearest Nation to the *Carthaginians*, was obliged to most Caution in her Measures ; and had Reason to be most apprehensive of the Consequences of an uncertain War. Should *Rome* become Mistress of *Carthage*, she would swallow up *Numidia*, if she took any Steps in favour of her Enemies ; and if *Carthage* should be victorious, she would oppress the *Numidians*, if they declared for the *Romans*. But besides these general Considerations, the two Kings of *Numidia*, *Syphax* and *Masinissa*, were attached by private Reasons, one to *Rome*, the other to *Carthage* ; and these Intrigues ought first to be explained, before we proceed to the *Pro Consul's* acting, after his landing.

App. in Punic.
Zonar. B. 9.
c. 10.
Livy, B. 29.
c. 29.

WHEN *Scipio* came into *Africa*, *Masinissa* was deprived of his Kingdom ; which, as we have before observed, was that of the *Massylians*. Nevertheless, some Historians pretend, that *Massyliæ* was his hereditary Dominions, and that *Syphax* was King of *Massyliæ*. But be that as it will, it is certain, that *Masinissa* at least had Pretensions to one of these Kingdoms by Blood. *Narva* his Grandfather had had two Sons, *Gala* the elder, and *Desalces* the younger. *Gala* was put in Possession of the Throne after the Death of his Father, reigned some Years, and dying, left a Daughter named *Massyva*, and a Son, who was this famous *Masinissa*, whom we shall so often mention. According to our Methods of Succession, *Masinissa* seems to have had a Right to inherit his Father's Throne immediately. But the Laws of *Numidia* were different from ours. The Brother succeeded the Brother ; and after his Death, the Right of Succession seems to have returned to the Nephew. *Desalces* therefore being Brother to *Gala*, he mounted the Throne after him ; and *Masinissa*, though the only Son of the late King, continued still a Subject. When *Desalces* died, he left two Sons ; *Capusa*, who took Advantage of *Masinissa's* Absence to seize the Throne ; and *Lacumaces*, who was not yet arrived at the Age of *Puberty*. Their Mother was Niece to *Hannibal*, by his Sister. Nevertheless, *Capusa* did not continue long in Possession of the Sovereignty ; one *Mezetulus* was his Rival ; a factious Man, who had always been an Enemy, and Competitor, of the Kings of *Numidia*. He was of the Blood

a Several MSS. give *Gala's* Brother the Name of *Oesalces*.

Royal, and supported his Ambition, and pretended Rights, with the utmost Bravery.

He disputed the Crown with *Capusa*, and raised up the Subjects against their Master. The Hatred the People had conceived to the old Kings of the Country, favoured the Rebel's Designs. He made a great Party, raised an Army, and ventured to give his Sovereign Battel. *Capusa* was slain in it; and by his Death, the Crown descended to his Brother *Lacumaces*, yet under Age: But *Mezetulus* durst neither deprive the infant Prince of his Life, or his Title of King. He made himself his Tutor, seized the Government, and to draw the *Carthaginians* into his Party, he married the Mother of the young King, a *Carthaginian* by Birth, and Niece to *Hannibal*. Nor was this all. In order to procure the Assistance of his Neighbours, he renewed an old Alliance with King *Syphax*, whom he thought a proper Person to assist him in his Usurpation. *Masinissa* was then making War for the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*: but it is certain, he was then entered into Engagements with *Rome*. And whether *Asdrubal* knew of his new Attachment to *Rome*, or not, he seems to have resolved to assassinate ² *Masinissa*, purely to favour the Usurpation of *Mezetulus*. When *Masinissa* was returning ³ to his own Country, *Asdrubal* ordered the Troopers, who escorted him, to dispatch him, either by the Sword, or by Poison; notwithstanding he ought then to have looked upon him as his Son-in-Law. *Asdrubal* had promised him his Daughter; and *Sophonisba* was not yet married to *Syphax*. However, *Masinissa* was a Man of Penetration. He suspected the ill Designs of the *Carthaginian*; separated from his Guard; first fled for Refuge into ⁴ *Mauritania*; then returned into his own Country, and made some Preparations to recover the Throne of his Father. He hastily assembled fifteen hundred of his *Numidians*, who increased by Degrees to twenty thousand Horse. But *Masinissa* raised no other Troops. As he was not rich, and the Revenues of his Kingdom were in the Usurper's Hands, he did not care to have any Infantry; a large Body of Cavalry was sufficient to answer all his present Designs. There was great Plenty of Horses in *Numidia*, and they were kept with little Expence. No Magazines of Forage were laid up for them; they fed in the Fields, and often lived a whole Day without eating or drinking. Besides, the *Numidian* Squadrons never stood their Ground in an Action. They were continually upon the Wing, fell suddenly on the Enemy, and as suddenly retreated, after they had thrown their Darts. As their Horses were exceeding swift, they appeared all on a sudden in Countries where they were not expected, laid them waste, and then retired with as much Expedition, and hid themselves in the Rocks. And the Soldiers themselves were little more expensive in *Numidia* than their Horses. They marched without carrying any Provisions with them, and when their Food failed, they lived on Herbs and Roots.

This Army, though thus tumultuously raised, yet being conducted by a young Prince of great Valour, who was confident in his Right, immediately became formidable to *Mezetulus*, the *Carthaginians*, and *Syphax*. They all three resolved to destroy the new Forces *Masinissa* had assembled together, joined their Troops, and led a powerful Army against their new Enemy. These Confederates were much better provided, both with Men and Provisions, than *Masinissa*. They had a numerous Army of Foot and Horse; and had so great a Number of Carriages attending them with Provisions, that even the Delicacies of Life abounded in their Camp. But *Masinissa* did not pretend to come to pitched Battels with his Horse. He employed all his Skill and Pains in attacking the Enemy unexpectedly, as Occasion offered. The whole Business of the brave Prince was to fall down upon them from the Tops of a Rock, when they did not expect him, to surprise them

² The new Alliance *Masinissa* had just made in *Spain* with the Great *Scipio*, was, according to *Appian*, *Asdrubal's* only Motion to destroy the *Numidian* King.

³ The Death of *Gala*, says *Appian*, and the Hopes of placing himself on his Father's Throne, were *Masinissa's* Motives to leave *Spain*, and return to *Africa*. But the Greek Historian did not consider, that *Gala* had been dead some Years; and that *Desfalces* his Successor reigned in *Numidia*, whilst *Masinissa* his Ne-

phew was busy in *Spain*. *Livy's* Account is therefore the more probable, which is, that *Masinissa* did not leave *Spain* till after the Death of *Desfalces* his Uncle, and of *Capusa* his Cousin German, who was dethroned by *Mezetulus*.

⁴ *Bocchar* then reigned in this Country, according to *Livy*. *Masinissa*, by much Intreaty, obtained of the *Numidian* King a Detachment of four thousand Men, to guard him upon the Road.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.
M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SIMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.

App. in Punic.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.
M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.

in narrow Passes between the Hills, and to intercept their Parties, or Convoys. His Troops never encamped together in the same Place. He divided them, and kept them separate, one Day in this Post, and the next in another. As for himself, he remained concealed in the Holes of the Rocks, sometimes with only two Persons; and his chief Concern, was to prevent the Enemy's discovering his Retreat. In the middle of the Night he assembled his Troops, gave them their Orders, and appointed what Expeditions they should go upon the next Day. In short, he kept entirely out of the reach of the Enemy, so that they could not attack him. All their Valour could do, was to repulse him when he appeared; and the Confederates were often worsted in these unforeseen Skirmishes. He often fell on open Towns and Villages in the Night, plundered them, and divided the Booty among his Cavalry. He one Day surpris'd the Guard, which was conducting the young King *Lacumaces*, to *Syphax's* Dominions, beat the Guard, and dispersed it; but *Lacumaces* escaped with a Party of his Men, and arrived safe at his Journey's End.

THESE Advantages which *Masinissa* gained over his Enemies, increased the Number of his Troops. The old Soldiers, who had formerly served under King *Gala* his Father, came to him from all Parts; and these brave Men encouraged him to go and take Possession of the Throne which was kept unjustly from him. *Masinissa's* Army was now different from what it had been. He had now almost as large an Infantry, as well as Cavalry, as *Mezetulus*; and with these Forces he resolved to give the Usurper Battel. *Masinissa* had learnt to fight regularly, in his War with the *Romans* in *Spain*; and his Experience was well seconded by the Bravery of his Father's old Soldiers. So that *Mezetulus* was defeated, and forced to fly, with his Ward, into the *Carthaginian* Territories for Refuge; and *Masinissa*, by one single Victory, made himself Master of his Dominions, and settled himself on the Throne of his Fore-Fathers.

§. II. THE new King would likewise have continued in peaceable Possession of the Kingdom he had recovered, had not *Syphax* been his Enemy: And he therefore endeavoured to guard against this dangerous Neighbour, by Negotiations. He sent *Lacumaces* Word, That if he would return into *Numidia*, he should there be the second Man in the Kingdom, and receive the same Honour as had formerly been paid *Desalces*, in the Reign of *Gala*. He promised *Mezetulus* an Amnesty for what was past, and the Restitution of his Estate; and the *Carthaginians* in vain endeavoured to prevent the Reconciliation of *Lacumaces* and *Mezetulus* with *Masinissa*. The two *Numidian* Princes preferred inferior Stations in their own Country, to a long Banishment. On the other hand *Syphax* seemed to give himself little Concern about the new Kingdom. Of what Consequence was it to him, whether *Masinissa* or *Lacumaces* sat on the neighbouring Throne!

BUT *Asdrubal* alone interrupted the Hopes of an happy Peace in *Numidia*. It happened that he was then in the Kingdom of *Syphax*; and *Sophonisba* seems to have been then Queen, and *Asdrubal* to have had a great Ascendant over his new Son-in-Law. Do you think, said he to *Syphax*, that *Masinissa's* Reign will be as pacifick as that of *Desalces*? If so, you are mistaken. Nature and Experience have made *Masinissa* a valiant and warlike Prince. By how many Exploits did he signalize himself in *Spain*! Dread then the Fire that he will one Day kindle, in your Dominions, and ours, if we do not stifle it before it breaks out! At present the new King is not yet settled in his Throne. Let us destroy him then, before he has joined his Armies to those of the *Romans*.

At length, by Importunity and Reasonings, *Asdrubal* prevailed on *Syphax*, and persuaded him to go and encamp in a Country, which lay between the Domini-

⁵ This was done, according to *Livy*, in sight of *Thapsus*, a maritime City of *Africa*. Thither the Troops of *Lacumaces* fled in Disorder, to escape from the Conqueror. But *Masinissa*, proud of his late Success, was the more earnest to reap the Fruits of his Victory. He besieged the City, and took it upon the first Assault. Some of those who fled into the Place for Refuge, entitied themselves to the Clemency of the Conqueror, by surrendering at Discretion. Others, who refused to lay down their Arms, were put to the Sword.

The City of *Thapsus* stood on the Coast of the Province of *Byzantium*, over against *The Little Syrtis*, and at a little Distance from *Adrumetum*. The *Arabs* now call it *El-Mahadia*; and it is known to us at this time by the Name of *Africa*. Nevertheless, *Marmol* does not distinguish it from *Adrumetum*.

⁶ *Livy* tells us, that the Usurper's Army consisted of sixteen thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse, inclusive of the Troops young *Lacumaces* had obtained of King *Syphax*.

ons of the two *Numidian* Kings, and which had long been, and still was disputed by them. *If, said he, you are suffered to continue in peaceable Possession of it, there will be an end of the Dispute; and Masinissa's Fears will be an Encouragement to you to enter even into the Heart of his Dominions. If he advances towards you, to drive you out of the Post you shall have seized, you will there fight to Advantage.*

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.
M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.

ACCORDINGLY *Syphax*, upon *Asdrubal's* Motion, encamped in the Place mentioned; and *Masinissa* came to drive him out of it. A Battel was fought, and *Syphax* routed his Enemy's Army. *Masinissa* himself escaped with much Difficulty, guarded only by a few of his Horse, and retired with Precipitation to Mount *Balbus*. The vanquished King was followed by some of his Shepherds, who kept his own Flocks; and they were of great Service to him in his Retreat, after this Misfortune. It is well known, that the *Numidian* Shepherds had no Lodgings, but their Waggon. These moveable Houses they carried from Place to Place, as there was Occasion, and made ⁸ Villages at once, wherever they fixed for Pasture: And the Fidelity of these Shepherds to *Masinissa* was of great use to him. There was plenty of Pasturage and Water round the Mountain to which he retired; and the fugitive King lived on the Milk and Flesh of his Flocks, which fed near it.

§. III. IN the mean time *Syphax* had gotten Possession of *Masinissa's* Kingdom. One single Victory had been sufficient to make the Conqueror Master of it. But nevertheless, *Masinissa* was not so discouraged by his Losses, as to lay aside all Thoughts of recovering it. His Troops were at first too weak to appear in the Field by Day; and he therefore contented himself with nocturnal Incursions, chiefly into the Territories of the *Carthaginians*, who were less upon their Guard. After this, being joined by some of his most faithful Subjects, he conceived new Hopes; and with this new Reinforcement, penetrated farther into the *Carthaginian* Territories, in open Day. The Booty he brought from thence was so considerable, that he drove a kind of Traffick with it, and raised considerable Sums by it. He advanced quite to the Sea-Shore; and Barks came thither, on purpose to buy the Cattle and Utensils which he had taken from the Subjects of *Carthage*. Besides, *Masinissa* unpeopled the Country, by these unexpected Incursions; he killed more of the Inhabitants in them, than he would have done in pitched Battels, and a regular War.

TILL at length *Carthage* was tired out with so general a Devastation; and in order to put a Stop to these Ravages on her Frontiers, she applied her self to *Syphax*, and used all possible means to engage him to put a Stop to a War, the ill Effects of which were felt by her Subjects. But the King disdained to go in Person, to invest a few Robbers lodged on a Mountain; and only sent *Bocchar*, one of his General Officers, who prepared to put the Commands of his Master in execution, with a Body of four thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. His Orders were above all, to bring *Masinissa's* Head, or if it was possible, to take him alive. It would have given *Syphax* the highest Pleasure, to have taken this formidable Enemy; and *Bocchar* was very near fulfilling the Desires of his King. He surrounded Mount *Balbus*, prevented the return of the Detachments *Masinissa* had sent out, and forced this unfortunate Prince to climb up to the Top of the Mountain, and fortify himself there. So that *Bocchar* flattered himself, that he had already caught *Masinissa* in his Nets; and he ostentatiously sent back the best part of his Soldiers to *Syphax*, and kept only five hundred Foot and two hundred Horse with him. With this small Number of Men he surprised *Masinissa's* Troops in a narrow Pass of the Mountain; the Battel was bloody; and *Masinissa*, with fifty Horse, escaped from the Defeat, with Difficulty, through By-ways, known only to himself. However, *Bocchar* pursued him with two hundred Horse, came up with him near *Clypea*, surrounded him, and put most of his Soldiers to the Sword.

⁷ The ancient Geographers don't say enough of Mount *Balbus*, to shew its Situation.

⁸ These are the Villages which the Ancients called *Alapalia*, and *Magalia*. *Isidorus* observes, B. 14.

De Origin. that the Word *Magalia* alludes to the Word *Magar*, which in the *Punick* Language signifies, *A new Village*.

⁹ The *Greeks* give this City the Name of *Aspis*; and

Year of R O M E
DXLIX.
M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.

Sword. *Masinissa*, though wounded, escaped again, with only four Horsemen of his faithful Guard. The Place where this latter Battel was fought was an open Plain. So that here were two Companies of Horse, pursuing with great Fury five Men, who fled full Speed, and endeavoured, by taking a Compass, to avoid the Pursuit of their Enemies. A River which was in their Way, was no Obstruction to the Fugitives. *Masinissa*, without Hesitation, leaped with his Horse into it, and had the Presence of Mind, not to cross over to the opposite Shore, at the narrowest Place. He sought for the Current, and suffered himself to be carried down with the Stream. Two of his Attendants were drowned in crossing the River; but himself, and the other two, got to a Bank covered with Reeds and Bushes, and there hid themselves. *Bocchar*, who thought him drowned, pursued no farther, either for fear of being drowned himself, or because his Companions were averse to taking the Water; and from that time it was reported at *Syphax's* Court, and at *Carthage*, that *Masinissa* was killed. But in the mean while the Prince hid himself in a Grotto; dressed his Wound with Herbs, the Virtues of which he knew; and lived upon the Prey his two Companions brought him out of the Fields.

§. IV. GENEROUS Minds set no Bounds to the Passion of recovering a Throne. *Masinissa*, though thus abandoned, did not desist from pursuing his Rights. As soon as his Wound was healed, he left his Cave, and took the Road to his own Dominions. On the Way, he got together about forty Horse, and appeared on the Frontiers of his Kingdom. His Subjects had thought him dead; and their Grief at the supposed Loss of him, increased their Esteem for him. He, in few Days, got six thousand Foot and four thousand Horse round him; and with this weak Army, he made terrible Ravages, not only in the *Carthaginian* Territory, but even in the Dominions of *Syphax*. And now, the latter thought the Affair of Consequence enough to him, to go in Person, to put a Stop to it. *Syphax* took the Field, and came and encamped between ¹⁰ *Cirtha*, the Capital of the Kingdom of *Masesylia*, and *Hippo* ¹¹, a *Carthaginian* City. *Masinissa's* Camp was not far off, and his Enemies thought to have invested it. *Syphax* had a Son named *Vermina*, who had merited the Esteem and Confidence of his Father, by his Valour and Conduct; and this young Prince was ordered, to set out in the Night with a large Detachment, and after taking a Compass, attack *Masinissa's* Army in the Rear, whilst his Father attacked it in Front. When *Syphax* thought his Son was got to the Post assigned him, he marched down from the Top of the Mountain that covered *Masinissa's* Camp, in order of Battel; and formed his Troops on a Hill, and in a less advantageous piece of Ground than he had left for the Enemy. *Syphax* depended on the Number of his Soldiers, and the unexpected Assault of *Vermina*. In the mean time the Advantage of the Ground was a Temptation to *Masinissa* not to decline the Challenge; and he formed his Troops, and the Attack began. The Victory was long doubtful between the two Armies, one of which had the Advantage of Numbers, the other that of the Ground; at length *Vermina* determined it. He came, and all on a sudden, attacked the Rear of the Enemy's Army; which being surrounded, gave way to Numbers, and was entirely defeated. In the Rout, *Masinissa* was guarded by only two hundred Horsemen;

and the *Latins* that of *Clupea*, or *Chlyea*, because it stood on a Hill, which was made almost in the Shape of a Buckler.

*Tum quæ Sicario præcinxit littora muro
In Clipei Speciem Curvatis turribus Aspis.* Lil. B. 1.

Polybius and *Strabo* place it in the North Coast of the Kingdom of *Tunis*. See Vol. 2. *Marmol* pretends that it is the same Place as *Zafaran*.

¹⁰ Most modern Geographers place the City of *Cirtha*, in that part of the Kingdom of *Algiers*, where now stands the City of *Constantina*, formerly the Capital of a Province of that Name. Nevertheless, *Marmol* has confounded *Cirtha* with another City, afterwards the most considerable in the Kingdom of *Tremesen*. This is City that which the Natives call *Aresgol*; a City situated over against, and not far from, *Carthage* in *Spain*, being divided

from it only by a narrow Sea. In proof that this Distance agreed with the Situation of *Cirtha*, *Marmol* quotes *Livy's* Authority, who says, that *Scipio* crossed from *Carthage* to the Coasts of *Cirtha*, in one Night. And the same Geographer pretends, that it was built on a Rock which was washed by the Sea. On the Land-side, it was, according to him, not accessible, but by a narrow winding Way round the Rock. It is now buried in Ruins. It is the same Place that *Ptolomy* calls *Siga*, and places near the Mouth of the River *Tesetbne*, in twelve Degrees of Longitude, and thirty four Degrees, forty Minutes of Latitude.

¹¹ We have already observed, that there were two *Hippo's* in *Africa*. That here spoken of was afterwards called *Bona*, or *The Good*. It had the Honour to have St. *Austin* for its Bishop. See Vol. 2.

and these he divided into three Troops, appointed them where to *rendezvous*, at some Distance from the Field of Battel, and ordered them to force their Way through the Enemy's Battalions, in different Places. As for himself, he broke through a Shower of Darts, and came to the Place appointed; and there in vain waited for the rest of his two hundred Horse. One of the two Troops that he had left among the Enemy had surrendered at Discretion, and the other had been cut in pieces, after a vigorous Resistance. In the mean time, *Vermina* followed close after the fugitive King; but *Masinissa* made so many Turnings, and fled so swiftly, that he wearied out the young Prince, and escaped. And now, tho' so many Misfortunes, and so much Bravery, had gained *Masinissa* the Affections of the People; yet no Man durst declare for him. His Dominions were in the Power of his Enemy, and his Mother was languishing in Captivity in the Hands of *Syphax*. *Masinissa* therefore, attended with only sixty Horse, retired to the ¹² Port next to *The Little Syrtis*; there waited for the Arrival of *Laelius*, then lately sailed from *Sicily* with a Squadron, to ravage the Coasts of *Africa*; and there he had the beforementioned Conference with this Roman Officer. So that it is easy to judge with what Earnestness the dethroned King desired *Scipio* to land with a great Army, and become victorious in *Africa*.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.

M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS.
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.

BUT in the mean time, the *Carthaginians* considered to what a Condition they had reduced *Masinissa*. Notwithstanding his Misfortunes, his Bravery terrified them; and *Asdrubal* being Master of *Syphax*, by the Help of the Charms of his Daughter *Sophonisba*, he easily prevailed on that Prince to come to a ¹³ Reconciliation, in Appearance at least, with *Masinissa*. A Treaty was made between the two Kings, by the Interposition of *Carthage*. *Syphax* put *Masinissa* in Possession of his Dominions; but kept his Mother in Captivity, as an Hostage for the Fidelity of her Son. *Carthage* underhand gave *Syphax* Hopes, that his Accommodation with his Rival should not last long; and that he should have his Conquest restored him, as soon as *Scipio* was gone.

App. in Punic.
Zonaras, B. 9.
c. 12.

BUT *Masinissa*, now again a King, still retained his ¹⁴ Affection for *Rome*. He saw thro' the Designs of the *Carthaginians*; and was very sensible, that they were at bottom his most cruel Enemies. Nevertheless, he complied with the Times, had an Interview with *Asdrubal*, and promised the *Carthaginians* a Reinforcement of Horse. At the same time *Syphax* still pretended to be in the Interest of *Rome*. So that the two *Numidian* Kings both acted feigned Parts under different Colours. *Syphax* pretended to be in Affection a *Roman*, whilst his Inclinations were really *Carthaginian*; and *Masinissa* appeared to be a Friend to *Carthage*, when, in Reality, in the Interest of *Rome*. This was the Situation of Affairs in *Africa*, when *Scipio* landed there.

§. V. THE Roman General was not ignorant at his Arrival, what Suspicions he ought to entertain of *Syphax*, and what Confidence to place in *Masinissa*; and he

¹² The Texts of several Copies of *Livy*, say, that the fugitive King retired into that Part of *Africa* which was bounded on one Side by *Emporia*, and on the other by the Country of the *Garamantes*. *Inter Punica Emporia Gentemque Garamantum*. But some Commentators, especially *Gronovius*, exclaim against this Passage, and say they can't find any Country of the *Garamantes* where *Livy* places it. Being prepossessed, that these People inhabited one of the most distant Cantons of *South Africa*, they cannot conceive for what reason *Livy* could place them near *Emporia*, and *The Little Syrtis*. It is true, *Ptolomy* and *Strabo* place *Garamantis*, and *Garama* its Capital, in *Lower Lybia*. But it is no less certain, that this Country reached from the Springs of the River *Bagrada* to the Lake *Nuba*, or *Nutha*, as *Ptolomy* observes, B. 4. c. 6. And the Springs of this River were not at any great distance from *Emporia*, and *The Little Syrtis*. *Livy* might therefore say, without any Mistake, that the Country to which *Masinissa* retired, lay between *Emporia*, and the Country of the *Garamantes*. Besides, it is not improbable, that these People were like the *Lybians*, who had no fixed Habitations. A Swarm of them might have left *Lybia* to come and settle in a softer Climate, and nearer to *Africa*.

¹³ According to *Livy* and *Appian*, the News of the landing of the Roman Army in *Africa*, was the *Carthaginian* General's Motive, to unite, in Appearance at least, the two *Numidian* Kings, in order to promote the Interests of *Carthage*. So that, this pretended Reconciliation between *Syphax* and *Masinissa*, was not patched up, till *Scipio* arrived. This *Livy* says in express Terms. After he had said, that *Masinissa* left the Place of his Retreat, to repair to the Roman General with a Body of two thousand Horse, according to some, or of but two hundred at most, according to others; he adds, that the latter Number seemed most probable; because a Guard of two thousand Horse did but ill suit the Condition of a wandering Prince, who was driven out of his own Dominions.

¹⁴ This seeming Reconciliation was made with the Consent of *Scipio*, whom *Masinissa* informed of this Negotiation. The King of *Maffylia* joined his Troops to those of *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, only the better to cover his Design. Afterwards the three Armies separated, and formed three Camps round *Utica*, in order to oppose the Enterprizes of the Roman General, who had Thoughts of besieging that City.

Year of waited till time should unmask both. As soon as he landed, his first Business was
 R O M E to make his Advantage of the Terror he had spread on the Coast. For fifty two
 DXLIX. Years last ¹⁵ past, the *Africans* had not seen a large *Roman* Army come and insult
 M. CORNELI- *Africa*, so as even to threaten *Carthage*; and those in that Neighbourhood were
 US CETHEGUS, seized with a much greater Terror than ever. The great Roads were full of Men,
 P. SEMPRONI- Women, and Children, flying in haste, and driving their Cattel, to the nearest
 US TUDITA- Places of Safety; and the Cities to which they fled, were more terrified than those
 NUS, Consuls. who gave them the Alarm. *Carthage* especially foreboded her own Destruction. She
 had no Commander of Reputation enough to allay her Disquiets. She had no
 body to send against *Scipio*, but *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisco*; who had indeed gained
 great Credit in his Republick, and his Riches, and Alliance to King *Syphax*, had
 given him Weight and Distinction: but after all, he was not to be compared for
 Valour, and Address in War, to young *Scipio*; who had so often vanquished him
 in *Spain*. Besides, the Republick wanted disciplined and experienced Troops. The
 tumultuary Army she had lately raised in *Africa*, could not by any Means be thought
 comparable to the *Roman Legions*.

THEIR Fears therefore made the *Carthaginians* in the Capital take such Precau-
 tions as were not yet necessary. They ran to Arms, lined the Ramparts, and shut
 the Gates. They posted Advanced-Guards without the Walls, and kept Centinels
 continually upon them, to watch Day and Night. Nevertheless, *Scipio* was yet a
 great way from *Carthage*. He had sent his Fleet towards ¹⁶ *Utica*, marched his
 Army at some Distance from the Sea, and at length posted himself on the Emi-
 nencies which overlooked the Plain, and sent Detachments to seize all the Posts
 the Enemy might have taken Possession of, round about him. On the other hand,
Carthage sent out a flying Camp, under the Conduct of *Hanno*, a young War-
 rior of Distinction in his Country, to watch the Motions of the Enemy, or even
 oppose the Descent of the *Romans*, if their Army was not all landed. This Troop
 that *Hanno* commanded, gave the first Battel *Scipio* fought in *Africa*. The young
 Commander fell with five hundred Men, on a Detachment which *Scipio* had sent out
 to gather Forrage. But the *Romans* had all the Advantage, and the young *Cartha-*
ginian was killed in the Fight. So that this first Success was a good *Augury* to the
Romans; and the *Pro-Consul* did not neglect to make his Advantage of it. He
 laid the Country waste, and drew nearer to a City, which was rich enough to fur-
 nish his Troops with a plentiful Booty. This was perhaps the Place one Historian
 calls ¹⁷ *Locha*; and the Circumstances of its Reduction ¹⁸ were too remarkable not
 to deserve to be mentioned. As soon as *Scipio* had made his Approaches to it,
 and planted his Ladders against the Walls to take it by Assault, the Inhabitants in
 a Consternation sent an Herald to desire their Lives, and leave to retire from their
 City. Upon this *Scipio* instantly sounded a Retreat, for fear of stigmatizing the
 first Fruits of his Conquests here with an Instance of Cruelty; but the Soldiers did
 not obey him. They, greedy of Plunder, carried on the Assault, forced the Walls,
 dispersed themselves with Fury in *Locha*, and put all, even Women and Children,
 to the Sword. But so barbarous an Action, and so signal a Disobedience, did not
 escape unpunished. The *Centurions* were most guilty; they had excited the Fury
 of the Soldiers: and they were ordered to draw Lots, which should lose their
 Lives, and three of them were condemned to die. The *Lochians* that remained

¹⁵ That is, from the Year 497, which was the
Consulship of *Marcus Atilius Regulus*, and *Lucius*
Manlius Vulso, the *Romans* had laid aside the Thoughts
 of carrying the War into *Africa*. *Livy* indeed reckons
 only fifty Years at most between the first Expedition
 of *Regulus*, and that of *Scipio*; but it is a Mistake
 of two Years.

¹⁶ *Utica* stood on the Coast of the Kingdom of
Tunis. Next to *Carthage*, it was deemed the most
 considerable City in *Africa*. Some think, they find
 the Footsteps of it near *Biserte*. Others pretend it
 stood in the same Place where we now find *Porto*
Farino. But be that as it will, it is certain, this
 City now retains nothing of its ancient Splendor.
 See *Vol. 2*.

¹⁷ *Appian* is the only Person who mentions a
 City of *Locha* in *Africa*. Some conjecture, that it
 was the same which *Ptolomy* calls *Elica*, or *Ilica*.

¹⁸ According to *Livy*, the first Success of the
Roman General's Arms was followed by the taking
 a rich City which he does not name. He only says,
 That *Scipio* took a considerable Booty in it; That
 the richest Spoils of it were put on Board some
 Transports, and sent to *Sicily*; and That eight thou-
 sand of the Besieged, Slaves and Freemen included,
 were made Prisoners of War by the *Romans*. Whence
 it is plain, that according to the Circumstances
 of the taking of the City of *Locha*, the City *Livy*
 speaks of, cannot be that City, as some Commem-
 tators pretend. For the *Greek* Historian says, that
Scipio gave all the *Lochians* whom the Soldiers spar-
 ed, in their first Fury, their Lives and Liberty.
 Whereas, according to the *Latin* Historian, eight
 thousand of the Besieged in the City he mentions
 were made Prisoners by the Conqueror.

alive had their Liberty given them; and the guilty Soldiers were deprived of the Booty they had taken. It was carried on Board some Transport-Ships, and sent to *Sicily*, with some Prisoners of War. But nothing gave *Scipio* more Pleasure in this Enterprize, than the recovering a great Number of those *Roman* Soldiers, whom *Hannibal* and *Asdrubal* had taken in War, and sent from *Italy*, or *Spain*, to *Africa*; where they were made Slaves, and forced to cultivate the Earth. Nothing could be more affecting to a Man of his Temper, than to set at Liberty a Company of unfortunate Men, who were languishing in the Chains of cruel Masters.

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.

M. CORNELI-
US CILLEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.

§. VI. THEN *Masiniſſa*, who was engaged to the *Carthaginians* contrary to his Inclination, came privately by Night to confer with *Scipio*. The *Roman* with great Joy embraced a King, whose Fidelity he well knew. They agreed, that the *Numidian* should continue to deceive the credulous *Carthaginians*, at least for some time; and *Masiniſſa* resolved not to declare openly for the *Romans*, till he should have an Opportunity to draw his new Allies into a Snare. The Detention of his Mother was a Restraint upon his Inclinations. *Scipio* depended upon the sincere Friendship of the King; and the latter sought an Opportunity to break off from *Carthage* as soon as possible. After the Interview ¹⁹, *Scipio* advanced towards *Utica*; and *Masiniſſa* returned to *Asdrubal*. Tho' the latter was much inferior to *Scipio* as a General, yet for Want of a better, *Carthage* was forced to put him at the Head of her Troops. *Asdrubal* therefore at the Head of twenty thousand Foot ²⁰, seven thousand Horse, and an hundred and forty Elephants, drew a little towards *Utica*, accompanied by *Masiniſſa*, whose new Engagements with *Rome* were ²¹ unknown to him. The *Numidian* was one of the Council of War on all Occasions, and he found it easy to persuade the *Carthaginian* General to send his Son ²² *Hanno* to watch the Motions of the Enemy, at the Head of a Detachment of a thousand Horse, and a small Body of Foot. By that means, said *Masiniſſa* to the General, your Son will keep up the Spirits of the Garrison of *Utica*. Who knows, whether they do not already incline to favour *Scipio*? And perhaps *Hanno* may find an Opportunity to penetrate through the *Romans*, and enter the City which is going to be invested. As for me, I will favour the Enterprize with all my *Numidian* Horse. The Proposal was agreed to in Council; and the Son of *Asdrubal*, delighted with being honoured with such a Commission at his Age, began his March; and *Masiniſſa* followed him, as it were to sustain him. Till at length the *Carthaginian* Detachment drew near a Place called ²³ *The Tower of Agathocles*, about thirty ²⁴ *Stadia* from *Utica*; and there the young Warrior fell into the Snare which *Masiniſſa* had laid for him. He had, the Evening before, sent *Scipio* an Account of the designed March of the Son of *Asdrubal*, and had advised him to lay five thousand Men in Ambush near *The Tower of Agathocles*. As soon then as *Hanno* appeared, a small Body of *Romans* met him. They were not numerous enough to intimidate the young Warrior, and he fell upon them with Fury, made them retire, and *Masiniſſa* followed him. But then the five thousand *Romans* immediately came out of their Ambuscade, and surrounded the *Carthaginians*, and *Masiniſſa* joined the former. All the *Carthaginian* Detachment was cut in pieces, except four hundred Men, who were made Prisoners, and the Son of *Asdrubal* with them. Not one Man escaped Death, or Captivity: and *Masiniſſa* took particular care to save the Life of the young Commander. After the Defeat, he took him by the Hand, and led him to *Scipio's* Camp; and when he

¹⁹ The Authors we quote so confound the Order of the Facts, that it was no easy matter to range them in a probable Light. Who can reconcile *Livy's* Account with those of *Appian* and *Zonaras*? The former seems to have confounded the Fact that follows with the preceding ones. But the two *Greek* Writers agree much better with *Cælius* and *Valerius*, who are quoted by the *Roman* Historian.

²⁰ *Livy* here again contradicts *Appian*. He reckons thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, in *Asdrubal's* Army.

²¹ *Appian* and *Livy* make no mention of *Syphax's* Army, in this Place. According to the former, the *Numidian* King, yet wavering between *Rome* and *Carthage*, had deserted *Asdrubal*; under Pretence, that it was necessary for him to hasten to

the Defence of his own Dominions, which were exposed to the Insults of the neighbouring Barbarians.

²² This *Hanno*, whom *Zonaras* calls the Son of *Asdrubal*, was the Son of one *Hamilcar*, according to *Livy*. But the whole Chain of Events agrees better with the *Greek* Historian's Opinion.

²³ This Tower bore the Name of *Agathocles*, Tyrant of *Syracuse*, either because he had built it, when he made Incursions into the Territories of *Carthage*, or at least had encamped near it. See *Vol. 2. B. 21. p. 427. Note 47.*

²⁴ These thirty *Stadia* make three thousand, seven hundred, and fifty geometrical Paces, or one *French* League and an half.

Year of had gotten Possession of this precious Pledge, who was so dear to his Father, he
 R O M E no longer hesitated what Measures to pursue. *Hanno* was a Person, whom he
 DXLIX. might well expect to exchange for his Mother, who had long been kept in Cap-
 M. CORNELI- tivity, in the Territories of King *Syphax*. Accordingly, *Asdrubal* demanded his
 US CETHEGUS, Son, *Masinissa* his Mother; and they were exchanged. And now, all Reasons
 P. SEMPRONI- against *Masinissa's* openly declaring for the *Romans* being removed, he joined *Sci-*
 US TUDITA- pio's Army with his Cavalry ²⁵.

Zonaras, B. 9.
 c. 12.

§. VII. As for *Syphax*, he had hitherto appeared divided between *Rome* and
Carthage: but as soon as he saw his Rival embrace one Party, he resolved to declare
 for the other. Jealousies of State, and the Charms of *Sophonisba*, made *Syphax*
 an irreconcilable Enemy to the *Romans*: and by his Unfaithfulness to them, he
 deprived himself of all Hopes of their ever being reconciled to him. Neverthe-
 less, being an artful Man, tho' he sided with *Asdrubal*, he encamped his Troops
 apart, and publickly took upon him the Character of a Mediator between *Rome*
 and *Carthage*. He threatened to become an Enemy to either of the Republicks

²⁵ *Appian's* Account of this Matter does not at all agree with that of *Livy*, which is this. *Scipio*, as soon as he had landed his Troops in *Africa*, gave them some Days Rest, and then advanced towards *Utica*. He had pitched his Camp one Mile from this City, where the *Carthaginians* thought in good earnest of opposing the Progress of the *Roman* Army. *Syphax*, already become entirely *Carthaginian* in Heart, since his Marriage with *Sophonisba*, was wholly governed by his Father-in-law, and his new Wife. The Republick of *Carthage* had recourse to the *Numidian* King, expecting great Succours from him. *Asdrubal*, upon the Report of *Scipio's* Arrival, had Orders to leave *Syphax*, and hasten to the Assistance of his Country: and till he arrived, *Hanno* was ordered to watch the Motions of the Enemy, prevent their Designs, and secure the Country against the Incursions of the *Roman* Troops. But *Hanno* had not Troops enough to keep the Field. The Detachment of Horse he commanded was not sufficient to defend the Country against the Enterprizes of *Scipio*. His first Care therefore was to recruit his Troops; and by his Sollicitations and Promises, he prevailed on a great Number of *Numidians* to take Arms in Defence of *Carthage*. With these new Levies he made a Body of four thousand Horse: and with this little Army he took the Road to *Salera*, and cantoned his Troops in that Neighbourhood. This was a little City, fifteen Miles, or thereabouts, from the *Roman* Camp. As for *Scipio*, he was surprized to hear, that *Hanno* should venture to appear against all the *Roman* Army with so few Troops, and said; *Does then the Carthaginian Cavalry waste the Summer in Idleness, in a City? Has the Senate of Carthage left the whole Success of the War, to depend on a young Commander, and a few Troops levied in haste, whose Fears make them take Shelter under the Walls of a City? If they were much more numerous under such a Commander, his leading them is enough to assure me of their Defeat.* Then in order to take Advantage of the Dilatoriness of the *Carthaginians*, *Scipio* applied himself to *Masinissa*, and joined with him in the Execution of the Design he had in View. *Livy* supposes that this Prince had already declared openly for the *Romans*. So that, according to him, the *Massylian* King, by Agreement with the *Roman* General, advanced with a great Body of *Numidian* Horse, quite up to the Gates of *Salera*, to draw *Hanno* into the Plain. *Scipio*, on the other hand, followed close after *Masinissa*, at the Head of his choicest Horse. But he had the Precaution to march his Detachment through Byways, among the Hills; which concealed his Approach from the Enemy. The expert General arrived near *Salera*: and under Shelter of the Rocks which covered him, waited there for *Hanno's* Approach. At the same time *Masinissa*, as had been concerted, sometimes rode full speed up to the Gates of the City, as it were to insult the Governor; and some-

times retired with Precipitation, as if seized with a sudden Fright: and the Stratagem succeeded. These repeated Bravadoes of King *Masinissa* provoked *Hanno*, and at the same time emboldened him to pursue a Handful of Men, who seemed to be afraid of hazarding a Battel. He resolved to get his Cavalry ready to march out of the City in Order of Battel; but some of his Men were buried in Sleep, others in Wine. So that the Commander was forced to make use of his Authority, and threaten them, before he could make them take to their Arms, and mount their Horses. Some of them marched in small Parties, and in Disorder: and the greatest Number would have separated, and gone out at the different Gates of the City, without keeping their Ranks, if *Hanno* had not rallied these rash Men under his Standards. At first *Masinissa* confidently stood the Attack of those who first came into the Plain. But the Troops soon increased, and the Advantage became equal on both Sides; and at length, when all *Hanno's* Army was united, the King of *Massyli's* Troop was too weak to hold out against four thousand Men. He therefore retreated as he fought, till he came to the Snare which *Scipio* had laid for them. Then the *Romans* marched out of their Defiles on a sudden; fell briskly on the Enemy; and the *Africans*, already fatigued, defended themselves but faintly against fresh Troops, which surrounded them on all Sides. In the same Instant, *Masinissa* faced about with his *Numidian* Cavalry, and fell furiously on those of *Hanno*; who being overpowered with Numbers, was slain on the Field of Battel, with about a thousand of his Men, who in vain thought to escape. The rest of the Vanquished, seized with Fear, endeavoured to save themselves by Flight; but they were hotly pursued, and in the Space of a great League, two thousand of them were overtaken, and either massacred without Mercy, or fell into the Hands of the Conquerors. Among the Dead were reckoned at least two hundred *Carthaginians*, most of whom were of considerable Rank in *Carthage*, either by their Birth, or Riches.

Whence it is plain, that the Circumstances of *Hanno's* Defeat, as related by *Livy*, agree in nothing with *Appian's* Account, which we have inserted in the Text. And tho' we do not pretend to decide peremptorily, which of the Historians is to be credited, we have preferred the *Greek* Historian to the *Latin*, for these Reasons. His Relation has an Air of Probability, which the other has not; and does, without all doubt, better connect with the preceding Events. Besides, some ancient Annalists, and particularly *Caesius* and *Valerius*, disputed the Truth of the Facts as related by *Livy*. This Historian himself acknowledges, that they both contended, that *Hanno* was not killed, but made Prisoner of War. And lastly, *Zonaras's* Authority is an additional Weight, which inclines the Balance in favour of *Appian*.

which

which should refuse a Peace; and his Forces were formidable. He had in his Army fifty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse. But *Scipio* was not terrified with these great Preparations for War. He took ²⁶ *Salera*, put a Garrison in it, spread his Troops in the Plains, forced Cities and Towns, and alarmed the whole Country. With the Booty he took, he again loaded some Ships, which he likewise sent to *Sicily*; and at length *Asdrubal* was sensibly affected with these Hostilities, and found it was time to oppose *Scipio's* Conquests. *Mago* therefore had Orders to attack him in the Front with his Cavalry, whilst *Asdrubal* fell upon his Rear. The *Pro-Consul* seeing himself invested on both Sides, faced both Ways; *Masinissa* commanded one Part of the *Roman* Army, and *Scipio* the other; and at length the Dispute ended to the Advantage of the *Romans*. The Enemy retired, after they had lost five thousand Men; *Scipio* took eighteen hundred Prisoners from the *Carthaginians*; and now, for the first time, conquered *Asdrubal* in *Africa*, as he had always done in *Spain*. But these Exploits were only the Prelude to a greater Design. The *Roman* proposed to besiege *Utica*, a great City, on the Coast of *Africa*, fifty two Miles from *Carthage*. Next to the Capital, it was the most wealthy, and strongest City, in the *Carthaginian* State. It owed its Riches, and in some measure its Safety, to its Port. So that it was necessary to besiege it by Sea and Land at the same time, in order to take it. *Scipio* was nearly concerned to make himself Master of it. He wanted to make it a Magazine of Arms, and his Place of Residence, during the Winter.

THE Siege was therefore begun, in a manner before the Eyes of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. On the Side next the Sea, *Utica* was invested by the Fleet; and the Land-Forces advanced to the Foot of the Wall along an Eminence which covered it. The *Roman* General wanted nothing that was necessary for this Expedition. He had brought *Covered Galleries*, *Moveable Towers*, *Rams*, *Hooks*, and *Ballistæ*, from *Sicily*. He continually kept Workhouses there, in which he employed Workmen to make Arms, and Machines of all sorts. On the other hand, the Besiegers were not much terrified with all this frightful Apparatus. They depended on *Carthage*, *Carthage* on *Asdrubal*, and *Asdrubal* on *Syphax*, in case he could once bring him to act. The Dilatoriness of the *Numidian* King, in declaring himself against *Rome* by actual Hostilities, gave the *Carthaginian* General some Uneasiness, and suspended his Activity. Till at length *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* drew near the *Roman* Camp together, when *Scipio* was beginning his Attack on *Utica*.

THE *Pro-Consul* had raised an high Tower, on two Galleys moored together, and filled it with *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ*. The Tower was advanced near the Wall, and battered it with Javelins three Cubits long, and Stones of an enormous Size, thrown by the Machines. This was a terrible Battery as long as it continued; but the Besiegers soon separated the Galleys, and beat the Tower in pieces. On the Land-Side, *Scipio* played the *Ram*, raised *Terrasses*, brought up the Besiegers to a Level with the Besieged, and with *Scythes* mowed off the Heads of those who defended the Ramparts. The *Carthaginians* on the otherhand overturned the Towers, threw Hooks on the *Scythes*, to turn them aside, and broke the Force of the *Ram*, by letting down Beams before it from the Top of the Walls. Oftentimes the Besieged made Sallies with Flambeaux in their Hands, and the Wind favouring them, burnt the Enemy's Machines. In the mean time, *Syphax* still continued quiet, and acted the Part of a Mediator. He even proposed the Conditions of the Peace, which he desired the Honour of negotiating between *Rome* and *Carthage*. They were, That *Hannibal* should leave *Italy*, and *Scipio* *Africa*; and That *Sicily*, the Islands of the *Mediterranean*, and *Spain*, should be given up to the *Romans*. But *Syphax*, under these Appearances of Mediation, concealed a treacherous Heart. He wanted only to amuse the *Romans* with Negotiations, till such time as the *Carthaginian* Fleet, which was equipping with all Speed, could be got out at Sea; and the Mercenaries *Carthage* was raising on all the Coasts of the *Mediterranean*, in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and in *Liguria*, were arrived. And *Syphax* being sensible what Prejudice his Rival *Masinissa* did the *Carthaginians*, he used all

Year of
R O M E
DXLIX.

M. CORNELI-
US CETHEGUS,
P. SEMPRONI-
US TUDITA-
NUS, Consuls.
Appian. in
Punic.

Livy. B. 29.
c. 35.

Appian. in
Punic.

Livy. B. 30.
c. 3.

²⁶ In some Manuscripts, the City of *Salera* is called *Salvea*. All we know of its Situation, is, that it stood fifteen Miles from the Place where *Scipio* encamped for the first time, after he had landed his Troops near *The Fair Promontory*.

Year of Means to destroy him. To draw him off from *Rome* was infallibly to ruin him; and he therefore sent an Agent, under Pretence of deserting, to treat with *Mas-*
R O M E *nissa*, and offer him the most alluring Bait. Love was the Passion by which
 DXLIX. he thought he could most readily reach the young *Numidian's* Heart; and *Syphax*
 M. CORNELI- therefore offered him which of his three Daughters he liked best; and promised,
 US CETHEGUS, after this Marriage, to confirm him in the full Possession of all his Dominions.
 P. SEMPRONI- Nay, even all this was not enough for *Syphax*. He ordered his Agent, in case the
 US TUDITA- generous *Masfinissa* should reject these Proposals, to corrupt one of the King's Offi-
 NUS, Consuls. cers, and bribe him to assassinate his Master. But the Person whom the Agent
 thought Villain enough to undertake this black Piece of Treachery proved a faithful
 Subject. The Work was put into the Hands of one of *Masfinissa's* Train, who took the
 Money, and then discovered to his Master, the infamous Perfidiousness of *Syphax*.
 And when the *Masfesylian* found that he was discovered, he no longer kept any
 Measures with *Rome*. He led his Troops before ²⁷ *Tholus*, a City where the *Ro-*
mans had placed their Magazine of Corn, surprized it by Treachery, and put the
Roman Garrison to the Sword.

Livy, B. 29.
c. 35.

ALL these Enterprizes were executed by *Syphax*, whilst *Scipio* was carrying on
 his Works before *Utica*. Indeed the Enemy, who surrounded him, durst not at-
 tack him in his Trenches; but they harassed him exceedingly, and at last forced
 him to raise the Siege, after he had continued it for forty Days. Besides, the
 Winter approached; and the *Romans* were obliged to decamp, and settle them-
 selves in a commodious Post.

THE Place *Scipio* chose for his Retreat was a Promontory, which reached a pretty
 way into the Sea, by a Neck of Land, which joined to the Continent. In this
 Peninsula the *Roman Pro-Consul* fortified his Camp; and in a manner included
 within the same Walls both his Land-Forces, and his Fleet, which he stationed in
 his Sight, under Shelter of the Promontory. In the Center of this vast Camp,
 on an Eminence, he lodged his *Legions*, his Cavalry at the Foot of the Hill, and
 the Crews belonging to his Fleet, towards the Port, where his Gallies rode at An-
 chor. In this Place he waited for the Return of the Spring, to renew the War
 with fresh Vigour.

§. VIII. IN the mean time *Rome* was not negligent of an Army from which
 she justly had so great Expectations. She sent Provisions of all Sorts in great Abun-
 dance to the Camp in *Africa*, both from *Sicily*, and *Italy*. The *Prætor Tiberius*
Claudius also sent Corn from *Sardinia*, in such Plenty, that the Army was forced
 to build new Magazines to hold it. The Soldiers wanted nothing but Cloathing;
 and Application was made for that likewise to the *Sardinian Prætor*, who sent
Scipio twelve hundred *Togæ*, and twelve thousand *Tunicks*. The common Habits
 of Citizens must have been then worn, by the Officers at least, during Winter. In
 this manner, one *Roman Province* supplied the Defects of another, and the Union
 that reigned among the *Romans* rendered them invincible.

Plut. Life of
Fabius.

THE Progress *Scipio* had made in this Campaign, confirmed the *Roman* People
 in their Esteem of him; and Envy itself was almost put to Silence. *Fabius* was
 the only Man, who still continued his Jealousy. He declared, both in open Se-
 nate, and private Conversations, That it was necessary to recall *Scipio*, and appoint
 him a Successor. Even the Prosperity of his Arms, said he, makes me tremble.
 Fortune is inconstant, and never steadily continues to favour one Man. The more
 she caresses *Scipio* now, the more Reason we have to fear a contrary Treatment.

Livy, B. 30.
c. 1.

BUT these angry Discourses served only to render the old Age of *Fabius* con-
 temptible. No Regard was shewn to his Distrusts. On the contrary, the People
 being assembled in the *Campus Martius*, heaped new Marks of Distinction on the
 General in *Africa*. After the *Centuries* had elected the *Consuls*, who were *Cn. Ser-*
vilius Capió, and ²⁸ *C. Servilius Geminus*, a *Plebeian*; they in a very particular
 manner

²⁷ *Appian* is the only Author, who mentions the Name of *Tholus*, a City of *Africa*. It seems to have stood near *Utica*, which *Scipio* was then besieging.

²⁸ The *Fastæ Capitoli*, in which the Names of these two *Consuls* are preserved entire, give *Caius Servilius* no other Surname, but that of *Nepos*. Whereas *Livy* gives him that of *Geminus*. And *Sig-*
onius declares himself against *Livy*; and quotes, in

Confirmation of his Opinion, the old Law, which required, that one of the *Consuls* should be a *Patrician*, and the other a *Plebeian*; supposing at the same time, that the *Servilii Geminii* were *Patricians* by Descent, as well as the Family of *Servilius Capió*. If, says he, the second *Consul* was to be a *Plebeian*, according to the Custom long established in *Rome*, we must necessarily conclude, that *Caius Servilius* was surnamed

manner²⁹ consulted *Scipio's* Honour. When the rest of the *Pro-Consuls* were nominated in the *Comitia*, only for one Year; it was resolved, that the brave *Scipio* should continue *Pro-Consul* in *Africa*, till the War was ended. This was acting directly contrary to *Fabius's* Views; but the *Roman* People no longer regarded the Caprice of an old Man whose Understanding was decayed. And it was likewise a further Mortification to *Fabius*, to see the People order *Supplications*, to obtain the Protection of the Gods on the Armies in *Africa*. The Temples in

Year of
R O M E
DL.

CN. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO,
C. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

furnamed *Nepos*, and not *Geminus*. But it is easy to perceive, that *Sigonius* reasoned upon a false Supposition. Why might not the Surname of *Geminus* be common to some *Patricians* of the *Servilian* Family, and to some *Plebeians* of the same Name? Besides, it is certain from *Livy*, That *Geminus*, *Cæpio's* Collegue, had been *Plebeian* *Ædile*, and *Tribune of the People*. And it is as certain, that his Collegue was a *Patrician*. Whence it is very evident, that he himself was of *Plebeian* Extraction. And lastly, the *Fasti Capitolini* themselves furnish us with an unanswerable Argument against the Conjecture of *Sigonius*. One of the *Consuls* whom they place in the Year 551, was named *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, and the other *Marcus Servilius Pulex Geminus*; which latter was, as we suppose, the Brother of *Caius Servilius Geminus*. At least their Father is there distinguished by the *Prænomen* of *Caius*, and their Grandfather by that of *Publius*. Now it is certain that *Claudius Nero* was by Birth a *Patrician*; whence it must be inferred, unless we contradict the Law, that his Collegue, *Marcus Geminus*, was of the *Plebeian* Branch of the *Servilian* Family; and consequently *Sigonius* was mistaken, in making all the *Servilii* who bore the Surname of *Geminus*, *Patricians*.

29 After the *Consuls* for the Year were elected, the Republick chose four *Prætors*, viz. *Cneius Cornelius Lentulus*, *Publius Quintilius Varus*, *Publius Ælius Pætus*, and *Publius Villius Tappulus*. The first had *Sardinia* for his Province. The second was appointed to succeed *Spurius Lucretius* in the Command of the two *Legions*, cantoned in the Neighbourhood of *Ariminum*. As for *Lucretius*, he was ordered to go into *Liguria*, and rebuild the City of *Genoa*, which *Mago* had entirely ruined. The third had no other Employment but that of administering Justice to the Citizens of *Rome*. And *Sicily* fell by Lot to the fourth; who had Orders to raise three thousand Men in his Government, and send them over to *Africa*, to reinforce *Scipio's* Army. After this, the Senate provided for the Safety of the Island, and ordered a Fleet of forty Galleys to be fitted out. *Villius* carried thither thirteen new ones; which were added to the twenty seven old ones, which the *Prætor* assembled together from all the Ports of *Sicily*, after they had been refitted. The Command of this Fleet was given to *Marcus Pomponius*, *Villius's* Predecessor. And the Command of the same Number of Ships, and of two thousand Land-Forces, was given to the old *Pro-Prætor* *Cneius Octavius*, who was appointed to guard the Coasts of *Sardinia*. Those of *Italy* were the Province of *Marcus Marcius*, one of the *Prætors* for the last Year: and a small Body of three thousand Men being likewise assigned him, he distributed them among the forty Galleys, of which he was Admiral. These Precautions were necessary to oppose the Descents which the *Carthaginians* were expected to make. So that the Republick did not appoint any Successor to *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*, or *Lucius Manlius Acidinus*. The latter was continued in the Government of *Further Spain*, from whence he sent a great Quantity of Corn, which made a great Plenty at *Rome*; the former in the Government of *Hither Spain*, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*.

As for the *Consuls*, *Cneius Servilius Cæpio*, and *Caius Servilius Geminus*, the Senate gave them leave to agree among themselves, which of the two Provinces in *Italy*, where they were wanted, each should take; and they chose to determine it by Lot. The Country of the *Bruttii* fell to *Cæpio*; and it was his Collegue's Lot to command in *Liguria* and *Tuscany*,

where the *Carthaginians*, under the Command of *Mago*, still kept their Ground. *Publius Sempronius*, the *Consul* for the last Year, who had made War in *Bruttium*, surrendered up his Army to his Successor. But the Senate continued him the Title of *Pro-Consul* in the same Country, and put him at the Head of the two *Legions* that *Licinius* had commanded. The latter had been recalled to *Rome*, where the Citizens required that he should assist the Republick with his Counsels. He was as highly esteemed in the Senate, for his great Knowledge and Wisdom, as formidable in an Army by his Valour; and was Master of all civil and military Virtues. Nature and Fortune, says *Livy*, seemed to have combined to heap their Favours on him. He was well born, and had a great Estate. His Beauty, and graceful Stature, prejudiced all who saw him in his Favour; and in some measure bespoke his Merit. The Strength of his Constitution enabled him to bear all the Fatigues of War with Cheerfulness. And he was at the same time, both well skilled in the Knowledge of the *Pontifical* Law, and appeared to be a great Orator, both by his Speeches in the Senate, and to the People. And lastly, the Reputation he had acquired during his *Consulship*, in the Year 548, had raised his Glory to the highest Pitch, according to *Livy*; from whom we have taken this Panegyrick of this great Man.

These several Dispositions made the *Romans* formidable both by Sea and Land. *Rome* had now twenty *Legions* in Pay, in *Africa*, and her Provinces: and she had no less than an hundred and sixty armed Galleys at Sea, besides Transports and Sloops.

After this, the Senate extended their Care to certain religious Practices, which the Pagan Superstition rendered necessary. The People were seized with Fear upon the Report of Prodigies, whether real, or fictitious. These Sorts of Events, which seemed to be renewed every Year, filled their Minds with Terror: and the Politicians made a great Use of them. They took Advantage of these publick Alarms, to keep the Mutineers in their Duty by them. It was now said, That some Crows had broken off some Pieces of the Gold of the *Capitol*, with their Beaks, and had swallowed Part of it; That at *Antium* a Crown of Gold had been knawed by Rats; and That a terrible Quantity of Locusts had laid waste the Fields of *Capua*. Several monstrous Births were talked of; and particularly one of a Chicken with five Feet, that had been hatched at *Reate*. It was likewise reported, That in *Anagnia* there had been seen several little Globes of Fire in the Sky, which had been followed by a luminous Body, not unlike a burning Torch. Some affirmed, that at *Prusino* the Sun appeared surrounded by a very thin Arch, which afterwards turned all at once into a great Circle, which came out of the Disc of the Sun itself. And lastly, it was taken for granted, that the Earth had opened of itself, and formed a Gulph near *Arpi*. And the Terror was much increased, when it appeared that the Liver of the first Victim offered by one of the new *Consuls* according to Custom, had no Head to it. We have already observed, that the *Aruspices* looked on this, as a menacing Sign of the Anger of the Gods. It was therefore necessary to appease them by expiatory Sacrifices; and the College of *Pontifices* were consulted concerning the Ceremonies that were to be used, and the Gods that were to be appeased. We have omitted inserting these things in the Text, that we might hasten the sooner to *Scipio*, and the *African* Affairs, which they would have interrupted.

Rome

Year of *Rome* were opened, and the *Romans* crowded to them, to beg Heaven to continue to prosper *Scipio* with the same Success in his future Enterprizes as he had had in the 30 last Campaign. The whole Attention of the Publick was fixed upon

DL.
Cn. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO,
C. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

30 Most Authors fix the Establishment of the *Cincian* Law to the Year 549. It took its Name from the Tribune of the People, *Marcus Cincius Alimentus*, one of those whom the Republick sent into *Sicily*, to enquire into *Scipio's* Conduct. He proposed it to the People, and got it passed, thro' the Interest of the Great *Fabius*; as we are told by *Cicero*, in his Book Of Old Age. *Et Fabius Maximus admodum senex, Suasor Legis Cinciae de donis & muneribus fuit.* The Design of this Law was,

1. To restrain the Avarice of the Patrons and Senators, who had taken up a Custom of ransoming their Clients, and demanding considerable Sums of them, by Way of Present. Thus *Livy*, B. 34. *Quid Legem Cinciam de donis & muneribus excitavit, nisi quod vectigalis jam, & stipendiaria Plebs esse Senatui cæperat.* These Actions were plainly against a Law of *Romulus*, which was made to bridle the Covetousness of mercenary Patrons.

2. To oblige Orators and Advocates to plead gratis. But they were not forbidden by it, to accept the Money which the Parties sometimes offered them afterwards, out of Gratitude. This Prohibition was likewise afterwards renewed by the Emperor *Augustus*, under the Penalty of paying four times the Sum received. The Senate authorized it, and confirmed it by an express *Senatus-consultum*, according to *Dio*. B. 54. And *Tacitus* mentions this Law, *Annals*, B. 13. *Pænæque Cinciae Legis adversus eos, qui pretio causas oravissent.* The Practice continued till the Emperor *Claudius's* time. Then, by another *Senatus-consultum*, the Advocates had leave given them, to receive Money of their Clients, not exceeding the Sum of * ten thousand *Sesterces*, which

*Sol. 145. 7d.
Arbutnot.

were equal to about a thousand *French Livres*, or somewhat more. And probably this is the Law, of which we are to understand what *Pliny the Younger* says, B. 5. Ep. 21. The Account he there gives his Friend *Rufus*, so nearly relates to the *Cincian* Law, that we think we ought not to omit it. The Prætor *Nepos*, says *Pliny*, revived the most severe Laws, by his Edicts. He published one, declaring to the Accusers, and the Accused, that he would literally put in Execution the Decree of the Senate, a Copy of which was annexed to his Edict. By this Decree, all those, who had any Law-Suit, of any kind whatsoever, were commanded to swear, before their Cause was heard, That they had not given, or promised any thing, by themselves or any other Person, to him who was to plead their Cause. By this express Law, and many others, the Advocates were forbidden to plead for Money, and the Parties to see them. But after the Process was over, they might give them, whatever did not exceed ten thousand *Sesterces*. This Action of *Nepos*, continues our Author, was much talked of, and the Citizens were divided in Opinion about it. Some blamed it, and cried out, This is a strange Repairer of Injuries! Why does he not follow the Steps of the Magistrates who have gone before him? Who is this severe Reformer? Others said, he has done well. Being ready to enter upon his Magistracy, he read over the Laws, carefully studied the Decrees of the Senate; and does wisely to abolish a shameful Traffick, and not suffer the most glorious Act in the World to be made venal. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in his Invektive against the Advocates of his time, accuses one *Antipho* of having been the first who demanded Money of his Clients. This is the Orator, who was a Native of *Rhamnus*, a Town in *Attica*; and who is pretended to have been Contemporary with *Socrates*, and the Disciple of *Thucydides*. At least the latter commends him; as does *Quintilian*, and *Cicero* in his Book Of Illustrious Orators. Nevertheless, the *Cincian* Law did not forbid either Magistrates or Orators to receive small Presents, in Books for instance, or Eat-

†162l. 9s. 2d.
Arbutnot.

ables; as appears by *Cicero*, in the twentieth Letter of B. 1. To *Atticus*. An honest Friend of mine, says he, named *Papirius Pætus*, offered me the Books that *Servius Claudius* left him; and your Friend *Cincius* having assured me, that the Law which bears his Name does not forbid it, I said I would readily accept the Present. His Words are these. *Lucius Papirius Pætus, vir bonus amatorque nostrum, mihi libros eos, quos Servius Claudius reliquit, donavit. Cum mihi per Legem Cinciam licere capere, Cincius amicus tuus diceret, libenter dixi me accepturum, si attulisset.*

3. *Alexander ab Alexandro*, B. 3. *Genialium Dierum*, c. 17. observes, that the Law we are explaining, contained another Clause against those who corrupted the People by Presents, in order to obtain the Dignities of the Republick. It subjected all Citizens whatever, who took Bribes, to the same Punishments. And this Author adds, that by virtue of this Law, they who stood for the Magistracies were obliged to appear in the *Comitia*, dressed in only a *Tunic*. This Caution was thought necessary, lest the Candidates should have under their Robes the Money with which they intended to purchase the Suffrages of the Commons. But what Authority this Author had for what he says of such another Law, which he ascribes to the Consul *Paulus Æmilius*, we cannot discover. It seems not to have been known to the Writers of old *Rome*; at least we have not been able to find out any Traces of it. It were to be wished, that *Alexander* had shewn us his Authority, in this Instance, and indeed in all the rest of his Works. A Reader has a Right to demand this of an Historian. And,

4. And lastly, the *Cincian* Law, according to *Ulpian*, forbade any Man to make any Presents, to any except Relations, of more than two hundred *Aurei*. This Piece of Money was worth twenty five *Attick Drachmæ*, as will appear hereafter; and consequently the two hundred *Aurei* amounted to † five thousand *Drachmæ*, or two thousand five hundred *French Livres*. Add to this, that *Cujas* the *Civilian* affirms, that in order to make these Gifts valid, it was necessary that they should be made in all the Forms which the ancient *Roman* Law calls *Mancipatio*, and *Nexus*. See our Remarks on the Twelve Tables, p. 450. of Vol. 1. Notes 56, 57. But Deeds of Gift between Relations were excepted out of the common Rule. And by what we have said of the *Cincian* Law, it is easy to perceive, why *Plautus*, and *Festus* call it *LEX MUNERALIS*.

The Consulship of the Year 549 was closed with the Celebration of *The Roman Games*, and *The Plebeian Games*. Each of these Shows lasted two Days. The *Curule Ædiles*, *Caius Livius*, and *Marcus Servilius Geminus*, presided in the former; and the latter were celebrated under the Direction of the *Plebeian Ædiles*, *Publius Ælius*, and *Publius Villius*. This Festival was also accompanied with a sacred Banquet in Honour to *Jupiter*. *Livius* and *Drusus* had already signalized their Office by adorning the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* with a fine Chariot drawn by four Horses, all cast in solid Gold.

Livy also places, in the Consulship of *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Publius Sempronius Tuditanus*, the Inauguration of *Tiberius Veturius Philo*, *Marcus Aurelius Cotta*, and *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*. The former was made *Flamen Martialis*, or High Priest of *Mars*, in the room of *Marcus Æmilius Regulus* deceased. The second was chosen *Decemvir*, and succeeded *Marcus Pomponius Matho*, who was lately dead, and had been *Augur*, as well as *Decemvir*. And the third, tho' scarce arrived at the Age of Puberty, was, by a Mark of Favour then uncommon, admitted into the College of *Augurs*.

him,

him; and particular Care was taken, that he should want nothing. Besides the Clothes which were sent him from *Sardinia*, others were also sent from *Sicily* and *Spain*; and he never wanted a Supply of Arms, Ammunition, and Machines of War.

§. IX. As for the brave *Pro Consul*, he did not continue in his Winter-Quarters so long as he might have done. He knew how to take Advantage of all Seasons, and spent none in Idleness. The two Armies of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were encamped near his; and his Aim was, to surprise and beat one, and bring over the other to the Interests of *Rome*. Indeed *Syphax*, who was returned to his meditating Scheme, seemed again wavering: And after all, it was not impossible to make Impressions on him in favour of the *Roman* Republick. He had *Numidian* Levity enough, to be very capable of changing Sides: And with regard to *Sophonisba*, after the first Fire of his Love was abated, he might possibly return to his old Engagements with *Rome*. *Scipio* therefore sounded him, but found that the King still insisted on *Scipio's* leaving *Africa*, and *Hannibal's* return from *Italy*, by way of Preliminary; and then the *Roman* immediately rejected any manner of Treaty, which should stop him in the Career, which he had begun with Success. He absolutely refused to purchase the Friendship of the *Numidian*, at so dear a Rate as the abandoning his Conquest; but afterwards he imagined he might draw some Advantage from the Correspondence he had settled with King *Syphax*. He had treated with him of Peace, by ³¹ Deputies; and he now sent a large Guard of *Romans*, with new Ambassadors to the *Numidian* Camp, under pretence of doing Honour to the Embassy; but in reality, to observe the Disposition of the Camp of *Syphax*. These Envoys, and their Attendants, observed, that the Barracks, in which the *Africans* spent the Winter, were built only of Wood, and covered with nothing but Reeds, or Stubble. They also observed, That the Huts of the *Numidians* were only Hurdles, covered with Mats, or Leaves; That every Soldier had pitched his own where he pleased, without any Order, in the Camp; and lastly, That great part of these Soldiers lodged without the Camp.

At their return, the Deputies, and their Attendants, made their Reports to *Scipio* of all that they had seen; and upon these Informations, the *Pro-Consul* then formed the Scheme, which we shall see him put in execution hereafter. But in the mean time, that he might not rashly engage in so dangerous an Enterprize, he resolved to assure himself of the Truth of what he heard, by more exact Observations. To this end he pretended to hearken to *Syphax's* Proposals, only he started some Difficulties; and under Pretence of removing these, he sent another Embassy to the two Camps of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*, and made it as numerous as he decently could. With the Deputies he sent *Centurions*, and Officers chosen out of all the *Corps*, who well understood the Art of War; and these were real Spies, in the Habits of Servants.

DURING the Conferences of the Ambassadors with the *Numidian* King, and the *Carthaginian* General, the Officers in Disguise went into all the Quarters of the two Camps. They narrowly observed their Situation, Form, and Avenues, together with the Height of the Ramparts, and the Depth of the Ditches. They measured ³² the Distance between *Asdrubal's* Camp, and that of *Syphax*. They observed the Places where the advanced-Guards and Centinels were posted; and to give them the more time to be exact in their Observations, the Deputies designedly prolonged their Stay, in the Enemy's Camps. They continually started new Difficulties, and raised Debates on every Article: And this made it easy for those attending them, to go frequently to the same Posts, thereby to prevent Mistakes. The Hopes of Peace made the *Africans* secure, and the more negligent in military Duty. Besides, the *Roman* Ambassadors had agreed to feign an Ardour for Peace. They protested, they would not return to their Camp, till they had a positive Answer. Whilst on the other hand, *Scipio* seemed uneasy,

³¹ *Livy* here rejects the Opinion of *Valerius of Antium*, who is almost the only ancient *Roman* Annalist, who took it for granted, that *Syphax* came himself to *Scipio's* Camp, to treat of a Peace between the two Republicks.

³² *Polybius* places the two Camps of *Asdrubal*

and *Syphax* ten *Stadia*, or two hundred and fifty geometrical Paces, from each other: And says, that there were in the former, thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse; in the latter, fifty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse.

Year of
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CN. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO, C.
SERVIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

Polyb. B. 14.

Livy, B. 30.
c. 3.

Year of R O M E DL. Cn. SERVILI- vs CÆPIO, C. SERVILIUS GEMINUS, Consuls.

left the *Africans* should not consent to a Peace. And this made *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* continually raise their Terms. They were ever starting new Pretensions, which was the very thing that *Scipio* had expected. His Deputies did not leave the *African* Camps, till they had carefully observed every part of them. Then they returned to *Scipio*, in seeming Discontent, and gave him a Detail of the Answer of the Enemy's Generals, and of the Disposition of their Entrenchments. Upon which the *Pro-Consul* in his turn, put on an haughty Air, and sent *Syphax* Word, that the War should be immediately renewed, if he did not, of his own accord, come entirely over to the *Romans*.

App. in Punic. Livy, B. 30. c. 4. Polyb. B. 14. c. 2. Zonar. B. 9. c. 2. Orosius, B. 4. c. 2.

THE Truce had continued during all these Negotiations; but it was now broken by *Syphax's* Refusal, and *Scipio* was at Liberty to put his Design in execution. But it was necessary to be very cautious to prevent its being suspected. To this end, *Scipio* sent a Detachment from his Army, to seize his old Posts, in which he had placed his Army, the last Autumn, when he besieged *Utica*. A detached Body took Possession of the same rising Ground, on which he had begun his Attack, and fortified itself there. So that the Enemy, and the *Roman* Troops themselves, took it for granted, that the next Spring they and the Fleet must again repair towards *Utica*. They were Strangers to the Design of the General, whose Thoughts were wholly bent on taking very different Measures. Then *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* proposed to prevent *Scipio*, bring him to a general Action, and thereby so weaken his Army, as to render it unable to besiege *Utica*. In each of the *African* Camps there were more Men, than all the Forces of *Scipio* and *Masinissa*. But the Ability of the General supplied the want of a Multitude of Soldiers. Nevertheless, *Scipio* perceived that his Officers themselves suspected that they should not be able to take *Utica*, and were terrified at the Numbers of the Enemy; and therefore he assembled them together, and addressed himself to them thus.

Appian. in Hannib.

I have raised Expectations in you which I shall not answer. You think I have determined on nothing but a Siege; whereas, I am determined not to confine your Valour to languish round Ramparts, where you will continually be exposed to the Attacks of our numberless Enemies. I have long since formed a Design more worthy of your Courage. The Success of it depends on its being executed with Secrecy and Expedition. The Africans are preparing to give us Battel. Let us prevent them, and this very Night convince them that Numbers must give way to Valour! A sudden Attack will throw Men who do not expect it into Confusion. Your Boldness will disconcert all their Measures; and as we shall attack only one of the two African Camps, our united Forces will be superior to their divided ones; and perhaps, after we have gained an Advantage over one Camp, we may make our Victory complete. Who knows, whether we may not have an Opportunity of proceeding from Syphax's Camp to that of Asdrubal? The Gods and your Bravery promise me a complete Victory. This is the Scheme I have laid. Let every Man this Moment prepare for a March. The Darkness and Silence of the Night will conceal our Designs. We shall surprise the Enemy in their Sleep. We shall find Syphax softly reposed in his Tent, like an effeminate Prince, and shall have forced his Camp before he awakes.

Polyb. B. 14. c. 2.

SCIPIO said no more, and his Proposal was approved. It was then Noon. They, who had been sent the preceding Days to view the Camps of the two *African* Generals, were brought before the Council of War, and heard. *Scipio* made them repeat the Accounts they had given him of the Form and Situation of the Enemy's Entrenchments, the Roads that led to them, and the Places where they were most accessible; and *Masinissa* was left to judge of the Truth of their Reports. He was better acquainted with the Country, and military Customs of the *Numidians*, than any *Roman* Officer. When all things were got ready for their Departure, *Scipio* ordered Victims to be sacrificed to *Boldness* and *Fear*;

33 Thus the *Romans*, in Imitation of the *Greeks*, deified the Passions, and even Vices; paid a religious Worship to them; and made these imaginary Divinities subservient to their Interests, and political Designs. We have observed, in the first Volume of this History, That the third King of *Rome*, *Tullus Hostilius*, was the first among the *Romans*, who erected Altars to *Fear*. But the *Ephori* of *Lacedæmon*, had long before this time built a little Temple to her, near their Tribunal; thereby pointing out the formidable Power with which they were invested, and the Terror which the Equity of their Decrees ought to give wicked Men. The same Worship was also introduced at *Corinth*.

two Divinities, which he thought it necessary to implore, to keep his Men from being seized with Pannicks in a nocturnal Engagement. Then he ordered the *Tribunes* and *Centurions* to give the Soldiers a Repast, and send them to rest till the end of the first *Watch*; and he resolved to leave only a small Number of Men in his Camp to guard it. The Troops were commanded to march out of their Entrenchments in good Order, as soon as they heard all the Trumpets sound; and they did not forget to carry such combustible Matter with them, as was proper to set Fire to the Enemy's Camp.

Year of
R O M E
DL.
Cn. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO, C.
SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

WHILST all things were putting in order, the General divided his Troops, and gave the Command of one part to *Masinissa*, and of another to *Lælius*, with Orders to invest the Camp of *Syphax*, on different sides. Then he took them both apart, and privately told them, that his Design was, That they should set fire to the *Numidian* Barracks, observing as much Order as a nocturnal Expedition would admit of. To which he added, That he himself would silently watch the Motions of the Troops in *Asdrubal's* Camp, but would not endeavour to break into it, till he saw the *Romans* reach the Centre of the *Numidian* Entrenchments.

§. X. *SCIPIO*, big with his Design, began his March between eight and nine in the Evening. The Enemy was posted about sixty ³⁴ *Stadia* from his Camp. His March was slow; but nevertheless, his Troops arrived, through different Roads, within reach of the Enemy, about Midnight. *Lælius* and *Masinissa* began the Exploit, about the same instant. They dispersed the advanced Guard; filled the Ditch with Fascines, pulled up the Pallisades, and the boldest of their Men entered the Camp, and set fire to the first Barracks. The Flame instantly spread from Hut to Hut; and their Roofs of Reeds and Stubble were soon set on fire. The Wood, Hurdles, and Mats of which they were made, were all very combustible Materials. The Fire spread from the Extremities of the Camp to the Centre; and as the *Romans* had not been seen, the *Numidians* fancied that it was accidental. They leapt out of their Beds, and ran half dressed, and without their Arms, to put it out; and then *Masinissa's* Detachment made a terrible Slaughter of them. The *Numidian* King understood the manner in which his Countrymen used to encamp; had posted little Parties at the Places to which he foresaw the *Africans* would run to avoid the Flame, and escape by flight; and put these unfortunate Men to the Sword. Those who escaped the Massacre in the Camp, were no sooner got into the Plain, but they were killed by *Lælius's* Men; and the Desolation in the Camp of *Syphax* was universal. Some were burnt alive in their Beds; others were suffocated with the Smoke; and others ran to the Gates, and were stifled in the Croud. In short, the Fright increased the Confusion, and many, by endeavouring to avoid Death, ran into the Jaws of it.

App. in Punie.
Polyb. B. 14.
c. 4.
Liv. B. 30.
c. 5.

IN the mean time the Fire spread, and the Flame rose above the Top of the Ramparts. It was seen in *Asdrubal's* Camp, and Cries were heard there, but it could not be discerned whether they were the Cries of dying Men, or of Men in a Hurry to put out an accidental Fire. *Asdrubal's* Army did not suspect that the Enemy was so near; and the desire of assisting the Unfortunate, excited some to move without Precaution; whilst Curiosity drew others to that side of the Ramparts where the Fire was seen. But all who ventured out of the Gates of *Asdrubal's* Camp become so many Victims, which the *Romans*, by favour of the Darkness, sacrificed, without Difficulty. Either out of Hatred to the *Carthaginian* Name, or for fear that *Scipio's* Arrival there should be reported among the Enemy, no Quarter was given. Then the *Pro-Consul* seized all the several Avenues to this Camp likewise, placed Parties of Troops in them, and then brought his Firemen into it, who likewise set fire to the first Tents and *Carthaginian* Barracks they met with there. The Flame consumed every thing, and killed all within the Ramparts, whilst the Swords of the *Romans* mowed down all without. Men, Beasts of Burden, and Elephants, all perished by the Flames, or the Sword. In a Word, both Camps, in each of which there were more Men than in the whole *Roman* Army, were but one vast Funeral-pile. The Plain was covered with

³⁴ *Polybius* is the Author who places *Scipio's* Camp at about sixty *Stadia*, that is, seven thousand five hundred geometrical Paces, (which make near two French Leagues and a half) from that of *Syphax*. But *Livy* reckons the Distance to be only seven thousand geometrical Paces.

Year of *R O M E* dead Bodies, and the Insides of the Camps, were nothing but Heaps of Ashes and calcined Bones. Scarce two thousand Foot and five hundred Horse of all this vast Number rallied; and they escaped with the two Commanders, *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. And even most of these Fugitives ³⁵ had either been hurt by the Flame, or wounded by the Enemy. There were at least forty thousand Men killed on the Spot, and eight Elephants; and five thousand of the Enemy were made Prisoners. Among the latter were many Persons of Distinction, and particularly eleven *Carthaginian* Senators. The *Romans* also took a hundred and sixty four Standards, two thousand seven hundred *Numidian* Horses, and six Elephants. But *Scipio* scarce lost a hundred Men in this decisive Action. At break of Day, he gathered together all the Spoils taken from the Enemy, and out of Gratitude, ³⁶ sacrificed them to *Vulcan*.

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CN. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO,
C. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

As for *Carthage*, she was soon informed, that another *Hannibal* was come into *Africa*; and that a Defeat, at least as fatal as that of *Cannæ*, would bring him near her Gates. The Name of the *Pro-Consul* became formidable on all the Coast; and indeed, none of his Exploits ever gained him greater Renown. This was the Work of a most consummate Prudence, as well as a most unparallel'd Boldness. *Scipio* had taken hold of the most critical Moment, and turned it to his Advantage. If he had tarried till the next Day, he had been forced, either to fight a dubious Battel, with an Army stronger than his own; or to decline a Challenge; which would not have been for his Honour. And lastly, his Victory was not accidental, which often happens to be the Case in general Actions. He entirely owed it to his own Reflections, Secrecy, Precautions, and Conduct. By this decisive Blow, all the Forces of *Carthage* were destroyed. She had no Refuge left, but to *Hannibal*, or *Mago*; and *Scipio* put himself into a Condition to expect them, without Fear. He continued to subdue the Enemies, which were yet before him; and looked on his Advantages over *Asdrubal*, only as Preludes to the entire Ruin of *Hannibal*.

Livy, B. 30.
c. 7.
App. in Punic.

Polysb. B. 14.
c. 6.

§. XI. AFTER this nocturnal Defeat, the *Carthaginian* General had retired to a City named ³⁷ *Anda*. The Wound he had received, hindered him from going farther up into the Country. *Scipio* followed him, as soon as he had distributed Rewards among the brave Men of his Army, and exhorted his *Tribunes* to finish the Work by Day, which they had begun by Night: He then advanced towards *Anda*. *Asdrubal* was informed of it, and at first resolved to stand a Siege. But perceiving that the Townsmen wavered between the Conquerors and the Vanquished, he left the Town in haste, with his weak Guard, for fear of being delivered up into the Hands of his old Rival; and he assembled the Remains of the Rout, in a safer Place, particularly some Mercenaries, and a few *Numidians*. As for the *Andeans* they opened their Gates to the *Romans*, as soon as *Asdrubal* was gone; and by this prudent Surrendry, saved both their Lives and Estates. But that was not the Case of two neighbouring Cities. The *Pro-Consul* gave them up to be plundered by his *Romans*; doubtless, by way of making his Troops Amends for the Sacrifice he had made to *Vulcan*, of all the Spoils in the Enemy's two Camps.

§. XII. WHEN *Carthage* saw *Asdrubal* return with the miserable Remains of his routed Troops, her Consternation was inexpressibly great. She had depended on shortly sending her Forces and Fleet to invest the *Romans*, both by Sea and Land, in the Camp, where they had spent the Winter. But now these Hopes were vanished, through the Fault of two imprudent Generals. The Fleet she had in her Ports was indeed formidable, and ready to sail. But it became in a manner useless by the Defeat of her Land-Forces. So that this Calamity gave an Alarm in all the Quarters of the Capital. Then the Senate was assembled by the *Suffetes*, who were in the *Carthaginian* Republick, what the *Consuls* were at *Rome*; and the Senators were divided in Opinion. Some were for sending for *Hannibal* from

³⁵ According to *Appian*, *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* did not lose quite thirty thousand Men; and he reckons the Prisoners to have been but two thousand four hundred. To which he adds, That after this terrible Slaughter, six hundred *Numidians* deserted from *Syphax*, and went over to the *Roman* General.

³⁶ Nevertheless, *Appian* says, that the *Pro-Con-*

sul saved the most valuable Spoils, and distributed part of them among his Soldiers, and sent part of them to *Rome*. But whether he is to be credited in this Particular, the Reader is Judge.

³⁷ *Appian* is the only Author who mentions the City of *Anda*. Neither *Polybius* nor *Livy* call it by its Name; and it is now impossible to shew its exact Situation.

Italy, without Delay. He was the only Hope of the Vanquished; the only Commander they had to send against *Scipio*. Others were for immediately proposing a Truce to the *Roman* General, under Pretence of entering into a formal Treaty of Peace. And lastly, some contended, that the only Step they had to take, was to continue the War; and they desired, that a Messenger might be sent to *Syphax*, to entreat him not to be discouraged, and desert the Party he had embraced. The *Numidian* King, after the burning of his Camp, had fled for ³⁸ Refuge to a Place called ³⁹ *Abba*, pretty near *Carthage*; and was there assembling the Remains of his *Numidians*, who had escaped the Fire and Sword.

Year of
R O M E
DL.
CN. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO, C.
SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

INDEED, for *Carthage* to resolve to maintain the War, notwithstanding this last Blow, was an Act worthy of *Roman* Constancy: And though so brave a Proceeding did but ill suit with the Inconstancy of the *Carthaginians*, yet this Opinion prevailed. The *Barcan* Faction had yet the Ascendant in the Senate; and their Attachment to *Hannibal* made them reject any Expedient, which tended to recalling him out of *Italy*. A Resolution was therefore taken to continue the War, but to commit the Conduct of it to a more fortunate General than *Asdrubal*. He was ⁴⁰ deposed, and condemned to die. His Crime was his ill Conduct of the Army, and his having reduced the Republick to extreme Danger by his Imprudence. But nevertheless, *Asdrubal* found Means to evade the Execution of the Decree, and still to continue General, though without a Commission, or the Consent of the Senate. Indeed *Hanno*, the Son of ⁴¹ *Bomilcar* was nominated General in his Place; but the Troops were for *Asdrubal*. He assembled them ⁴² together from several Places, disciplined them, and found means to subsist without the Provisions his Republick refused to give him, by encamping in fertile Plains, where he found Subsistence. His Army consisted of about three thousand Horse, and eight thousand Foot; too small a Number to conquer the *Romans*, but large enough, still to keep the Field, and make some Show in it. It is probable, that his Rank, and the Court *Carthage* was obliged to make to *Syphax* his Son-in-Law, were what supported him in his Disobedience. Besides, it tended only to the Advantage of his Republick.

§. XIII. As for the vanquished *Numidian* King, he seemed yet uncertain what part to act. To have retired into his own Dominions, continued quiet there, and merited, by a perfect Neutrality, the Pardon of the *Romans*, and an Oblivion of all he had done for *Carthage*, was the wisest Advice he could have taken. But some Ambassadors from *Carthage*, and *Sophonisba*, obliged him to take the last Step towards his utter Ruin. Indeed, the Charms of the Queen had not the same Power over his Heart as formerly. *Syphax* was no longer a Slave to Love; but he was weak enough to suffer his Wife to govern him. The Ascendant the Superiority of her Understanding gave her, over an Husband, who had not conceived any Dislike to her, had the same Effect on *Syphax*, as a rising Passion. *Sophonisba* joined her Tears with the Remonstrances of the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors, to draw

Livy, B. 30.
c. 7.

³⁸ *Livy* says, that *Syphax*, after the Loss of his Camp and Army, retired to an advantageous Post, eight Miles beyond his former Post; and there gathered together the few Soldiers, the Fire and the Sword of the Conquerors had spared. And as far as we can judge by *Livy*, this Place was not *Abba*, to which *Polybius* says *Syphax* first retreated. According to the *Latin* Historian, Messengers came from *Carthage* to the *Numidian* King, to inform him, that a Body of four thousand *Celtiberians* were arrived near *Abba*, to assist the *Carthaginian* Republick. And if then *Livy* had supposed, that *Syphax* had retreated to this very Place, there could have been no Necessity for Messengers to have come to him from *Carthage*, to have told him News, which he must have known before.

³⁹ This City, which *Polybius* calls *Abba*, is called *Obba*, by *Livy*; and in most MSS. *Olba*. Some Conjecture, that it was the same City which *Protony* calls *Thabba*. All we know of it is, that it was in *Africa Propria*, a little Way from the Sea.

⁴⁰ Neither *Polybius* nor *Livy* say a Word of the Deposition of *Asdrubal*, or the Sentence of Death

pronounced against him. On the contrary, they both agree, that the *African* Republick confirmed him in his Command. The *Greek* Historian says also, in express Terms, that *Asdrubal* was ordered to make new Levies, to oppose the *Romans*. And lastly, they both say, that after he had joined his Arms to those of *Syphax*, he continued to fight for, and in the Name of, *Carthage*. Accordingly, we shall soon see him appear again, and act one of the principal Parts in the following Events. Nevertheless, we have thought *Appian's* Account preferable; because the Order, and Nature of the Facts, suit best with it.

⁴¹ *Appian* is the Author who here brings this *Hanno*, the Son of *Bomilcar*, upon the Stage. Neither *Polybius* nor *Livy* mention him. The former probably had Memoirs, which he thought surer, and more circumstantial, than those of the two last mentioned Historians.

⁴² *Appian* also tells us, that he enlarged his Company, with the Malefactors and *Banditti* which he found in all the Places where he came. These Rascals followed his Standards, in hopes of Booty.

Year of the Numidian King into new Dangers. *What, my Lord, said she, will you abandon my Country, and my Father, in the midst of their Misfortunes? The Gods have preserved you from a terrible Fire, the Remembrance of which fills our Minds with Horror. How then can you see Carthage delivered up to the Flames? It is the Sanctuary of all the Gods of Africa; It is the capital City of a great Empire; and it is my native Country. And what will become of my Father, without you? He is by a precipitate Sentence condemned to die: And though his Valour yet supports him, and he, even in Disobedience, is serving his ungrateful Country; yet he cannot alone support himself long. It is you must enable him to conquer, and thereby to save his Life.* This affecting Discourse, accompanied with Tears and Caresses, was also backed by an unexpected Circumstance.

DL.
CN. SERVILI-
US CAPIO,
C. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

SYPHAX was informed, that a Body of *Celtiberians*, raised in *Spain* for the Service of the *Carthaginians*, appeared near *Abba*. They were at least four thousand Men; and their Bravery, as well as the make of their Arms, was much extolled. It was even pretended, that they were invincible. In order to raise the Spirits of the *Carthaginians*, the Number of these new Levies was magnified, and it was reported, that they amounted to ten thousand Men. And upon the Assurances which were given King *Syphax* of it, he immediately determined what to do. He laid aside the Thoughts of returning Home, resolved to continue the War, oppose *Scipio*, and assemble a good Body of his *Numidian* Forces. *The Blow I received in my Camp, by Night, and through treacherous Means, shall not, said he, discourage me. True Victories are not gained by Fire, but by the Sword. One single pitched Battel shall determine the Fate of Carthage, and of Syphax.* The Ambassadors and *Sophonisba* were much pleased with this Declaration; *Asdrubal* had Notice of it, and drew near to *Abba*, with his little Army; and there the two Generals joined, and resolved to take the Field.

Pol. B. 14.
c. 7.
Liv. B. 30.
c. 8.

§. XIV. *WHILST* Carthage was recruiting her Forces, *Scipio* was busy in the Siege he had formerly begun. His Army and Fleet were already before *Utica*, jointly endeavouring to beat down, or scale, the Walls: And he there received the News, that *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were again joined. These two Generals were encamped in a flat open Country, which, from the Nature of the Ground, was called *The Great Plain*. Their Army consisted of about thirty thousand Men, all encamped in the same Camp. But neither this Number, nor the Reputation of the *Celtiberians*, terrified the brave *Scipio*. Nevertheless, he was indeed surprised, that any *Spaniards*, whom he thought all subject to the *Roman* Dominion, should hire themselves into the Service of the *Carthaginians*. He turned the Siege he had begun into a Blockade; left off playing his Machines; and his Gallies returned to their first Port. He left only a Detachment of his Troops before the Place, and hastened to give the Enemy, he had already vanquished and dispersed, the last Blow.

UTICA was but five Days march from the Camp of *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*; and as the *Roman* took no Baggage with him, he soon came to an Eminence, which bounded *The Great Plain*, and was about thirty *Stadia* from the Enemy's Camp. There he posted himself for that Night, and very early the next Day descended from the Hill he had seized, and presented his Army in order of Battel. The *Roman* Cavalry were ordered to advance about seven *Stadia* towards the Enemy, to harass them, insult their advanced Guards, and to skirmish: And two Days were spent in slight Skirmishes, without any Advantage on either side.

⁴³ *Appian* here supposes, that the Sentence of Death pronounced against *Asdrubal*, did not at all diminish his Zeal for the Interests of his Country, or his Hatred to the *Romans*. And if the Fact be, as we have related it after him, this General's greatness of Soul, can never be too much extolled, in that he sacrificed his Revenge and Resentments to the Glory of saving his Country. When proscribed, and disgraced by his Countrymen, he forgot the Injuries he had received, and ran to their Defence. This was an Instance of old *Heroism*, which should not have escaped the Observation of *Polybius* and *Livy*. Is not then their Silence some Proof against *Appian*, who relates this? But be that

as it will, it is natural enough to believe, that the *African* Republick, received *Asdrubal* again into favour, out of regard to *Syphax's* Mediation. And upon this Supposition, we may very well say, that *Carthage* gave him again the Command of her Troops. But these are mere Conjectures.

⁴⁴ Thirty *Stadia* make three thousand seven hundred and fifty geometrical Paces, or five Fourths of a *French League*. *Livy* instead of thirty *Stadia*, reckons about four Miles.

⁴⁵ Seven *Stadia* make seven hundred and seventy five Paces, or a little above one Quarter of a *French League*.

BUT these first Essays were soon followed by a general Battel, in which all the Troops on both sides engaged. *Scipio* formed his Army, as was usual with the Romans at that time. The *Hastati* fought in the first Line, the *Principes* in the second, and the *Triarii* in the third. The Cavalry were posted in the two Wings to flank the Infantry. *Masinissa* commanded the *Numidian* Cavalry, *Lælius* the *Italian* Cavalry, and *Scipio* in the Center. The Enemy's Generals drew up their Men in good Order; the *Numidians* in their left Wing, the *Carthaginians* in the right, and the *Celtiberians* in the Center, to oppose the *Roman* Legions. When all was ready, the Onset was made; and the *Italian* Cavalry overpowered the *Numidian* immediately; as *Masinissa*'s did that of *Carthage*. It was not common for the *Numidians* to gain the Advantage of the *Carthaginians*, who had been long accustomed to fight with the *Romans*; but their last Defeat had discouraged them. The two Wings of *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* were soon routed; yet still the *Celtiberians* kept their Ground in the Center. They had no Hopes but in Victory. Whither could they fly, if they were broken; or where could they find an *Asylum*, in a strange Country? Besides, what Quarter could they expect from a *Roman* General, who would treat them as Rebels, if they were to throw down their Arms? Having been formerly Subjects of *Rome*, and vanquished, and settled in Peace by *Scipio*, they despaired of Mercy. Their natural Valour was increased by the Presence of an Enemy, whom they had insulted and betrayed. They therefore resolved to be cut in pieces, rather than fly or submit; and they sold their Lives very dear. These brave Men were now no longer flanked by the Troops of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*; so that the *Principes* and *Triarii* surrounded them, without Opposition, whilst the *Hastati* attacked them in Front. Then there was so great a Slaughter made of these *Spanish* Mercenaries, that but very few of them escaped. Nevertheless, it may be affirmed, that their Resistance saved the *Carthaginians*, and *Numidians*, much Blood. Whilst the *Romans* were subduing the former, the latter had time to escape. *Syphax* returned into his own Country, with the best part of his Cavalry. As for *Asdrubal*, he saved most of his Troops, but did not return to ⁴⁶ *Carthage*. Being under Condemnation, as well as van-

Year of
R O M E
DL.
CN. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO, C.
SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

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§. XV. HOWEVER, *Scipio* did not make this second Victory in *Africa* a pretence for Repose and Inaction. He continued the Operations of the Campaign without Interruption. Indeed, if we judge only by Appearances, it seems to have been his only Business to have marched directly to *Carthage*, and preferred the Conquest of the Capital to any other Enterprize. He appears to have been guilty of the same Fault with which *Hannibal* is so often reproached, in having missed the taking of *Rome* by his Dilatoriness, after the Battel of *Cannæ*. But whatever were the Cause of the *Carthaginian* General, we dare not pronounce to the Disadvantage of *Scipio*. At this Distance of time from the Fact, we cannot discover the Reasons which determined him not to lay Siege to *Carthage*; and since he is not reproved in Story with the same Negligence as *Hannibal*, it is to be presumed, that this Siege was then judged impracticable. The *Roman* General called a Council of War, to consider what Expeditions were most proper to be undertaken, in order to complete his Victory; and the Council resolved on two things. The first was, That *Lælius* and *Masinissa*, should pursue the fugitive *Syphax*, and not give him time to breathe, or recruit his Forces; which was of the greatest Importance. The second, That before the Siege of *Carthage* was attempted, it was necessary to conquer the neighbouring Cities, thereby to deprive the Capital of any Assistance from them, and reduce her to her own Strength alone. And this Scheme was put in Execution. *Scipio* undertook to surprize and force the Places which surrounded *Carthage*; and *Tunis* ⁴⁷ was one of the Cities the *Roman* hastened

⁴⁶ *Polybius* on the contrary says expressly, that *Asdrubal*, after his Defeat, fled with the Remains of his Army, to *Carthage* for Refuge. And if *Livy* does not expressly say it, he implies as much, in the Account he gives of the Consequences of the

Rout of the *Carthaginian* General. We have preferred what to us seems most probable.

⁴⁷ Some Authors place *Tunis*, nine Miles from *Carthage*, as we have observed above, *Vol. 2. Livy* makes the Distance fifteen Miles. This City is yet in

Year of *R O M E* ened to attack. It was advantageously situated, and its Walls strong. It stood on an Eminence, at only a hundred and twenty *Stadia* ⁴⁸ distance from *Carthage*; and as *Tunis* was in sight of *Carthage*, so *Carthage* could likewise be seen from the highest Parts of *Tunis*. But it was now defenceless: The Garrison had deserted it, upon the Approach of the *Roman* Arms. So that it was easy to seize it; and both the Sea and the Port of *Carthage* being visible from hence, the *Romans* could here observe, how the Workmen, Soldiers, and Seamen proceeded, in equipping the *Carthaginian* Fleet.

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CN. SERVILI-
US CAPIO, C.
SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

§. XVI. INDEED, the Alarm was universal in *Carthage*. The Inhabitants fully expected they should be immediately besieged; and therefore made Preparations for a long Defence. The Senate was assembled every Day. Few of the Senators inclined to Peace; but the Majority were for recalling *Hannibal* from *Italy*, as soon as possible. *What other General, or what other Army, said they, have we? This great Man, in Conjunction with Mago his Brother, will be sufficient to defend his unfortunate Country.* The Senate therefore decreed, that Messengers should be sent to both these Generals, with positive Orders, to leave *Italy*, and immediately return to *Africa*; and these Messengers set sail, some for *Liguria*, others for *Bruttium*.

THE *Carthaginian* Senate likewise formed a bold Design against the *Roman* Army; which would have succeeded, had it not been for the Foresight and Activity of the vigilant *Pro-Consul*. They ordered the Fleet to sail without delay, and invest and burn the *Roman* Fleet, which lay under Shelter of the Promontory, where *Scipio* had encamped during the Winter. All Things were got ready for the execution of this Design; and no *Carthaginian* refused to labour for the public Good. All, without Distinction, worked in fitting out the Ships in the Port of *Carthage*. He would have been deemed a bad *Citizen*, and a Traitor to his Country, who would not bestow some Labour at least in dispatching this Sea-Armament. So that the Fleet soon weighed Anchor, put out to Sea, and failed to surprise the *Roman* Ships in their Port. But *Scipio* had the good Fortune to be in a very proper Place, to watch the Motions of the naval Armament of the Enemy, which consisted of a hundred Gallies. From the Eminencies of *Tunis*, he saw it advance in good Order, and steer its Course towards the Promontory at a little Distance from *Utica*. Upon this, he instantly leaves his Post near *Tunis*, and flies to the Relief of his Ships. The Enemy was going to destroy them, by an unexpected Attack, with a superior Number of Vessels. *Scipio* therefore marched all his Army that Way, with the utmost Expedition; and he arrived at his former Camp, by Land, before the *Carthaginian* Gallies ⁴⁹ got thither by Sea.

App. in Puric.
Livy, B. 30.
c. 10.
Zonaras, B. 9.
c. 12.

THE *Roman* Fleet did not then consist of more than twenty ⁵⁰ Ships of War,

in being, and stands on the Point of *The Gulph of Gouletta*, near the Pond of *Barbasueco*. It gives its Name to the Kingdom of *Tunis*, of which it is the Capital. Some Authors by mistake, confound it with another City, which *Ptolomy* calls *Thinissa*, and which stands on *The Numidian Gulph*, thirty Leagues from *Tunis*. Nor is their Mistake less, who make *Tunis* and *Carthage* the same City.

⁴⁸ These hundred and twenty *Stadia* which *Polybius* makes to be the Distance between *Tunis* and *Carthage*, make just fifteen thousand geometrical Paces, which is the Distance mentioned by *Livy*.

⁴⁹ The *Roman* Army was gone from *Tunis*, and had prevented the Arrival of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, commanded by *Hamilcar*. Nevertheless, *Livy* says, that the *African* Admiral was but one Day in sailing from *Carthage* to the Coasts of *Utica*. The Port where *Scipio's* Gallies rode at Anchor, lay off that City. But it is not to be conceived, that *Scipio's* Troops could march by Land, above, or near seventeen Leagues, in so little a time. *Marmol* reckons this to be the Distance from *Tunis* to *Utica*. And we have elsewhere observed, that *Carthage*, which stood between these two Cities, was fifteen Miles East of the one, and fifty two Miles West of the other. So that, if the *Pro-*

Consul kept along the Coast, he marched his Army above sixty seven Miles, or twenty two *French Leagues* in one Day. And if we reckon with some Geographers, but ten Leagues from *Tunis* to *Utica*, and suppose that the *Roman* Army took the shortest Way; yet still it is incredible, that it could come to the *Rendezvous*, in less than a Day's time. It is more probable, that *Scipio* left the Bulk of his Army behind him, and hastened away with his Cavalry, to put his Gallies in a Condition to resist the Attacks of *Hamilcar*. Or at least, we must say with *Appian*, that the *Pro-Consul* sent away Couriers, with such Orders from him, as were necessary for the Preservation of the Fleet. Besides, what Occasion was there for *Scipio*, to bring all his Army to a Port, where he had doubtless left a Body of reserved Troops, as both the *Greek* Historian we quote implies, and *Livy*, B. 30?

⁵⁰ *Scipio's* Fleet consisted of, at least fifty Gallies, when his Troops landed in *Africa*. Nevertheless, this Historian here reckons but twenty. Only indeed he tells us at the same time, that the *Mediterranean* was infested with some *Carthaginian* and *Utican* Pirates, who disturbed the Course of Trade. Probably, *Scipio* had sent some of his lightest Ships to chase the Pirates.

at the most; but there were in their Port, a great Number of *Flutes*, *Brigantines*, *Barks*, and *Transports*, of different Sorts. The largest Gallies were encumbered with *Ballistæ*, *Catapultæ*, *Rams*, wooden *Towers*, and other Machines of War, prepared for the Siege of *Utica*: And this Lading made them unfit to be brought into the Line, to oppose the hundred Gallies, which the *Carthaginian* Admiral was bringing against them. Any other General but *Scipio*, would therefore have despaired of defending his Fleet, and given it up to the Mercy of the most powerful. But the *Pro-Consul* gave a signal Instance of his Address on this Occasion. He did not follow the Method usually taken in Sea-fights, and draw up his Ships of War in a Line, to stand the first Attack of the Enemy's Gallies. On the contrary, he screened them as much as he could against the first Efforts of the Enemy, by drawing them back towards the Shore; yet so, as to leave them afloat. His chief Care was to cover them, with the Multitude of *Flutes*, *Barks*, and other little Ships, which he had gathered together. Of these he made three strong *Scaccadoes*, or Fences, before his twenty Gallies, by mooring them together, and leaving only small Distances between them, for the Passage of some Frigates, or Sloops, to be sent out to discover the Enemy, as there should be Occasion. Upon these *Scaccadoes*, made of small Vessels fastened together with Cables, he built Bridges of Planks, on which he posted about a thousand Men. These Troops he armed with Javelins, which he ordered them to throw at the Enemy, when they drew near to break the *Scaccadoes*. On the other hand, the largest Gallies, which were loaded with the *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ*, were to throw Darts, and very great Stones from the Tops of their wooden *Towers*.

Year of
R O M E
DL.
Cn. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO, C.
SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

ALL Things were thus disposed, when the *Carthaginian* Fleet appeared off the Port which *Hamilcar* had resolved to attack. The *Africans* had given this Road the Name of ⁵¹ *Ruscinon*. It must be granted, that if the *Carthaginian* General had made the best use of his Sails and Oars, to come to the Place with all possible Expedition, he would infallibly have surprised the *Romans*, and made himself Master of their Fleet. But the Discouragement of the *Carthaginian* Republick had caused *Hamilcar* to be dilatory. He had been a whole Day in his Passage, and did not arrive within sight of *The Port of Ruscinon*, till Sun-set. So that *Scipio* had the whole Night before him to make his Dispositions. The next Morning, as soon as it was Light, the *Carthaginian* Admiral drew up his Ships in Line of Battel; and waited for the *Pro-Consul* to sail out of the Port with his, taking it for granted, that he would infallibly put out to Sea, to give him Battel. But his Expectations were frustrated. No *Roman* Ships appeared to fight him. He long waited for them; but in vain. He therefore resolved to draw near the Shore, and force his Way through the *Scaccadoes*: But the Action which ensued, was not at all like a Sea-fight, though fought on Ship-board. The Attack looked like the Assault of a Fleet on a well fortified City. The Transport-Ships, which made the first *Scaccadoe* before the Mouth of the Port, had higher Decks, than the *Carthaginian* Gallies. So that the *Legionaries* on the Plank-Bridges threw their Javelins downwards at the Enemy, and therefore did the more Execution. Whereas, the Darts of the *Carthaginians* on the other hand, came against the Enemy with the less Force, because thrown upwards, and the Motion of the Gallies, hindered those who threw them from taking good Aim. Besides, *Scipio* took care to send out from time to time some of his Frigates well-armed, and they passing through the Spaces left between the three *Scaccadoes* for that Purpose, came and attacked the Assaultants in Flank, and thereby abated their Ardour. Indeed, the Number and Weight of the *Carthaginian* Gallies was such, that they would soon have sunk them, if they had not escaped; but they, as soon as they were hard pressed, returned into Port. Nay, it happened, that a *Roman* Frigate took a *Carthaginian*

⁵¹ The ancient Geographers say not one Word of the Name or Situation of the *African* Port, called *Ruscinon*. All we know of it is, that it was near *Utica*, between that City and *Carthage*. Some Moderns place it where *Marsa* now stands. This Name in *Arabick* signifies a Port. It is indeed surprising, that *Ortelius*, and some modern Geographers after him, should confound the Port of *Rus-*

cinon, which *Livy* mentions, with another City which *Ptolemy* calls *Rustonum*. The latter was in *Mauritania Cæsariensis*. It is yet in being, and is called *Metabus*, according to *Marmol*, and belongs to the Kingdom of *Algiers*. This City was therefore very far from old *Utica*, and consequently from the neighbouring Port, to which *Scipio's* Fleet retreated.

Year of Galley, fastened her to her Poop, and towed her into Port. Thus the first Day of the Battel proved more fatal to the *Carthaginians* than the *Romans*. The latter continually repulsed their Enemies, and preserved their Fleet.

DL.
CN. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO,
C. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

BUT *Hamilcar* took better Measures for the next Day's Engagement. He armed his Soldiers with long Poles, and Iron Hooks, and *Grapplings* fastened to Chains, in order thereby to disunite the *Roman* Vessels, which formed the first *Scaccadoe*. And indeed, the *Carthaginians* grappled some of the Enemy's Boats, and then, by Strength of Arm, and the help of their Oars, loosened them, and drew them to them. So that the Chain of the Ships of the first Line was broken. All that the *Romans*, who with Constancy defended it, could do, was to retreat with Precipitation to the *Sloops* of the second *Scaccadoe*. There were yet two to be forced. But the *Carthaginians* had not Constancy enough to make their Victory complete. *Hamilcar*, discouraged at the courageous Resistance of the *Romans*, was content with having taken about six of the Enemy's Transports, and returned to *Carthage*. This slight Advantage was matter of Triumph to him. It was the first the *Carthaginians* had gained over *Scipio*, since his Descent on the Coasts of *Africa*: And the Admiral, swelled with this pretended Victory, gloried more in it, than it really deserved. He thereby a little calmed the Fears and Alarms of the *Carthaginians*. This first Success gave them Hopes, that the formidable *Pro-Consul* would not appear to be invincible to the generous *Hannibal*, when he returned to *Carthage*. And it must be owned, that this Blow, as slight as it was, obliged the *Romans*, and their General, to continue in the Camp, there to guard their Fleet, which was abundantly weaker than that of the Enemy.

Appian. in
Panic.
Livy, B. 30.
c. 11.
Zon. B. 9. c. 13.

§. XVII. AND whilst the *Roman* Army was here waiting with Impatience for a Reinforcement of Ships, *Lælius* and *Masinissa*, under the *Auspices* of the *Pro-Consul*, were gone together to pursue *Syphax*. In fifteen Days march, they arrived in the Heart of *Numidia*; and *Masinissa* was soon put in Possession of the Throne of his Ancestors. The Joy with which he was received by his Subjects, is not to be expressed. The *Massylians* had for some time been enslaved to a Foreigner; and they now joined their lawful Sovereign with Pleasure, and went with him, to carry the War into the Dominions of *Syphax*, their Oppressor. *Masinissa's* Army now became numerous; but its main Strength was in the third part of the *Roman Legions*, which *Lælius* commanded.

IN the mean time, the King of *Masesyia* had raised a prodigious Number of Troops in his *Provinces*. The *Masesylians* had multiplied exceedingly during the Peace, by means of the Prosperity they so long enjoyed under *Syphax*; who had furnished his Subjects with Horses, and Arms, and had taken hold of this Interval of Tranquillity, to teach his Troops the military Discipline of the *Romans*. As for himself, he was still a Slave to his Wife *Sophonisba*; still preserved his first Attachment to the *Carthaginians*; and even his Misfortunes could not bring him over to the *Romans*. His Army in *Numidia* was now as numerous, as that which he had had near *Carthage*; and he therefore immediately determined to march against *Lælius*, and *Masinissa* his declared Enemy. He thought himself stronger than they, in his own Territories; and the Number of his Troops did not a little contribute to raise his Courage.

STPHAX therefore, full of Confidence, encamped on the Bank of a River, and there waited for the Enemy. Upon the Approach of *Masinissa*, the *Masesylian* Prince formed his Army, and prepared for a Battel. The *Roman Legions* were not yet in sight. They advanced more slowly than *Masinissa's* Cavalry, and the Battel was begun by the *Numidian* Squadrons of both Parties. They neither fought Sword in Hand, nor kept their Ground, but as soon as they had thrown their Darts, retired. This was the old way of Fighting in *Numidia*.

DURING this first Shock, which was only a slight Skirmish, the *Romans* came up, and then the Action was immediately changed into a very different way of fighting. It was now no longer a flying, but a pitched Battel. The Barbarians

52 There is room to conjecture, from the Accounts of *Livy* and *Appian*, that this River, where *Syphax* waited for the Troops of *Lælius* and *Masinissa*, was the *Ampfaga*, now the *Suf-Gemar*. It divides the Kingdom of *Tunis* from *Mauritania*

Casariensis, which was formerly a Port of *Numidia*. This River watered *Cirta*, the Capital of *Syphax's* Dominions; and discharged itself into *The Numidian Gulph*.

were

were surpris'd at being forced to fight this new Way. There were some of the *Roman* Cavalry and Infantry so dispos'd, as to be mutually assistant to each other by their Order; and this Disposition disconcerted all the Measures of those *Africans*. It much abated the Ardour of the *Numidian* Cavalry, and they stopped short. The whole Army of *Syphax* was ready to be put into Disorder, when this King discovered *Masinissa*, guarded by a strong Body of Cavalry. Then the *Massylian*, at the sight of his Rival, could no longer restrain the Sallies of his Passion. He fled to that side, and doubled his Efforts, to penetrate to him; but he was vigorously repulsed, forced to fly, and was with great Fury pursued to the Banks of a River. Then his Horse, which was wounded, gave a Plunge, and threw him; and *Masinissa*, instantly running to his Enemy, seized him, and made him Prisoner of War. Never did Man enjoy a more sensible Pleasure⁵³, than that which *Masinissa* now felt, on seeing his Enemy fallen alive into his Hands. He set no Value on the Victory on any Account, but his having taken *Syphax*, and one of his Sons Prisoners. Nevertheless, the Enemy had lost five thousand Men on the Spot, and the *Romans* had made about two thousand five hundred Prisoners⁵⁴ of War, with the Loss of only sixty five *Legionaries*. As for *Masinissa*, three hundred of his *Numidians* were left dead on the Field of Battel.

Year of
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DL.
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C. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.
App. in Punic.

§. XVIII. AFTER this considerable Victory, the *Massylian* King led his Prisoner to *Lælius's* Camp, as it were in Triumph. *How happy am I*, said he to him, *both to see my self seated in the Throne*⁵⁵ *which was usurped from me, and to have the unjust Usurper in my Power! Nevertheless, my Joy would not be great, if the Victory we have begun should not be completed. Cyrtha is the Capital of Syphax's Dominions; and we ought to lead our Army thither. Permit me, my Lord, to advance before you, and march directly to Cyrtha. I will go and appear before the City, with my Numidian Horse, carrying Syphax in Chains with me; and will surprise his Court. There we shall, without Difficulty, make our selves Masters of his Palace and Treasures. The bare sight of our Army will terrify and disarm the Inhabitants; and I shall then retaliate upon Syphax all the Mischiefs he has brought upon me.*

*Livy, B. 30.
c. 12.*

LÆLIUS consented to the Proposal; gave *Masinissa* Leave to go before him; and followed with short Marches. As soon as the victorious King came before *Cyrtha*, he proclaimed his Victory, and the Captivity of the unfortunate *Syphax*. Then he assembled without the Walls the Grandees, and most considerable Men of the Kingdom of *Massyria*, who seem'd constant in their Fidelity. They absolutely refused to open their Gates to any, except their King; and threatened to sustain a Siege. But when *Syphax* was produced before them in Chains, this Sight staggered them. Those who adhered most to their old Master, left the City, and retired into the Country. The least treacherous lamented his Misfortunes, though they would not share them with him. But the greatest part of the Courtiers were cowardly enough to come and cringe to their new Master, and promise him to be implicitly at his Devotion. Nay, it is said, that *Sophonisba* sent at that time, an Express to *Masinissa*, to awaken his Love; and assure him, that she had been absolutely forced to enter into Engagements with another. And if so, what Wife, so tenderly beloved by a King her Husband, was ever more ready to sacrifice him?

⁵³ According to *Appian*, the *Romans* were indebted to *Masinissa* for the taking of *Syphax*, his Enemy and Rival; but *Livy* does not allow this. He grants indeed, that the King of *Massyria* was taken alive by those who pursued him; but he does not give the Glory of the Action to *Masinissa*. On the contrary, he implies, that the latter had no part in it, when he says, that *Syphax* was brought to *Lælius's* Tent; and that *Masinissa* went thither, to have the Pleasure of seeing his old Enemy humbled, and forced to implore the Clemency of the Conqueror.

⁵⁴ *Livy* says, that the Number of the Prisoners was little less than two thousand five hundred. But *Appian* makes them four thousand; in which Number were included two thousand five hundred *Numidian*

Deserters, who had revolted from *Masinissa*, their lawful Prince, and gone over to *Syphax*. The *Numidian* King therefore demanded these Traitors; *Lælius* delivered them up to him; and they were immediately punished for their Perfidiousness. They were all executed, not one excepted, by the Orders of *Masinissa*, and before his Face. He was not shocked to see all these massacred, and sacrificed to his Revenge; but thought this terrible Severity necessary, to keep his inconstant *Numidians* steady in their Duty.

⁵⁵ According to *Livy*, *Masinissa* had before taken Possession of the Kingdom of his Ancestors. But *Appian* does not make him mount the Throne, till after the Captivity of *Syphax*, who had usurped it.

Year of
R O M E
DL.
CN. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO,
C. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

As soon as *Masinissa* had given Orders to his Troops to seize the important Posts, the Ramparts, Cross-ways, and all the Avenues to the City, he ran himself, with inexpressible Eagerness, to invest the Palace. The most valuable Treasure he sought for there was *Sophonisba*, whom he considered as the first Object of his Affections. He had been excessively fond of her, but had not been happy enough to obtain her; and he fully purposed to punish her for her Contempt. This imperious Woman was now going to become his Captive. Full of these Thoughts, he entered the Palace with all the Haughtiness of a Conqueror; but was soon disarmed. The first Object he saw was *Sophonisba*. The beautiful Queen set off with all the Charms of Dress, waited for him in the Portico, and as soon as he appeared, fell at his Feet, embraced his Knees, and with many Sighs, accosted him thus. *The Gods, your Courage, and your good Fortune, have made you Master of Sophonisba. Her Life, her Estate, and her Person are yours, and may be disposed of as your Generosity, or your Resentments shall dictate. The Fortune of War puts you in Possession of a City, and Palace, whose tutelary Genii have abandoned them. Enter this Place then, my Lord, under better Auspices, than Syphax left it. But remember that I once possessed the Throne, on which you are going to sit. Fortune has thrown me down from it, and reduced me to Slavery. Nevertheless, vouchsafe to remember that I was a Queen in the same Place, where you are going to reign; and if the Diadem I wore deserves any Regard, or if your Heart is at all affected with my Misfortunes, hear the only Petition, which your Captive shall presume to offer you. I conjure you, don't deliver up the Daughter of Asdrubal, and the Wife of Syphax, into the Power of the Romans. My Lord, I am your's only; and Slavery will be supportable to me, under the Will of Masinissa. But preserve a Carthaginian Woman from Slavery to a proud Republick, or at least deliver me by Death, from the Chains which they prepare for me. To die by your Hands is a Favour, which, I hope, you will not refuse me, out of Regard to the Majesty of the Throne, and our common Country.*

THESE Words made strong Impressions on *Masinissa's* Heart. The Charms of the young Queen, her Tears, and supplicant Condition, made him forget, that she had betrayed him. He felt his old Flame revive; and he fixed his Eyes tenderly upon her, and reached out his Hand to her. This, among the Ancients, was a Testimony that the Request was granted, and a kind of Engagement to her, that he would not suffer her to be delivered up to the Romans. But no sooner had he thus given his Word, than he began to struggle with these Reflections. *It is the Roman Republick that is the Principal in this War. I am only a Subaltern in a foreign Army. The Conquests, the Booty, and the Slaves, belong of Right to the Romans; and Masinissa cannot dispose of them without their Consent. Does it belong to me to rob Scipio of a Captive, who would grace his Triumph?* But after all, *Lælius* was not yet arrived at *Cyrtha*, and *Rome* had not taken Possession of *Syphax's* Palace. *Sophonisba* was not yet in the Power of Foreigners. And therefore that he might with the more Safety, and with some Appearance of Justice, make her his own, *Masinissa* followed the Dictates of his Love, and made her his Wife. A precipitate Marriage, was instead of an Emancipation, to the Captive Queen; and her new Husband thereby thought to bar all Pretensions of *Lælius* or *Scipio* to her. Thus *Sophonisba* lost and recovered a Crown, was robbed of one Husband, and married to another, in one Day; and in short, was in a manner thrown down from a Throne to Slavery, and raised again from Servitude to a Throne, in the same instant.

§. XIX. THE Solemnity of the Marriage and publick Rejoicings were not over, when *Lælius* arrived. And how great was his Surprise, to see *Masinissa* thus unlawfully married, and blinded with a Passion so contrary to the Interest of *Rome*. He had like to have snatched the Queen from the Nuptial-bed, and sent her to *Scipio*, with *Syphax* and the rest of the Captives. But this would have been too affecting a Blow to *Masinissa*. It would have been to pierce the Heart of this faithful Friend to the Romans; and this Consideration softened *Lælius*. He left the Judgment of *Masinissa's* Conduct to the *Pro-Consul*; and suffered the enamoured Husband to enjoy his Amours without Interruption. Only, in order to divert him from them a little, *Lælius* employed *Masinissa*, in reducing a great Number of Cities, which still held out for *Syphax*. And in the mean time the

Captive

Captive King was sent Prisoner to *Scipio's* Camp, whilst his Kingdom was a Prey to the *Romans*, and his Wife at the Disposal of his Enemy. This unfortunate Prince could not hear of the Happiness and new Successes of his Rival, without trembling with Rage; it increased his Fury, and Despair.

As soon as a Rumour was spread in the *Pro-Consul's* Army that *Syphax* was coming thither in Chains, all the Soldiers flocked round his Tent. The *Numidian* King walked at the Head of a great Number of Lords, his Subjects; Sorrow and Shame were painted on their Faces; and every Heart was moved with Compassion at so affecting a Sight. *What a deplorable Catastrophe!* said the *Roman* Soldiers. *Syphax* was some little time since one of the most glorious of all Kings. The two most powerful Republicks in the World, Carthage and Rome, courted his Alliance. *Scipio* himself left his Army in Spain, to go to Numidia to obtain his Friendship. *Asdrubal* made him his Son-in-Law, to secure his Favour. He long suspended the Progress both of the Roman and Carthaginian Arms, and held the Ballance between us and our Enemies. Almost as much Pains was taken to gain him, as to render the Gods propitious. He had Power enough to dispossess *Masinissa* of his Throne, and Valour enough to vanquish him. The *Massylian* King fled before him, and hid himself in Rocks and Caves to avoid his Pursuit. This, This was the very *Syphax*, whom we now see here in Chains! Who can depend on Fortune!

THESE Discourses both soothed the natural Compassion of the Soldiery, and tended to magnify the Glory of the *Roman* Arms. The more illustrious the Conquered, the greater the Victory. At length *Syphax*, having passed through a long Line of Soldiers, entered the Tent of the *Pro-Consul*; who had too great a Soul, to insult a vanquished and dethroned King. His Heart was touched at the sight of a powerful Prince reduced to Slavery. *Scipio* remembered the hospitable Reception this Prince had given him, the Treaty he had concluded with him, and the flourishing Condition in which he then was. And he at least softened the Rigours of his Captivity, by a favourable Reception, great Politeness and Complaisance, and by shewing him personal Respect. The Winter gave *Scipio* time to enjoy a little Rest, after the Fatigues of the Campaign; and he took Pleasure in discoursing often with the *Numidian* King. One Day their Conversation turning on the Causes of his Misfortunes; *What evil Genius*, said *Scipio*, *could induce you to renounce Rome, and prefer Carthage to her?* A Woman, instantly replied *Syphax*, a fatal *Megara*. *I know not by what Enchantment*, *Sophonisba* captivated my Reason, and made her self Mistress of my Heart. I took from her Hands the nuptial Torch, which has set my Palace and Throne on Fire. Or rather, she like a Fury seized it, and laid waste my Dominions. But nevertheless, it is a little Comfort to me, that she will also corrupt the Heart of her new Husband. *Masinissa*, when enslaved by *Asdrubal's* Daughter, will soon become entirely Carthaginian. I judge of the Ascendant she will gain over my Rival, by the Power she acquired over me. Her Lips distil a Poison, against which there is no Antidote.

NOTHING was more true than these Reflections; but they were dictated by Rage and Jealousy. *Syphax* could not see his Wife in *Masinissa's* Arms without Distraction. And his Design was to render both suspected by the *Romans*, in which he succeeded. By frequent and open Conversation, *Syphax* in some measure gained the Favour of *Scipio*. The *Roman* often asked his Advice, and profited by it; as *Cyrus* had formerly done, by his Conversation with *Cræsus*, his Prisoner of War. And *Scipio* formed a Design to separate *Masinissa* from *Sophonisba*, and to dissolve a Marriage, which was contrary to the Interests of *Rome*.

§. XX. WHILEST the *Pro-Consul* was ruminating on these Things, *Lælius* and *Masinissa* arrived from *Numidia*, after having brought the whole Country under the Dominion of the *Romans*. The King brought his dear *Sophonisba* with him. She entered *Scipio's* Camp, was conducted to *Masinissa's* Quarters, and there respected as his Wife. But the *Pro-Consul* did by no means like to see a *Carthaginian* Woman, with the Title of a Queen, in the midst of a *Roman* Army. He well weighed the Haste of the *Numidian* King, in rashly consummating this inconsiderate Marriage, before *Lælius* arrived: And this gave him Reason to suspect, that the Violence of his Passion, and the Artifices of *Sophonisba*, might stagger, or corrupt, his Fidelity. Besides, *Scipio* naturally abhorred these precipitate Sallics of a Passion, not governed by Reason. He had given too shining Instances of a perfect

Year of
R O M E
DL.
CN. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO, C.
SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

Year of perfect Contenance in *Spain*, to be able to approve of the Transports of a blind R O M E Passion, even in a Friend. And he therefore took *Masinissa* aside, and expostulated with him thus. *I make no doubt, Masinissa, but the strict Friendship which you have entered into with me, has been founded on some commendable Quality, for which you thought me valuable; and I must own, that with respect to my self, no Virtue is to me more lovely, than such a Power over ones Passions, as to guard the Heart against a Love of Pleasure. If I have distinguished my self, it has been by that Power. If I have gained some Reputation among the Nations I have conquered, it has been by this Ascendant over my self. And what a Pleasure would it give me, Masinissa, could I reckon Contenance among the many heroick Virtues, which attach you to me? A Love of Pleasure is the most formidable Enemy Men of our Age have to contend with; and I had rather see you victorious over that Passion, than over our common Enemies. It was with the highest Joy, that I heard, with what Valour, you subdued the Usurper of your Dominions, during my Absence; and I join my Congratulations to those of all Numidia, and the Applauses of the Roman Army. As then you have conquered your Rival, now conquer your self. As for me, I am very unwilling to give you the Pain and Confusion of a Reproach. Let your own Memory supply the rest. But, pray remember that you fought under the Auspices of the Romans. Your Conquest, and the Spoils you took from the Enemy, are properly ours. Syphax, and his Wife, and Kingdom, and Treasure, do all of Right belong to the Republick which we serve. If Sophonisba were not Asdrubal's Daughter, and a Carthaginian, yet still she would not belong to you who have taken her Captive. Rome would demand her of you, as a part of her Property. How then can you possess her, without the Consent of the Roman Senate and People? And will they suffer a Woman, who by her Sollicitations corrupted the Heart of her first Husband, to continue in the Arms of a faithful Ally, whose Friendship they value? I am very sensible, your Heart trembles at the Thoughts of the Sacrifice I require of you. But return, Masinissa, return to Reason! Don't tarnish the Lustre of many Virtues, with one Vice. Hitherto indeed your Weakness deserves Pity: But it may become unpardonable. Dread therefore, lest a longer Perseverance in it, should be followed by a long Repentance.*

DL.
CN. SERVILI-
US CAPIO,
C. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

Livy, B 30.
c. 14.

Liv. ibid.

Livy, ibid.

App. in Punic.
Livy, B. 30.
c. 15.

Zonaras. ibid.
and Appian.

THE Roman Generals then assumed that Ascendant even over Kings, which they ever after maintained. *Masinissa* was both terrified and softened by *Scipio's* Words. He blushed, and wept. His Heart was rent in pieces with opposite Passions; but at length his Virtue, and his Interest, gained the Ascendant over his Love. *Masinissa* promised the Roman General, that he would shake off the Chains of a Woman, who was fatal to his Glory, and his Peace. He had only one Scruple left, which it was necessary to remove; and that related to his having, in the first Transport of his Passion, reached out his Hand to *Sophonisba*, and thereby plighted his Faith to her, not to deliver her up alive to the Vengeance of Rome. She had said to him, *Rather kill me, than deliver me up a Captive to those barbarous Enemies of Carthage*: And *Masinissa* kept his Word. He so gained the Mastery over his Passion, as to go himself into his Tent, and carry her the Decree *Scipio* had pronounced against her. *Receive now, Sophonisba, said he to her, the last Testimony I can give you, both of my Affection, and my Fidelity. It is absolutely out of my Power to deliver you from the Slavery with which you are threatened. Remember only, whose Daughter, and whose Queen, Sophonisba is; and then surely you cannot be afraid to descend to the Shades. Masinissa will soon follow you thither.* Tears flowed down the Prince's Cheeks, whilst he pronounced these Words, and as soon as he had spoken them, he rushed out of the Tent; where all things were prepared to give *Sophonisba* the most speedy and most easy Death. According to the Custom of the African Kings and Lords, *Masinissa* had a Slave in his Service, whose Business it was to prepare Poison, to be administered as he should direct; and this Minister of Death, brought the fatal Cup to the Queen. *Sophonisba* took it, with an Air of great Composure; and said to her weeping Nurse, *Don't dishonour my Death with your Tears.* Then turning to the Slave, who brought the Cup, she said; *Let my Husband know that I die content, since I die by his Orders. Happy have I been, to have been subject to him only, to my last Breath! It is my Glory, that my Heart has not been enslaved to any other, and as for my Body, I readily surrender it up to the Chains and Fury of the Romans.*

This

This said, she drank the Poison, and almost instantly expired. A glorious Woman; and worthy to have been born a *Roman*! But the only use she made of the Charms of her Beauty, and the superior Talents of her Mind, was to raise up Enemies against *Rome*. An excessive Love for her Country, made her marry two Husbands, and both to the Prejudice of her Honour. When a Captive, she gave Law to her Masters; and only died, because she had made herself formidable. The King her Husband performed Obsequies for her, worthy of her; and she was carried to the Funeral-pile, with all the Pomp and Magnificence due to a Queen.

§. XXI. IN the mean time *Masniſſa* wanted Consolation, after the Loss of one so dear to him. It was to be feared, his excessive Grief would terminate in Despair, and lead him to take some fatal Resolution: And therefore *Scipio* took particular Care to keep him always near him. He caressed, and diverted him, to make him forget his Sorrows. Sometimes he gently reproached his Weakness; and at others, rallied him on the vain Precaution he had taken, to marry *Sophonisba*, in order to preserve her from Slavery. By these Artifices the *Pro-Consul* a little calmed the Grief of his Friend: And the next Day, to divert *Masniſſa's* Melancholy, he erected his Tribunal before his Tent. All the Troops were summoned to appear there, and among the rest came the *Numidian* King, with his. Then the *Roman* General harangued the Soldiers, who had been victorious in *Numidia*, and congratulated the *Numidians* on their Conquest. After this, he distributed the Rewards of Valour. *Masniſſa* was first named; and the General stiled him King. This was the first time that *Rome* had juridically given him this glorious Title; his Crown had hitherto been disputed by his Rivals. Then the *Pro-Consul* expatiated much in praise of him; extolled his Victory, with the most lively and pleasing Eloquence; and concluded with presenting him, with a Crown, and Cup of Gold, a *Curule* Chair, a General's Batoon adorned with Ivory, an embroidered Robe, and a *Tunic* adorned with Palm-Branches. *Such*, said he to him, *are the Ornaments, which we usually give to those who triumph, at Rome. These Marks of Distinction were never before bestowed on any foreign Prince. And indeed, no one ever better deserved them.* These Honours and Praises counterbalanced, in the Prince's Heart, the Remembrance of his dear *Sophonisba*: And he now conceived Hopes of becoming sole Master of all *Numidia*, when *Rome* should have determined the Fate of *Syphax*. Nor did *Scipio* forget *Lælius*, in the Distribution of his military Rewards; his General presented him with a Crown of Gold. As for the other brave Men in the Army, whether *Romans*, or *Numidians*, they all were rewarded according to their Merit. By these means the generous *Pro-Consul* secured the Fidelity of an afflicted King, saved his Life, gained the *Numidians*, and raised a greater Emulation in the Hearts of his *Romans*.

THE Winter still kept both the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* Armies, from entering upon Action; and *Scipio* thought it was now time to send *Lælius* to *Rome*. On board the same Squadron with him, he embarked *Syphax*, with his Son *Vermina*, and the chief of the Captives taken in *Numidia*; and whilst *Lælius* and the Prisoners of War were crossing the Seas, *Scipio* changed his Camp, and returned to his old Post near *Tunis*. And here, the *Roman* General was in Danger of being burnt in his Camp.

§. XXII. *HANN*O commanded a small Body of Troops for his Republick; *App. in Punie.* whilst *Asdrubal* encamped separately, with a Body of Volunteers, devoted to this proscribed General, who had no legal Authority: And all the Hopes of *Carthage* then depended on these Forces only. *Asdrubal* thought it necessary to signalize himself by some important piece of Service; and to this end, had found means to corrupt some *Spanish* Soldiers in the *Roman* Army, with Money. These undertook to set Fire to *Scipio's* Tents in the Night, and destroy him by a Stratagem, very like that which the *Roman Pro-Consul* himself had invented. But the *Auspices* of the *Roman* Army, being probably first informed of the Plot, pretended to have discovered in the Entrails of the Victims, some Threatnings of a Fire, which should soon be caused by Traitors. *Scipio* therefore kept himself upon his Guard, and applied himself to discover the ⁵⁶ Conspirators. This was

the

⁵⁶ *Appian* says, the Conspiracy was discovered in *Scipio's* Army. The Slave had suspected some by a *Spanish* Domestick of a *Roman* Knight, then Myſtery, in the earnest Motions, and clandestine Assemblies

Year of
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US CAEPUS, C.
SCIPIONIS
CAEPIONIS,
C. CAEPUS,
L. A. B. 30.
C. 15.

*Zonaras, B. 9
C. 12.*

Year of the Situation of Affairs, when *Asdrubal*, thinking the Success of his Project absolutely certain, gave *Hanno* Notice of it. He invited him to join in the Plot, which was already laid, and contribute his Assistance towards the entire Defeat of the *Roman* Army. All the Favour he desired in return was, to be associated with him in the Generalship, and to be allowed the Title of his Collegue. But *Hanno* was too wise to engage rashly in so uncertain an Enterprize. He left *Asdrubal* to run the Hazard of it himself. But as it might succeed, and turn to the Advantage of *Carthage*, he promised to send him Succours at the time appointed, and to bring him a Reinforcement to attack *Scipio's* Camp, during the Confusion occasioned by the Fire. Nevertheless, before he kept his Word, *Hanno* caused a strict Observation to be made on all that passed, in the *Roman* Camp: And he learnt that *Scipio* had discovered the Plot, punished the Conspirators, and thrown their dead Bodies without the *Roman* Camp. Upon these Assurances *Hanno* retarded his March; and came not to the *Rendezvous*, whither *Asdrubal* came in great Haste. Then *Asdrubal* seeing the dead Bodies of the *Spaniards* scattered about the Plain, was sensible that his Attempt was frustrated, and returned; and to add to his Disappointment, he received Information, that *Hanno* had given an ill Turn to the Step he had taken. The *Carthaginian* General had spread a Report, That *Asdrubal* drew near the *Roman* Camp in the Night, only with Design to surrender himself up to the *Romans*; and That his return was owing to *Scipio's* having refused to accept his Offers. This Report was indeed invented by *Hanno*, who was afraid of having a Rival in a Collegue; but it had its Effects. It made *Asdrubal* odious to the Soldiers, and rendered his Republick utterly irreconcilable to him.

§. XXIII. In the mean time, the near Neighbourhood of the *Roman* Army, still encamped at *Tunis*, raised continual Alarms in *Carthage*. The slight Advantage *Hamilcar* had gained over the *Roman* Fleet, had indeed a little raised the Confidence of the *Carthaginians* in the Capital; and *Hannibal* was expected soon enough, at least for the next Campaign. But this Joy and Hope was not of long Duration. The Captivity of *Syphax* much lessened the Security the People had promised themselves in *Carthage*. They had depended almost as much on the *Numidian* King, as on *Hannibal* himself. So that the Misfortunes of his Detention, and the Conquest of his Dominions, made the *Carthaginians* alter their Measures. Their Senate resolved to turn an open War, into a fraudulent Peace. Their only Aim was to gain Time, and amuse the *Roman* General with Negotiations, till *Hannibal* and *Mago* arrived. To this end, they sent an Embassy to the *Pro-Consul*, then at *Tunis*; consisting of thirty of the principal Senators of the *Carthaginian* Republick. All Affairs of State were transacted by these Men, who were venerable for their Experience in Politicks; and they alone determined them as they pleased. The Supplications of these Magistrates, who represented their whole Nation, were in all Appearance most submissive, and most sincere. As soon as they came into the Presence of the *Roman* General, they threw themselves prostrate at his Feet, and carried their Respects to Adulation. At length, the chief of the Embassy rose up, and spoke thus. *We are indeed Blame-worthy, and have deserved the Vengeance of a Republick, which we rashly and insolently attacked. But if we search our Misfortunes to the Bottom, it will appear, that Carthage was little concerned in the Injuries done to Rome. The proud Hannibal was the sole Author*

Assemblies of the Conspirators. Their Steps, their dissident Looks, and their too frequent Assemblies, gave him Reason to believe, that they were upon some bad Design. Perhaps, they might also, in their Distrusts, drop some half-Words, which might raise his Curiosity. In this Uncertainty therefore he made use of some Address to discover the Intrigues he suspected; and was very desirous to learn the Truth of the Affair from the Mouths of his Countrymen themselves. His relation to them gave him ready Access to them; and by Caresses and Insinuations, he found means to prevent and gain them. The artful Slave, with an Air of Assurance, pretended to know what their Designs were, and readily offered his Assistance to promote them; and

they, deceived by this Appearance of Sincerity, imparted the whole Secret to him. Then, big with a Secret of this Importance, the Discovery of which might procure him his Liberty, by saving the *Roman* Army, he ran to his Master's Tent, and told him the Names of the Conspirators. When brought before *Scipio*, he, a second time, declared what he had heard upon Oath; the Traitors were immediately seized, and confronted with the Informer, and could not invalidate his Testimony. Upon this they were instantly dragged out of the Camp, and executed. And it is probable, that *Scipio* did not suffer the Slave to go unrewarded, for the Service he had done the Republick.

of them. It was this rash Citizen of ours, who, after the deplorable Ruin of Year of Saguntum, passed the Pyrenees and the Alpes. It was he who carried on his R O M E Ravages to the Gates of Rome, and settled himself in the Heart of Italy. In- DL. deed, in the Senate of Carthage, he found but too many unworthy Protectors, who, Cn. SERVILI- deceived with trifling Advantages, were obstinately bent on leading us on to Ruin. US CÆPIO, C. Why did not those turbulent Citizens remember, that the Roman Republick had SERVILIUS forced us to accept Peace, upon disadvantageous Terms? And now, after having GEMINUS, been a second time overcome, we again have recourse to the Clemency of our Conque- Confuls. rors. We have already experienced it; and therefore implore it again with the more Confidence. Surely, Rome never designed to destroy us, she only designed to humble us, by reducing us to just Bounds. Let her then determine what our Fate shall be, and we are ready to obey her Will!

It is very true, replied Scipio, with a lofty Air, that at first struck Terror into the Carthaginian Deputies, my Design in coming from Sicily to Africa, was to bring you to your Duty: and Success has so far attended me, that I have reduced you to this low Condition. I did not propose to make a Peace with you, but to carry back to Liv. B. 30. Rome with me, the News of your entire Subjection to her; and this you your c. 16. selves now look upon as certain, since my Enterprize is ready to be crowned with Victory. Shall I then put a Stop to it by a Peace? However, take Courage. In order to convince the World, that Rome can begin and end a War with Moderation, I will shew you Favour. You say you are ready to submit; and if so, these are the Terms I require. 1. You shall restore all the Prisoners you have taken from me, all the Deserters from my Army, and all the fugitive Slaves. 2. You shall withdraw your Troops from Italy and Cisalpine Gaul. 3. You shall make an absolute Cession of Spain to us. 4. You shall surrender up to us all the Islands between Italy and Africa. 5. You shall deliver up to us all your Ships, and keep only twenty for your selves, to be used in Trade. 6. You shall furnish my Army with five hundred thousand Modii of ⁵⁷ Wheat, and three hundred thousand of Barley. And 7. You shall give my Troops two Years pay. I give you only three Days to consider of these ⁵⁸ Conditions; and if in that time you agree to them, you shall have a Truce, till the return of the Ambassadors which you shall send to Rome, to settle a Peace there.

MEN, whose Business it was to deceive and gain time, made no great Difficulty in complying with Scipio's Commands; and they dilatorily performed part of the Conditions required as Preliminaries to the Truce they demanded. The Carthaginian Senate sent a small Number of Roman Captives, Deserters, and fugitive Slaves, to Rome, with their Ambassadors; and thought to have imposed on the Roman General, by these slight Appearances of Submission. But at the same time, the artful Republick, prepared every thing for renewing the War with more Fury than ever, as soon as Hannibal and Mago should return to Africa. She strengthened her Alliances on all sides, and made new ones. She did not forget, that Philip King of Macedon, had formerly been in her Interests. He was still in Inclination for Carthage, and an Enemy to Rome; though for Reasons of State he had been forced to sign a Peace with the Romans; and some Envoys from Carthage earnestly pressed him, not to abandon their Republick in her greatest Distress. Till at length the Macedonian complied, and took an Opportunity to break with Rome. He suffered his Soldiers to plunder the Countries ⁵⁹ of Greece, which adhered to the Romans: and in direct Defiance to his Oaths, resolved even to send Succours to Carthage. He named ⁶⁰ Sosipater, one of his Generals, and his

⁵⁷ The Roman Modius, was the third part of the Amphora. See B. 24. p. 597. of Vol. 2. Note 38.

⁵⁸ Some ancient Authors, whom Livy mentions, add an eighth Article, to those of the Treaty Scipio offered to make with Carthage. The Roman General, according to them, proposed, that the Carthaginians should pay the Roman Republick five thousand Talents, which make fifteen Millions of French Livres, at the rate of a thousand French Crowns per Talent. But others fix this Sum to five thousand Pounds weight of Silver. And lastly, several pretend, that Scipio demanded of Carthage

double Pay for his Soldiers, as long as they should continue in Africa.

⁵⁹ In vain, says Livy, did the Greek Cities, in Alliance with Rome, send Ambassadors to Philip, to demand Satisfaction for the Hostilities his Troops committed. That Prince's Ministers repulsed them; denied them Admittance into the Palace; and their Complaints were never brought before him.

⁶⁰ The News of the Imbarkation of Sosipater had been brought to Rome, by the Greek Deputies. They reported, that this Admiral was carrying into Africa, four thousand Auxillaries, and some Money,

Year of his Relation, to command these Auxiliaries; which was a manifest Infraction of
 R O M E his Treaty with *Rome*: And we shall hereafter see the perfidious *Macedonian* pay
 DL. dear for declaring himself so openly against the Allies of the *Romans*, and in fa-
 CN. SERVILI- vour of the *African* Republick.

US CAPIO,
 C. SERVILIUS
 GEMINUS,
 Consuls.

§. XXIV. WHILST the *Pro-Consul*, deceived by Appearances, was suspending Hostilities in *Africa*; *Caius Lælius* arrived at *Rome*, accompanied with *Syphax*, his Son *Vermina*, and the *Numidian* Nobility, taken in the War: And the Senate received this Envoy from *Scipio* with all imaginable Joy. *Lælius*, like a faithful Friend, gave the *Conscript Fathers* a pompous, but true Account of the Exploits of the *Pro-Consul*; and *Fabius* was the only Senator who was not much pleased to hear, that *Carthage* was reduced to the last Extremity, after the Loss of two Battels. Then it was debated, what should be done with *Syphax*, and his Companions in Captivity; and it was no small Pleasure to the Senate, to have it in their Power to determine the Fate of a Sovereign. This Captive King was the first Instance of that Glory, which afterwards was not uncommon among the *Romans*. *Scipio*, by his Victories, gave Rise to that absolute Power, which they exercised over crowned Heads. The Decision of the Fathers was, that *Syphax*, and his Train should be conducted to *Alba*⁶¹, a City in the Country of the *Marfi*⁶², and there kept to grace the Triumph of the *Roman* General, at his Return.

BUT this News from *Africa* had yet been communicated only to the Senate, and it was necessary to divulge it to the People. To this end, they were assembled in the *Comitium*; and there the *Prætor*, *Publius Ælius*, presented *Scipio's* Messenger to them. They both mounted *The Tribune*; and when *Lælius* had related the many Victories gained in *Africa*, under the Command of the *Pro-Consul*, the Commons made the Place ring with their Acclamations. The General, to whose Valour and Conduct alone the Republick was indebted for them, was the Idol of the *Romans*; and the People, upon this News, could not moderate their Joy. They expressed it by such Acclamations and Applauses, as were usually given at *Rome*, to the Heroes, the People sought to distinguish; and they gave yet stronger Proofs of their Exultation, when the *Prætor Ælius* pronounced an Order, that all the Temples should be opened, and Thanks returned to the Gods, for the Success of *Scipio*. The *Romans* crowded to them, and their personal Affection for the General, heightened their Devotion.

THEN the Ambassadors which *Masinissa* had sent with *Lælius*, to congratulate the *Roman* Senate, in his Name, and pay his Homage to it, were introduced into the House, by the *Prætor of Rome*, and heard with Pleasure. *What Glory*, said the Chief of them, *has Scipio gained the Romans, by his Exploits! And we have also this Satisfaction, that King Masinissa, our Master, bore his part in them, and was not unuseful to the Conquerors. Insomuch, that your Pro-Consul publicly and signally acknowledged the Services of the King of Masilyia. Scipio has not only honoured this Monarch with the Title of King; but has also placed him on the Throne of his Ancestors. And your Detention of Syphax, and the Sentence you shall pronounce upon him, will leave Masinissa in the peaceable Possession of his Dominions. From you, Conscript Fathers, this Prince will hold his Crown, if you please to confirm the Disposition your General has made of it; and the new King will then have but one more Favour to desire of you. Send him back the Numidian Captives which are here detained in Prison; and you will establish him on the Throne. This will gain him the Affections of his Subjects, and lay him under the greatest Obligations.*

to assist *Carthage* in her War with *Scipio*. These Proceedings therefore, so contrary to the Faith of Treaties, made the Senate send *Caius Terentius Varro*, *Caius Mamilius*, and *Marcus Aurelius*, Ambassadors to *Philip*. Their Orders were to inform themselves of the Truth of the Facts, and to oblige the King of *Macedon* to give *Rome* Satisfaction, concerning those things for which they were sent.

⁶¹ *Ptolomy*, and *Antoninus's Itinerary*, give the City of *Alba*, here spoken of, the Name of *Alba Fucentina*, or *Alba Fucensis*, either to distinguish it

from *Alba Longa*, or to shew, that it stood near the Lake *Fucinus*. See what we have said of this City, Vol. 2; where we have already observed, that the *Roman* Republick made it strong, and kept her Prisoners of War in it.

⁶² The *Marfi*, an ancient People of *Italy*, formerly inhabited a part of *The Further Abruzzo*, which bordered on the Lake *Fucinus*, now the Lake *Celano*. We have spoken of this People, and their Country, in the preceding Volumes.

ROME was overjoyed to have Crowns at her Disposal; and the Senate gave the Numidian Ambassadors this most gracious Answer. *As you have congratulated us on the Success of our Arms in Africa; so we congratulate Masinissa on his Conquests. The Titles and Presents he has received from Scipio, we approve of, and confirm: And are ready to do whatever else shall tend to aggrandize and increase the Glory of the new King.*

Year of
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C. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

THEN the Republick put into the Hands of these Ambassadors, the following rich Presents for their Master, to be added to the military Rewards he had received from Scipio: A purple Mantle, with Gold Clasps; several Tunicks embroidered with large Flowers; two Horses finely equipped; two Suits of Horse-Armour, with a Cuirass; together with Tents, and all other Necessaries, which used to be given to the ⁶³ Consuls, and other Generals, when they took the Field. As for the Ambassadors themselves, the Republick furnished them with Lodgings, and defrayed their Expences during their Stay in Italy; seated ⁶⁴ them in the Orchestra ⁶⁵ (a Place of Distinction afterwards appropriated to the ⁶⁶ Senators, and Vestal Virgins ⁶⁷) during the Celebration of The Scenic Shows; gave each Ambassador five thousand Asses, and distributed a thousand among their Attendants; and by order of the Senate, presented them likewise with two stately Robes, and gave each of their Attendants, and every one of the Numidian Prisoners, who were all set at Liberty, a complete Habit. Thus Rome preserved the Affection even of Monarchs, and foreign Nations, by her Liberality, and the honourable Marks of Distinction she bestowed upon them.

§. XXV. AND whilst Lælius, and Masinissa's Ambassadors, tarried at Rome, they had time to inform themselves truly of the present State of the Affairs of the Republick, in the Provinces in Italy. Hannibal and Mago were yet there supporting the Interests of Carthage; though but feintly, and with Disadvantage. The Consul, Servilius Cæpio, had, during the Summer, confined Hannibal to narrower Limits than ever. It was said, that the Carthaginian had been beaten near Croton, and lost at least five thousand of his Men. But be that as it will ⁶⁸, it is at least certain, that he was more confined than before. He had hitherto kept Possession of almost all Bruttium. But now most of the Cities of this maritime

Livy, B. 30.
c. 19.

⁶³ According to Valerius Maximus, and especially Cicero, in his sixth Oration against Varres, before these Magistrates went to their Provinces, they were supplied out of the publick Treasury, not only with the necessary Sums for their Subsistence, but for every thing suitable to their Dignity, as Gold-Rings, the Symbols of the Power with which they were invested, Plate, Tents, Habits, stately Furniture, a Train of subaltern Officers, and Domesticks, and Beasts of Burden, for removing their Equipages. But this was only a Trust reposed in them by the Republick, which expected them to give a faithful Account, at the end of their Year, of all these things, which were put into the Hands of their Successors. Cicero in his Oration against Piso, by the Word *Vasarium*, means all the Furniture and Moveables which Rome assigned the Consuls, Pro-Consuls, and other Magistrates, who governed Provinces.

⁶⁴ Livy, to shew the Distinction paid to the Numidian Ambassadors, says, *Loca Legatis decreta*. Which Words signify, according to some modern Interpreters, that the Republick took particular Care, that they should be accommodated, with all things necessary or convenient. To this end, say they, Walks and Gardens were assigned them, where they might walk and take the Air in private. But we have followed the Interpretation of Marcellus Donatus, which we think most natural, and most agreeable to the Customs of Old Rome. It is certain, the Romans made it Matter of Civility and good Manners, to assign the Deputies from the Cities in Alliance with them, Places of Honour at the publick Shows.

⁶⁵ Till such time as we give a particular Account of the Construction and Form of the ancient Theatres, we shall only endeavour to give the Reader a general Notion of them. To this end he

must consider this Building, as consisting of three principal Parts, which contained all the rest. The first is called by the Ancients *The Scene*; which was reserved for the Actors. The second was properly *The Theatre*; where the Spectators were placed. And the third was called *Orchestra*, by the Greeks; because they appropriated it to Mimicks and Dancers. But the Romans fixed the honourable Places, which they assigned to their greatest Men, in the Orchestra. In order to form an Idea of the Plan of the whole Theatre, we must imagine it to consist of two semicircular Lines, drawn from one common Center, at a Distance from each other, on one side; and on the other side, of an oblong Square. The Ground contained between the two semicircular Lines, belonged to the Spectators. The flat Side, or Square, was for the Actors; and the middle Space was the Orchestra. But we shall hereafter treat more at large of a Subject, which deserves a more critical Inspection.

⁶⁶ Till the Year of Rome 558. the Senators were blended with the People, in the publick Shows, according to Livy. Places of Distinction were then first assigned them. Yet still the Knights were not separated from the People, till the Consulship of Lucius Cornelius Metellus, and Quintus Marcius, in the Year 685; when, by Virtue of the Roscian Law, they first took Possession of the first seventeen Seats in the Theatre; as we shall observe hereafter.

⁶⁷ See what we have said of the Privileges granted to the Vestals, Vol. 1.

⁶⁸ Livy dares not affirm that this last Victory was gained over Hannibal, by the Consul Servilius Cæpio, in the Territory of Croton. Valerius of Antium is the only Author who affirms this Fact; which was thought uncertain, in Livy's time.

Province

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GEMINUS,
Consuls.

Province of South Italy, had deserted him. ⁶⁹ *Consentia*, ⁷⁰ *Uffugum*, ⁷¹ *Vergæ*, ⁷² *Besidia*, ⁷³ *Hetriculum*, ⁷⁴ *Sypheum*, ⁷⁵ *Argentanum*, ⁷⁶ *Clampetia*, and some other less considerable Cities, had voluntarily gone over to the Romans. The Winter, and his own Distrusts, had kept *Hannibal* unactive. Victory no longer attended his Standards, as formerly; and it seemed at last to be for his Honour to leave Italy. Nor had his Brother *Mago* succeeded to his Wish the last Campaign. Three Roman Armies had opposed his joining his Troops to those of his Brother *Hannibal*. *Caius Servilius*, the other Consul, had posted himself in *Hetruria*, to guard the Frontiers; and *Mago* had not yet offered him Battel.

§. XXVI. BUT if the Consul reaped but little Glory in the Campaign, he at least gained an Advantage, which was Matter of great Comfort to himself. He recovered his Father, and his Uncle *Caius Lutatius Catulus*, who had been in Captivity among the *Boii* ⁷⁷, these sixteen Years. These two *Patricians* had formerly been appointed by the Republick to conduct a Colony to *Tanetus* ⁷⁸, a City near *Parma*; and having been taken by the *Gauls*, had ever since endured the Severities of a rigorous Servitude. But now *Servilius* appeared, took them out of the Hands of the *Boii*, and entered *Rome* in State, with one of them on his right Hand, and the other on his left. The Deliverance of his Father and Uncle served him instead of a Triumph. Nevertheless, the Consul was forced to apologize for having offered himself to the *Comitia*, as a Candidate for the supreme Dignity, during the Slavery ⁷⁹ of his Father; but as he gave his *Parole*, that he knew not whether his Father was alive or dead, this Excuse was accepted. It was adjudged, that he had done nothing contrary to the meaning of the Law.

§. XXVII. THOUGH *Mago* had not attacked the Consul *Servilius* this Summer, on the side of *Hetruria*; he had fallen down on *Insubria* ⁸⁰, where he found the *Prætor Quintilius Varus*, and the *Pro-Consul Cornelius Cethegus*, guarding the Passes, with their Army. The *Prætor* therefore and the *Pro-Consul* joined, to give the *Carthaginian* a general Battel; and *Varus* posted his *Legions* in the first Lines, whilst *Cethegus* kept those he commanded in reserve. The *Romans* began the Attack, but at first carried it on but feintly. The *Carthaginians* made a vigorous Resistance; and though not the Aggressors, were very likely to become Conquerors. *Varus*, who perceived it, encouraged his Troops to fight, by Exhortations, and his own Example; but nevertheless the *Romans* forgot themselves, and had lost their usual Courage. In great Doubtfulness therefore the *Prætor* had recourse to the *Pro-Consul*, and said, *Your Horse must come up, and break those Battalions which my Infantry cannot penetrate. Chuse therefore either to fall on the Enemy, at the Head of your Squadrons, or else let me march over them. Otherwise, this Resistance of the Carthaginian will perhaps be turned into a bold*

⁶⁹ All these Cities stood in that part of *Bruttium*, which is now called *The Hither Calabria*, a Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*. We have spoken of *Consentia*, a City situated on the Banks of the *Crathis*, elsewhere. It is now known by the Name of *Cosenza*.

⁷⁰ *Holstenius* thinks that *Uffugum* formerly stood where *Faggiano* now does; near the City of *St. Mark*. But *Barri* places it near *Montalto*.

⁷¹ *Vergæ* was a more inland Town, towards *Regiano*.

⁷² *Besidia* was the same City which is called *Besidianum*, in *Antoninus's Itinerary*. It now bears the Name of *Bisignano*. Its Territory is watered by the *Crathis*.

⁷³ Six Miles West of *Bisignano* stood the City of *Hetriculum*, near *Latavico*, as *Holstenius* and *Barri* conjecture.

⁷⁴ Some modern Geographers place the City of *Sypheum* five Miles from *Cassano*, near *Castro Villare*. But *Holstenius* is inclined to think that its Situation agrees better with that of *Montalto*.

⁷⁵ The City of *Argentanum*, which *Holstenius* calls *Argentina*, stood near *Montalto*, between *Cosenza*, and *San Marco*.

⁷⁶ See what we have said already of the City of *Clampetia*.

⁷⁷ The *Boii* inhabited the Territories of *Imola*, *Faenza*, and all the Country along the Rivers *Reno*, *Idice*, *Montone*, and *Santerno*, between *Boulogne* and *Ravenna*.

⁷⁸ *Tanetus*, now *Tanedo*, is only a little Town or Village in *Cispadan Lombardy*, and belongs to the Territory of *Rhegio*.

⁷⁹ By an ancient Law established among the *Romans*, every Citizen, of whatsoever Condition, was excluded from the *Curule* Offices, as long as it was thought certain, that his Father was in Captivity, and reduced to Slavery in an Enemy's Country. The Son was then as it were degraded, and partook of the Ignominy of his Father. This was Matter of refined Policy among the *Romans*, to oblige Children, out of Interest at least, to redeem those from Captivity, to whom they owed their Lives.

⁸⁰ Old *Insubria* contained part of the Duchy of *Milan*, *The Cremasco*, and part of *The Cremonese*. It was bounded to the South, by the Territory of *Pavia*; to the North, by that of *Como* in *The Milanese*; to the West, by *The Lordship of Verceil*, the *Lumegliana*, and that part of *Montferrat*, which is beyond the *Po*; and to the East, by *The Veronese*, *The Mantuan*, *The Brescian*, and a Canton of *The Cremonese*.

Attack. The *Pro-Consul* chose to command the Infantry, and left his Squadrons to the *Prætor*; and then these brave *Roman Knights*, conducted by one of the Generals, and his Son, fell on the Enemy, with incredible Rapidity. The *Legionaries* encouraged the Cavalry with their Shouts; and the *Carthaginian* Infantry had been routed, if *Mago* had not taken a Step, which was worthy of a great Commander. He drew up his Elephants in a large Front before the *Roman* Cavalry; and this Motion, together with the Smell and Noises of these strange Beasts, surprized the Horses so much, that their Riders were forced to turn about, and quit the Fight. If the *Roman* Cavalry could have joined the Enemy, the latter would probably have been put into Disorder; but hitherto *Mago* had all the Advantage. His Troops were better skilled in throwing Javelins, and fighting at a distance, than near; and with their Darts, they a little thinned the Files of the *Roman* Cavalry. So that the Action was again confined wholly to the Foot. The twelfth *Legion* had been roughly handled, ever since the Beginning of the Battel; but nevertheless, the Shame of retiring had still kept them in the first Line, and they had lost no Ground. This the *Roman* Generals perceiving, ordered the thirteenth to take its Place; and *Mago* opposed it with a Body of fresh *Gauls*, who had not yet engaged. But the Defeat of an undisciplined Body was an easy Matter to the *Romans*; and to complete the Rout of all the *Carthaginian* Army, the eleventh *Legion* came to the Assistance of the thirteenth. It fell with Fury on the Elephants, threw a Shower of Darts at them, put them into Disorder, turned them against their Masters, and thereby struck Terror into the Enemy's Battalions. In order to avoid being trodden under Foot by these furious Animals, the *Gauls* gave way, and retired. Nevertheless, as long as *Mago* continued at the Head of this Infantry, tho' they lost Ground, they kept their Ranks, and retired in good Order. But it unfortunately happened, that *Mago* was wounded in the Thigh; which made it necessary to carry him out of the Battel; and then the honourable Retreat of the *Carthaginians* became an utter Rout. The *Romans* pursued them, killed five thousand of them, and took twenty two Standards. But this was not done without some Loss on the Side of the Conquerors. Two thousand three hundred Men were killed in the *Prætor's* Army. The twelfth *Legion* had suffered most. Three *Legionary Tribunes*, twenty two *Roman Knights* of Distinction, and some *Centurions*, were left dead on the Spot; insomuch that it might be affirmed, that the *Romans* would at least have suffered as much as their Enemies, if *Mago's* Wound had not determined the Victory in their Favour.

Year of
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GEMINUS,
Consuls.

As for the *Carthaginian* General, who was both vanquished and wounded, he had no Recourse left, but to take the Road to *Liguria*; and there he was not only farther off from his Brother *Hannibal* than ever, but saw most of the *Ligures* desert him. The Overthrow he had received in *Insubria* had even staggered the *Ingaunians*⁸¹, who now wavered between the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, whose Vengeance they dreaded.

Livy, B. 30.
c. 19.

§.XXVIII. So that the strict Commands which were sent him from *Carthage* to return thither, came very seasonably. The Deputies from his Republick had entered *The Gulph of Lyons*, and upon their giving him notice, that he must immediately set out for *Africa*, he instantly obeyed. His Departure seemed convenient on all Accounts. He had had some Difficulty in getting Subsistence, in a Place where his Presence began to be thought troublesome; and he hoped to be able to do his Country more Service in *Africa*, than he possibly could do in *Liguria*. He thought his Wound might be better cured on Board, than at Land: and he equipped his Fleet, embarked all his Troops both *Ligurian* and *Spanish*, and set Sail. Nevertheless, he left an Officer in *Liguria* named *Hamilcar*; with Orders to support, as well as he could, the dwindling Interest of *Carthage*, now with Difficulty kept up in a small Corner in *Italy*: and we shall hereafter see this *Hamilcar* raise up *Cisalpine Gaul* against the *Romans*; and renew a War, which was thought extinguished.

But *Mago* had not the Happiness, to be able to join his Brother, even in their own Country. He had scarce doubled the Island of *Sardinia*, before he died

⁸¹ The *Ingauni* took their Name from the City called *Albium Ingaunum*, now *Albenga*. We have already spoken of them in several Places.

Year of at Sea, of his Wound. Probably the rolling of the Ship enflamed it. For a violent Tempest arose, which dispersed *Mago's* Fleet; and the *Romans* having a Fleet in those Seas, they pursued the *Carthaginian* Ships, and took a great Number of them.

DL.
CN. SERVILIUS
US CAPIO,
C. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

§. XXIX. THE same Orders which *Mago* had received were also brought to his Brother *Hannibal*. The *Carthaginian* Messengers came by Sea to him, in the extreme Parts of *Italy*; and there acquainted him with the Commands of the Senate. But *Hannibal* was far from paying that ready Submission to these Orders, as *Mago* had done. As soon as he was told he must be gone from thence, he cried out, *This is not the first Summons that Carthage has sent me. Her Neglect in not sending me Reinforcements and Ammunition, has long been but too plain a Proof of her Ill-Will to me. The Faction of my Enemies prevails. It is not thou, Rome! that drivest me out of Italy; but a Senate that is jealous of my Glory. Who will rejoice most at my being recalled, Hanno, or Scipio? The Roman waits to enter the Lists with me. The Carthaginian will triumph to see my Family buried in the common Ruin of our Country.* Nevertheless, as the Orders were express, and must be obeyed; *Hannibal's* Thoughts were wholly employed in preparing for his Voyage.

His Army then consisted partly of good Troops which had long been inured to War, and partly of Men, whose Age, Infirmities, or Want of Valour, rendered them useless. The latter he dispersed in the few Places he had still left; and the former he resolved to carry with him into *Africa*. Among these choice Troops he embarked a good Number of *Italians*. The *Bruttii* especially had a good Reputation for Bravery; and *Hannibal* was desirous of carrying as many of them with him as he could; but these refractory People would not comply with his Desires. Fear alone had kept them so long in his Interest. They had hitherto been kept to Discipline more by his inflexible Rigour, than any Friendship for him; and they would not leave their own Country to follow a General into a strange Land, whose Cruelties had made him odious in *Bruttium*. When therefore the time was come to put to Sea, a Body of *Bruttii* fled for Refuge to the Temple of *Juno Lavinia*; and this *Asylum* ought to have been inviolable, and protected them against *Hannibal*. But the Barbarian had no regard to a Place deemed sacred; he caused these unfortunate *Bruttii* to be massacred there; and took Pleasure in washing those Shores with Blood, which he quitted with Regret. It may be affirmed, that no Man ever went into Banishment from his Country with more Reluctance than *Hannibal* left *Italy*. When he had weighed Anchor, and was out at Sea, he often looked back on the Land, which he had expected to conquer; and in his Fury uttered vehement Execrations against Gods, and Men, and himself. *What bewitched me, said he, that I did not lead my victorious Troops, thirsty of Roman Blood, directly to Rome, after the Battel of Cannæ! What a Misfortune is it to me, that this Scipio should have led his Forces before Carthage, who durst not fight me in his own Country! Why did I suffer myself to be captivated with the Delights of Campania, and lay idle there, after I had killed an hundred thousand Men, in the Battels of Trebia, the Lake Thrasimenus, and Cannæ! And amidst these melancholy Reflections, and Transports of Rage, he lost Sight of Italy.*

§. XXX. At *Rome* there was great Joy, at the News of the Departure of the most formidable Enemy of the Republick, and his Brother *Mago*; but it was not universal. The Senate had sent Orders to the Consul *Servilius Capius*, and the other Generals who commanded the *Roman* Troops, to keep the two *Carthaginian* Commanders in *Italy* as long as possible. Some said, *What a Misfortune would it be to us, if our Army in Africa should be all on a sudden overpowered by the united Forces of Hannibal, and his Brother! How can Scipio alone withstand the sudden Tempest which is going to break upon him?* And these Fears were augmented by the Apprehensions and Jealousy of old *Fabius*; whose Complaints were, if I may so speak, the last Song of this dying Swan. This illustrious Prince of the Senate

82 The first Consulship of *Quintus Fabius Maximus* was, according to *Livy*, and the most celebrated Historians, in the Year of *Rome* 520. And if then, he was at that time forty two Years old, or

in his forty third Year, which was the Age generally required both by the *Roman* Law and Custom, in such as stood Candidates for this first Dignity, he could have been but seventy three Years old, in the

Senate was then near an hundred ⁸² Years old; and he exclaimed bitterly, *That Year of the Roman Republick was never in a more deplorable State. Will Hannibal be less formidable in Africa, than he has been in Italy? Can the young Pro-Consul, who alone sustains the whole Burden of our Affairs, before the Walls of Carthage, possibly avoid sinking under it? What an Army will he have to cope with! Soldiers, who have more than once dipped their Hands in the Blood of our Prætors, Dictators, and Consuls!*

Year of
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CN. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO,
C. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

BUT the Commons were not alarmed at these timorous Lamentations. They had an entire Confidence in the Valour and Dexterity of *Scipio*. Besides, they thought it the greatest of all Advantages, to see *Italy* rid of her most cruel, and most inveterate Enemy. And at length the Senate began to entertain the same Sentiments. The oldest of the Senators thought it necessary to return the Gods Thanks, for the Security *Rome* had now recovered; by the Departure of *Hannibal*. *We yet remember*, said they, *the Terror he spread here, when he came rushing down the Alpes like a Torrent. He drew so near to Rome, that we could see him from our Ramparts. Then with what Cries did we even rend the Heavens! What Vows did we make to the Gods! How many Hands were then stretched out towards their Altars! How many Victims slain in their Temples! But now we have only to return the Gods Thanks, and to beg that they would powerfully protect us. Let us then mix Religion with the Joy, and the Apprehensions, which Hannibal's Departure gives us. Shall the Romans be less affected with Impressions of Gratitude, than those of Fear? Let us offer up Thanksgivings to the Gods for the present, and implore their Assistance for the future!* At these Words there was a general Shout in the Assembly; and it was decreed, That all the Temples should be opened for five Days; That the People should go in Companies, to present their Supplications in them; and that sixscore of the largest Victims should be offered up on different Altars. The *Prætor Publius Ælius* was ordered to give the People notice of these religious Ceremonies, which were usually performed before great Enterprizes.

§.XXXI. IN the mean time, *Lælius* was already gone from *Rome* with the Ambassadors of *Masinissa*, and was on his Return to *Scipio* in *Africa*. But he was not yet come to the Port where he was to embark. His Journey had procured him a new Dignity. The Republick had just chosen him *Quæstor* for *Scipio's* Army; in which he had hitherto served only as Lieutenant-General. So that the *Quæstorship* gave him new Lustre, paved the Way for his Promotion to the highest Dignities, and was the more agreeable to him, in that it placed him in *Cato's* Post.

End of the Year 550, which was that of his Death. So that, in order to make up the hundred Years, or thereabouts, which are generally given him, on the Credit of *Valerius Maximus*, and *Pliny the Naturalist*, we must say, that he was near seventy Years of Age, when he was first created *Consul*, with *Marcus Pomponius Matho*. But is it to be imagined, that the Romans should so long overlook a Person of *Fabius's* Merit, who was not only well born, but had all those great Talents, which are necessary to qualify a Man for the Government of the State, or the Command of Armies? Besides, if we make him live to an hundred, we must necessarily grant, that he was near ninety four when he was chosen *Consul* the fifth time, with *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus*, in the Year of *Rome* 544; which was the Year in which he recovered *Tarentum*, and gained considerable Advantages over *Hannibal*. And is it credible, that *Fabius*, in so decrepit an Age, could have undergone the Fatigues of so laborious and painful a Campaign? Yet after all, we cannot without Rashness contradict the Testimonies of *Livy*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Pliny the Naturalist*. The first seems to agree, that *Fabius* was *Augur* sixty two Years, and not forty two, as we read in some Copies; and from thence concludes, that he lived to an extreme old Age. *Quintus Fabius moritur, exactæ ætatis, si quidem verum est, Augurem duos & sexaginta annos fuisse*. Nevertheless, it must be owned, that *Livy* does not vouch for this Fact. He acknowledges he has no better Authority for it, than that of some old

Annalists. *Quod quidam Auctores sunt*. But the Passage of *Valerius Maximus* is more express and decisive. *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, says he, *enjoyed the Honours of the Augurate for sixty two Years, and was in the Strength of his Age when he obtained them. If then we add the Years he lived before he was promoted to this Office, to those he lived in it, till his Death, we shall find that he lived a Century*. His Words are these. *Q. Fabius Maximus duobus & sexaginta annis Auguratus Sacerdotium sustinuit, robusta jam ætate id adeptus. Quæ utraque tempora, si in unum conferantur, facile sæculi modum expleverint*. Now, according to this Passage of *Valerius Maximus*, *Fabius* must have been at least thirty five or forty Years old, when elected *Augur*; in order to make up the sixty two following Years near an hundred. And *Pliny* agrees with these two Authors in this Point, only with this Difference, that he makes him hold the *Augurate* sixty three Years, instead of sixty two. *Quintus Fabius Maximus sexaginta tribus annis Augur fuit*. Add to this, that *Pliny*, in the same Place, ranks him among those, who had lived beyond the ordinary Course of human Life. No body before us has, to our Knowledge, observed these Difficulties, in reconciling the different Particulars of *Fabius's* Story, with the Age the above-mentioned Authors give him. But nevertheless, we thought ourselves obliged to follow the Stream, and respect Authorities which have hitherto been deemed indisputable.

Year of
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CN. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO,
C. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.
Corn. Nepos
in his Life of
Cato.

WE have already observed that the Manners of this rigid *Quæstor* did not suit those of the *Pro-Consul* in *Africa*; and he was recalled. In his Return, he passed by the Island of *Sardinia*, and is said to have brought to *Rome* the famous *Ennius*⁸³, who first gave the *Romans* a Taste for Poetry. But whether he brought him from thence or not, it is certain *Rome* was indebted to *Cato* for him. But to return to *Lælius*.

THE Senate sent to him to delay his Voyage, and return to *Rome*, to be present at the Audience, which was going to be given to the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors lately arrived there, to treat of Peace. *Lælius* was acquainted with the Affairs of *Africa*, and his Advice could not but be of Consequence in this important Negotiation.

§.XXXII. THESE Ambassadors from *Carthage* had landed at *Puteoli*⁸⁴, and proceeded by Land to the Capital; *Quintus Fulvius Gillo*, an Officer in *Scipio's* Army, being their Conductor. And when they came to *Rome*, the Impostors acted their Parts but indifferently. They were lodged without the Walls, in the *Campus Martius*⁸⁵, in a House belonging to the Republick, which served, among other Uses, for the Reception of foreign Ambassadors. In order to give Audience to these

⁸³ Here the Author of *The Lives of illustrious Men* seems to differ from *Cornelius Nepos*. The former seems to imply, that *Cato* never saw *Ennius*, till his *Prætorship* of *Sardinia*. In *Prætura Sardiniam subegit, ubi ab Ennio Græcis litteris institutus*. In which Passage it is falsely supposed, that the Island of *Sardinia* had been conquered by *Cato*, when he was sent thither in Quality of *Prætor*. It appears by the whole Course of the *Roman* History, that *Sardinia* had been subdued by the Republick long before. See *Vol. 4. B. 38.* where we endeavour to reconcile the different Accounts these two Historians give of *Cato* and *Ennius*.

⁸⁴ *Puteoli*, now known by the Name of *Puz-zoli*, was formerly one of the most famous Cities in *Campania*. In the earliest Ages it was called *Dicaarchia*, which is the Name *Strabo*, and several others of the Ancients, give it. This Name was taken from the Wisdom of its Government, and the Equity of its Laws. It now retains nothing of its ancient Splendor. It stands eight Miles from *Naples*, near the Lake *Avernus*. See what we have said of its Origin, Situation, and Riches, *Vol. 2.* and above, *B. 28.*

⁸⁵ The *Campus Martius*, or *Field of Mars*, formerly contained all that large Piece of Ground without the Walls of *Rome* which reached from the Gate *Flumentana* to the *Tyber*, between the Hills *Quirinalis*, *Pincius*, (or *The Hill of Gardens*) and *Capitolinus*. It took its Name from an old Altar, or Temple, dedicated to *Mars*. *Romulus*, according to some, dedicated it to the God of War, from whom he boasted he was descended. And they add, that the Founder of *Rome* made it a Place for Exercises, where the *Roman* Youth were instructed in Arms. But *Livy* says, the People consecrated this Field to this God, after the Abolition of the Monarchy. Whereas *Dion. Hal.* on the contrary, pretends that it was consecrated long before the Expulsion of the Kings; and That the God *Mars* had long been in Possession of it, when the *Tarquins* appropriated it to themselves. And *Livy* himself indeed gives room to believe, that from the time of *Servius Tullius* it bore the Name of *The Field of Mars*; and That the lowest Part of it was called *Vallis Martia*, or *The Valley of Mars*. This Part which was next the *Tyber*, had been left to the *Roman* People by Will, according to *Aulus Gellius*, *B. 6. c. 7.* by one *Caia Taratia*, whom others call *Suffetia*: and he says, that this Donation was recorded in the old Annals. *Pliny* also affirms, *B. 34. c. 6.* that the Donor was a *Vestal*, and That the *Romans* ordered a Statue to be erected in Memory of this Benefaction. But *Macrobius* does not agree with these two Authors. According to him, the Name of

the Benefactress was *Acca Laurentia*; who, in the Reign of *Ancus Marcius*, was the Mistress, Wife, and Heiress, of one *Tarrutius*, the richest Man in the Country. By her Profligations, and the Liberalities of her Husband, she amassed much Wealth, which she bequeathed to the *Roman* People, on Condition that they would celebrate Games to her Honour. See *B. 24. p. 625, 626.* of *Vol. 2.* where we have examined into this Fact. *Plutarch*, in his *Roman Questions*, gives this Courtisan the Name of *Flavia*; and *Verrius*, quoted by *Lactantius*, calls her *Faula*. But be that as it will, several have confounded her with *Flora*, the Goddess of Flowers, whom the *Romans* worshipped, as we have observed in the first and second Volumes. This Part of *The Field of Mars* is the same Meadow, which was called *The Field of the Tyber*, *The Field of Flavia*, and afterwards *The Field of Flora*; which latter Denomination some derive from the Flowers which bespangled it. But others are of a different Opinion, and derive it from the Name of another *Flora*, *Pompey's* Mistress.

This *Field of Mars* was an oblong Piece of Ground, according to *Strabo*, who has given us a fine Description of it. It is, says he, *B. 1. the most delightful Place in Rome*. Nature and Art seem to have conspired to embellish it. The many Portico's, Amphitheatres, stately Buildings, Fountains, and other costly Ornaments, which surround this delicious Meadow, fill all Spectators with Admiration. The Hills, Gardens, and Groves, which encompass it on all Sides, form a most entertaining Prospect; and the Statues of exquisite Workmanship, erected in Honour to great Men, and famous Women, which are dispersed all over this great Plain, compleat its Beauty. Such was *The Field of Mars*, in *Strabo's* time, and during the Empire of *Augustus*. But in the Times of which we have hitherto treated, *Rome* was, if I may so speak, but a mere Sketch of what it was afterwards, when it arrived at so high a Degree of Splendor, as to become the Capital of the World.

At one End of *The Field of Mars* there was an Eminence, from whence the Heralds used to cite the Centuries in their Turns, to proceed to the Election of the Great Magistrates. The Citizens of each Century entered the Enclosure, in the Order they were called by the Herald, and then gave their Suffrages, in the manner before explained. For this Reason *Blondus* and *Fulvius* give this Hill the Name of *Mons Citorius*; and it is called *Monte Citorio* to this Day. This probably is the Eminence *Macrobius* means, when he says, that the Candidates for the Dignities of the Republick stood on an Hill, where they shewed themselves to the People on Market-Days. *Eae candidatis usus fuit in Comitium nundinis venire, & in Colle consistere, unde coram possint ab universis*

these from Carthage, the Senate assembled in the Suburbs, in the Temple of *Bellona*⁸⁶; where the Speech the Deputies made *The Conscript Fathers*, was much the same they had made *Scipio* in his Camp. *Hannibal*, said they to The Fathers, *has been the Cause of all our Misfortunes. He, of his own Head, without any Orders from Carthage, took Saguntum, passed the Ebro, crossed the Pyrenees, and came into Italy over the Alps. He alone has broken the Peace; and if things are rightly understood, neither the Senate of Rome, nor that of Carthage, has violated the ancient Treaties. All therefore that we ask, is, That the*⁸⁷ *Articles agreed on between you and us, in the time of the Consul Caius Lutatius, may continue in full Force. By that means the two Republicks will continue in Friendship, and Africa, as well as Italy, be in Peace.*

Year of
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Cn. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO, C.
SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

It was an established Custom in the Senate of Rome, for any Senator to ask foreign Ambassadors any Questions he pleased, concerning the Articles they proposed; and now, some of the oldest of *The Conscript Fathers*, with the Consent of *Ælius* the *Prætor*, who presided in the Senate, addressed themselves to the Car-

videri. 1. 16. Some Moderns have thought, that this Passage is to be understood of the Hill *Pincius*, or *The Hill of Gardens*. But those who most exactly follow the Plan of old Rome, exclaim against this Interpretation. They say, that from the Place where the People assembled, the best Eye could not distinguish one Person from another on this Hill. It was not to be done without the Help of Spy-Glasses, the Use of which was not then known. Nor is *Blondus's* Conjecture more reasonable. He pretends, that after the Citizens had given their Suffrages, they retired to Mount *Citorio*, to clear the Passages, and make room for the other *Centuries*. But besides that we find no Footsteps of this among the Ancients; it is certain that so little a Hill could not afford room for all the People who had voted to stand. *Marlian* imagined, that the *Citorio* was raised, in a long Course of Years, by the Ruins of Buildings. But this is a Conjecture advanced without Proof, since we find no Traces of any ancient Buildings in this Place.

The Field of Mars was not only appropriated to the assembling the *Comitia by Centuries*; but was the Place where the Troops were reviewed. Rome had also erected a military School, or a sort of Academy, in this great Plain, where the Roman Youth were continually exercised, in throwing the Javelin, Running, Boxing, Riding, Leaping, and Swimming against the Stream of the *Tyber*, and cross it. Every one there tried his Skill, in fighting on Foot, or on Horseback, in the Jufts and Tournaments, which were there appointed for the Diversion of the People. And the Nearness of the River afterwards gave Occasion to another sort of Exercise called *Nau-machie*; which were Representations of Sea-Fights, in which the Romans qualified themselves for more serious Engagements. In this *Field of Mars* the Citizens of Rome were also entertained with Chariot-Races, and Horse-Races, on certain Days of the Year; viz. the 29th of January, the 27th of February, the 13th of March, and the 18th of April, according to the old Roman Calendar. These Games were instituted by *Romulus*, in Honour to the God *Mars*, under the Title of *Equiria*, according to *Festus*. *Equiria Ludi, quos Romulus Marti instituit, per Equorum Cursum, qui in Campo Martio exercitatur.* And *Varro* speaks of them much in the same manner, B. 5. de Ling. Lat. *Equiria, ab Equorum Cursum; eo enim die currunt Equi in Campo Martio.* Nor is this Institution forgotten by *Ovid*. *Fasti*, B. 1. where he observes, that if *The Campus Martius* was overflowed by the *Tyber*, the *Equiria* were celebrated on Part of the Hill *Ælius*, which was from thence called *Campus Martialis*.

*Altera gramineo spectabis Equiria Campo
Quem Tyberis curvis in latus urget Aquis.
Qui tamen ejecta, si forte tenebitur unda,
Ælius accipiet pulverulentus equos.*

Festus likewise makes the same Remark. *Martialis Campus in Cælio Monte dicitur, quod in eo Equiria solebant fieri, si quando aquæ Tiberis Campum Martium occupassent.* And we must not here omit what *Vegetius* says, B. 2. of the wooden Horses, that were made in the *Campus Martius* for the Use of the young Romans. In order to teach them Horsemanship, they were forced to bear their Shocks, and sudden Motions from Side to Side, without Stirrups, and with a naked Sword, or Pike in their Hands.

One Part of this famous Plain was watered by a Rivulet which *Festus* calls *Aqua Petronia*, and which flows from a Fountain which was called *Cati Fons*, from *Catus*, the Name of the Roman to whom the Field belonged, in which this Spring rose. It ran into the *Tyber*; but we find no Footsteps of it now remaining. *Festus* adds, That from an old Superstition, it had long been customary for the Magistrates to practise certain Ceremonies, in crossing this Rivulet, every time they came to *The Campus Martius*, to treat of any important Affair.

And not to repeat what we have elsewhere said of the Enclosure, in which the general Assemblies of the Roman People were held; we shall only observe, after several Authors, that each of the thirty five Tribes was in a separate Enclosure of its own, made with Wood. This Caution was thought necessary to prevent Confusion. *Cicero* says, *Ep.* 16. B. 4. *To Atticus*, that he had a Design to divide these several Enclosures from each other by Marble Portico's; but the civil Wars which followed, prevented his putting that Design in Execution. This was reserved for *Lepidus* the *Triumvir* to begin; and some Years after, *Agrippa* put the last Hand to this great Work, as will appear in the Course of this History. Near the Enclosure was built the great Town-House, called *Villa Publica*; in which the *Censors* kept their Sittings, from the Year of Rome 319, and there took the *Census*. This Building also supplied Rome with convenient Lodgings for the Ambassadors of Nations at Enmity with them; and which the Senate had made it a Rule never to admit into the City.

⁸⁶ Behind *The Flaminian Circus*, at a little distance from *The Campus Martius*, stood the Temple of *Bellona*; in which the Senate assembled to give Audience to Ambassadors from Enemies, and to Generals who demanded a Triumph. In the Porch of it stood the famous *Columna Bellica*, of which we have spoken, p. 330. Vol. 2. Note 78. This Temple was built by *Appius Claudius*, as we have there observed.

⁸⁷ This Treaty of Peace, which put an end to the first *Punic War*, was concluded in the Consulship of *Caius Lutatius*, and *Aulus Postumius*, about the End of the Year of Rome 511. See Vol. 2.

Year of *thaginian* Envoys. They had remarked, that these *Africans* were very young Men; *R O M E* and they examined them concerning the several Expedients made use of, to conclude the Peace, which put an end to the first *Punic* War. But the Ambassadors could give but an indifferent Account of the Times of *Lutatius*, of which they had spoken; and this gave *The Fathers* a Suspicion, that *Carthage* was not sincere in her Proceedings. Then the Ambassadors were ordered to withdraw, and *The Fathers* proceeded to give their Opinions. *Marcus Livius* spoke first; and he thought it necessary to recall *Caius Servilius* the Consul, from his Army in *Hetruria*. The Decision of this Affair, said he, is of too great Importance to be undertaken, during the Absence of both the Consuls. It is not for the Honour of the Senate, to come to any Conclusion, till one at least of the supreme Magistrates is at the Head of it. *Servilius* is the nearest. Let him therefore return to Rome, and preside in the Debate. *Quintus Metellus*, formerly honoured with the Dictatorship, and three Years ago Consul, shewed, by his Opinion, what a Friendship he had for *Scipio*. No body, said he, understands the real Designs of the Enemy better than the Pro-Consul in *Africa*. After having laid waste the Country near *Carthage*, he is now encamped almost under the Walls of that Capital: and consequently is near enough to penetrate into the Intentions of the Senate of *Carthage*, whom he has forced to sue for Peace. I am therefore of opinion, that we ought not to come to any Determination, without his Advice. After *Metellus*, *M. Valerius Lævinus*, who had been twice Consul, expressed himself thus. I strongly suspect, that these pretended Ambassadors from *Carthage* are only Spies, disguised under that venerable Name. I am therefore for ordering them to leave Italy, as soon as possible; for sending them back to their Ships under a Guard; and for directing *Scipio* to prosecute the War with Vigour. To *Lævinus's* Opinion, *Lælius* and *Fulvius*, the two Lieutenant-Generals of the Roman Army in *Africa*, added, That *Scipio* had not been inclined to Peace, but upon the Supposition, that *Hannibal* and *Mago* would be kept some time longer in Italy; That they themselves were fully persuaded, That *Carthage* was only dissembling, in order to get time, till her two Generals were arrived; and That as soon as they were returned into their own Country, she would break off the Treaty, and renew Hostilities. And some Historians say, that this Opinion prevailed, and that the Ambassadors were sent back, without coming to any Conclusion. But others, with more Probability, affirm, that the Peace was accepted on the Foot, upon which *Scipio* had proposed it in *Africa* ⁸⁸.

Livy, B. 30.
c. 23.

Polyb. B. 15.
c. 1.
Zonaras, B. 9.
c. 13.

§. XXXIII. HOWEVER, whilst the Roman Senate were losing time in Deliberations about Peace or War, *Hannibal* ⁸⁹ left Italy, and sailed for *Africa*. And the Consul, *Servilius Cæpio*, who had not been able to keep him in Italy, only till the

⁸⁸ Whilst the Roman Republick was in Expectation of the great Events, for which *Scipio* was preparing in *Africa*, Deputies arrived at Rome from *Saguntum*, and in the Name of their City gave fresh Proofs of her Fidelity. They brought with them some *Carthaginian* Prisoners; who had come from *Carthage* to *Spain*, to raise Auxiliaries there. The *Saguntines* had surprized them, and committed them to the Care of some of their chief Citizens, to convey them to Rome; and being brought before the Senate, they were ordered into safe Custody. The Deputies also brought with them two hundred and fifty Pounds Weight of Gold, and eight hundred Pounds Weight of Silver, which had been taken from the Prisoners; and these Sums were deposited in the Porch of the Temple where the Senate assembled. But *The Conscrip Fathers* ordered them to be returned to the *Saguntini*, whom they thanked for the inviolable Attachment their City had shewn to Rome, loaded with Presents, and furnished with Ships to carry them back to *Spain*.

⁸⁹ According to *Appian*, *Hannibal* signalized his Departure with all kinds of Cruelties and Robberies. He had Reason to fear, his Senate would make him responsible for the ill Success of a War which he had kindled; and his first Care therefore was to make sure of his Troops, resolving to make use of them, if there should be Occasion, against

the ill Designs of those, who should conspire his Ruin. In order to do this, he delivered up all the Cities he had been Master of, to be plundered by his Army; not excepting those, which had voluntarily come over to his Interests. Nevertheless, he considered, that he was going to make his Name and Memory execrable, by this horrible Perfidiousness; and therefore thought to escape the Odium of having violated the Faith of his Treaties, by committing the Conduct of this barbarous Design to another. He pitched upon *Asdrubal*, who brought him the Orders to leave Italy, and repair to *Carthage*; and made him his Agent in the Affair. The General sent him, at the Head of a Body of Troops, to all the Places which yet adhered to the *African* Republick, under the perfidious Pretence of reviewing the *Carthaginian* Garrisons; and it is not to be expressed, what Calamities the Fury of the Soldiers brought on these unfortunate Cities. The Inhabitants were stripped of their Goods, and driven from their Patrimonies. The old Men, Women, and Children, who were forced to fly for Refuge into foreign Countries, filled the Air with their Lamentations; and rambled in Crowds about the Fields carrying with them the few Provisions, which the avaritious *Asdrubal* had suffered them to carry off for their present Subsistence.

The News of this cruel Treatment of allied Cities

the Ambassadors were gone, resolved to cross the Seas after him. But this Design was not agreeable to *The Conscript Fathers*. They imagined, that the Consul's Intention was only to rob *Scipio* of the Honour of concluding the Peace between *Rome* and *Carthage*; and they therefore ordered *Ælius* the *Prætor* to write to *Cæpio* to return to *Italy*. Indeed it was well known, that this Consul had, contrary to all Rule, left his *Province*, without any Orders from the Senate or People; and was by this time in *Sicily*; and it was necessary to recall him. But *Ælius* excused himself from signifying to him the Orders of the Senate. *Cæpio*, said he, *will have no Regard to my Letters; inasmuch as a Prætor has no Power to give Law to a Consul*. So that it was necessary to create a *Dictator*, whose Authority would be more respected than that of *Ælius*; the Consul *Servilius* nominated *Publius Sulpicius Galba* to the *Dictatorship*; and he took one *Marcus Servilius Pulex* for his *General of Horse*. Then *Cæpio*, not able to withstand so absolute an Authority, returned to *Rome*; and *Scipio* was left alone, to determine absolutely for Peace, or War, as he pleased. The Truce was still subsisting, the *Carthaginians* not proposing to break it, till *Hannibal* arrived, and the Ambassadors returned. But an unexpected Accident discovered their fraudulent Designs.

§. XXXIV. *SCIPIO* had, in the last Campaign, found his Fleet too weak to withstand that of the Enemy; and his Care to guard his Gallies with his Land-Forces had a little retarded his Conquests. Whether therefore he should conclude a Treaty, or continue his Conquests, the *Pro-Consul* thought a strong Sea-Arma-ment absolutely necessary. This would terrify *Carthage*, and either make her the

was soon spread to those which had not yet undergone the same Fate; and the Burghers took to their Arms, and fell with Fury on the Troops which *Hannibal* had cantoned in all those Places. The Massacre was equal on both Sides, and the Streets flowed with the Blood of the People, and of the Soldiers. Virgins were torn out of their Mothers Arms; Women of Condition became a Prey to the unbridled Lust of the Troops; and *Asdrubal's* Arrival completed these Horrors. This brutal and savage Creature filled all the Places where he came with Slaughter and Desolation.

After all these Barbarities, *Hannibal* wholly applied himself to prepare for his Voyage to *Africa*. Among the Soldiers of different Nations, of whom his Army consisted, the *Italians* had the Reputation of being the most brave and warlike. He therefore used all possible Means to induce them to go with him; and easily prevailed on a Multitude of Rogues and *Banditti*, who had voluntarily banished themselves from their Country, to accompany him, to avoid the Severity of the Laws. These were very ready to abandon their native Country for ever, since their Crimes were such, that they durst not return home; but others were not to be deceived by the vast Promises of *Hannibal*. They preferred a quiet Abode in their native Country to the vain Hopes, and uncertain Advantages, which were proposed to them from a foreign War. The *Carthaginian* General therefore, enraged at their Refusal, assembled them all, as he used to do when he had any Orders to give, or military Rewards were to be distributed; and when they came to the Place appointed, they were all on a sudden surrounded by the *African* Army. Then *Hannibal* condemned them all to Slavery, and suffered every one of his Soldiers to chuse as many of these *Italians* as he pleased, for Slaves for his own Use, or to sell for his own Advantage; and some of them were cowardly enough to accept the General's Terms. But others were ashamed to reduce to a base Servitude those who had served under the same Banners with them, and whom they looked on as their Fellow-Soldiers; and this generous Compassion proved fatal to most of these *Italians*. *Hannibal* forgot their past Services, and considered them only as secret Enemies, ready to join with the *Romans*; and they only exchanged Slavery for Death. By the Order of this merciless General,

they were all shot to Death with Arrows, in the Sight of the whole Army. And before his Departure, he cut the Throats of above four thousand Horses, and a great Number of Beasts of Burden, which he could not transport into *Africa*. Then the Troops he had gathered together were embarked, except some Battalions; and whilst they lay at Anchor, expecting a fair Wind, this Body of Troops, which was posted on the Confines of *Bruttium*, was attacked by the Inhabitants of *Petelia*. Several of these Soldiers were massacred; and the *Petelini*, not expecting *Hannibal*, and content with the Advantage they had gained, retired in good Order, and secured themselves in their City.

To which *Appian* adds, that *Hannibal's* Departure was also followed by the Reduction of those Nations in *Italy*, who had engaged for him. The *Romans* granted a Pardon for their past Revolt, to all the rebellious Cities, but those of the *Bruttii*, who were excepted out of the general Amnesty. This Nation had obstinately adhered to the Interests of *Carthage* to the very last: and therefore to punish them for their Rebellion, they were disarmed, deprived of Part of their Territory, degraded from the Honour of being Allies to *Rome*, loaded with heavy Burdens, and reduced to a kind of Slavery. *Rome* would not vouchsafe to admit them into her Armies; and employed them only in servile Works. From *Bruttium*, the Consuls, and other Magistrates, had their *Lictors*, Tipstafs, Apparitors, and other Officers, which were appointed to perform the most odious, and the meanest Offices. And lastly, the *Romans* perpetuated the Ignominy of these People, by calling them *Bruttii*, instead of *Bretii*, or *Brentii*, which was their Name before their Rebellion. By this Alteration, they intended to point out their *Bruttality*, and the Meanness of their Sentiments. Afterwards, their Name became proverbial. To call a Man a *Bruttian*, was to say he had no Honour. *Festus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Strabo*, have all transmitted to us Accounts of the Humiliation of the People of *Bruttium*; which they, as well as *Appian*, ascribe to their Revolt. Nevertheless, *Strabo* pretends, *B. 5.* that the *Picentini*, and *Lucani*, were treated with as much Rigour for their Unfaithfulness. Thus *Joshua* had, some Ages before, humbled the whole Nation of the *Gibeonites*, and reduced them to a shameful State of Slavery.

Year of
R O M E
DL.
CN. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO, C.
SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

Fast. Capit.

*Livy, B. 30.
c. 24.*

Year of
R O M E
DL.
CN. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO, C.
SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

more readily accept the Conditions offered her, or at least prevent her interrupting the Success of the *Roman* Arms so much as she now did. *Scipio* therefore sent for a Reinforcement of Ships both from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. The Squadron from *Sardinia* consisted of an hundred Ships laden with Ammunitions, and twenty Ships of War, all commanded by the *Prætor Lentulus*; and they arrived safe in the Port, where *Scipio* expected them. But that which *Octavius* was bringing from *Sicily*, had not so happy a Passage. It was at first becalmed; and afterwards a Storm dispersed it. Some of the two hundred Transports, and thirty Gallies for War, of which this Squadron consisted, took Refuge under *The Promontory* ⁹⁰ of *Apollo*, near *Utica*; others under *Ægimurus*, a little Island which covered the Port of *Carthage*; and others within reach of *Carthage* itself, in a Place called *The Hot Waters*.

THEN the Sight of so many *Roman* Ships which were accidentally exposed to be plundered by them, made the greedy *Carthaginians* forget the Truce, and the Negotiations for a Peace. The Populace crowded to the Door of the Senate-house; and with great Clamours demanded Leave to seize the Prey, which the Winds and Waves offered them. Nevertheless, the wisest of the Senators made some Opposition to it; but the People prevailed. *Hamilcar* had Orders ⁹¹ to sail out of Port with a Fleet of fifty Ships, visit the Coasts, and seize all the *Roman* Ships, which had fled into the *Carthaginian* Ports for Shelter; and those which the Waves had driven near *Ægimurus*, or *The Hot Waters*, were towed into the Port of *Carthage*. The *Roman* Crews had abandoned them, and escaped to the Mountains.

Polyb. B. 15.
c. 1.
Liv. B. 30.
c. 25.

§.XXXV. *SCIPIO* was justly enraged at the News of so black a Piece of Treachery. The Truce was not expired; neither had the Ambassadors brought their Report from *Rome*, whether she was for Peace, or War. So that this was a manifest Infraction of the Laws of Nations; and the Crime was the more heinous in the *Carthaginians*, in that they themselves had made the first Advances for a Suspension of Arms. It looked as if they had desired it, only to get an Opportunity to break it. But nevertheless, the prudent *Pro-Consul* restrained his Resentment. Before he undertook to revenge the Injury, he sent to *Carthage* three ⁹² Deputies, of whom *M. Bæbius* was the chief; with Orders to complain to the *Carthaginians* of the Injustice of the People, and the Violences of their Admiral. You came of your own accord, said *Bæbius*, to our Camp at *Tunis*; and left nothing untried, to raise our Compassion. After the usual Libations, you fell prostrate on the Earth, and creeping on the Ground, kissed the Feet of our Officers. You acknowledged yourselves to be blame-worthy, and vanquished; and you sued for Peace. What then has forced you to break it? Was it your Hopes of the mighty Effects of *Hannibal's* Return? Vain Expectation! Will a General, who has been so often vanquished in Italy, and who was at last reduced to the single Port of *Lacinium* ⁹³, be able to deliver you out of the Danger that threatens you? Ought not the Uncertainty of Success, after so many Disasters, to have restrained your Pride? Should Fortune once more desert you, to which of the Gods will you have recourse? They all abhor your Treachery. Or will you again have recourse to us? What Dependence can we have on any thing that you say, after we have been thus deceived by your feigned Humiliations? You will then have no Recourse left, either to Gods or Men, after such signal Perjury and Inconstancy.

THESE Words, spoken by a *Roman* with all the Confidence that Victory inspires, provoked the *Carthaginians*. The Senators themselves did not even affect more Moderation than the common People. Few of them were cool enough to hearken

⁹⁰ The ancient Geographers mention two *Promontories* of *Apollo* in *Africa*; one in the Kingdom of *Algiers*, which is thought to be the present *Cape of Tenes*. The other which is here spoken of, is on the Coast of *Tunis*. *Marmol* gives it the Name of *Acafran*. But according to *Mercator*, it is the *Cape Razamuzar*. It lies over-against the Island of *Sardinia*.

⁹¹ *Livy* tells us, it was *Asdrubal* who was ordered to sail out of Port, to take the *Roman* Gallies. But we have already observed, after *Appian*, that this General had been degraded, and proscribed by his Republick.

⁹² The Name of one of the two other Deputies was *Lucius Sergius*, and that of the other, *Lucius Fabius*. The Copyists of *Polybius* have very improperly put the Name of *Servius* for that of *Sergius*; which is a manifest Mistake. The *Roman* Historian does not mention any *Servian* Family in *Rome*.

⁹³ See what we have said of the *Lacinian* Promontory and Port, now *Cape de la Colonne*, *B. 21. p. 419.* of *Vol. 2. Note 29.*

to Reason. They almost all cried out, that the Conditions of Peace offered them were too hard. The People obstinately refused to restore the Prey with which they had enriched their City, and increased the Provisions in it. And all the Authority of some Persons of less Warmth, was little enough to deliver the *Roman* Ambassadors themselves out of the Hands of the People. But they at least got leave to send them back without any Answer. The Heads of the Republick agreed in this with the Multitude; (Such Dependence had they on *Hannibal's* Return!) and all Orders of Men in *Carthage* were now wholly bent on War. The Expedient they found out to begin Hostilities, was this, Under Pretence of guarding the *Roman* Ambassadors, they resolved to send them away, with a Convoy of two armed Gallies; and at the same time gave their Admiral, whose Fleet lay at Anchor near *Utica*, notice of the Departure of the Ambassadors, and ordered him to attack, and sink the *Roman* Ship, as soon as the Convoy had left her. When the *Roman* Galley came towards the Mouth of the *Bagrada* ⁹⁴, the two *Carthaginian* Ships, which sailed with her, left her on a sudden, under Pretence, that they could see the *Roman* Camp from thence; and the Ambassadors were offended at this sudden Departure of their Convoy. It ought, in Decency, to have conducted them to the Port where the *Roman* Fleet rode at Anchor; but they soon discovered the Reason of their being so suddenly deserted. They were attacked by three *Carthaginian* Gallies. Their *Quinqueremis* was a light Sailer, and well manned with Rowers and Soldiers; and they made all the Resistance that could be expected from a Company of brave Men, who were unexpectedly attacked. The Enemy's Gallies often struck at the *Roman* Ship with the Beaks of their *Prows*; and the *Carthaginians* as oft attempted to board her. But the *Roman Quinqueremis*, which was higher built than they, withstood these Attacks. Indeed, as she was assaulted sometimes sideways, and sometimes in her Stern, she lost some Soldiers; but nevertheless, by her Lightness, and a vigorous Defence, she either shunned the most violent Strokes, or returned them. And this Battel being fought in Sight of the *Roman* Camp, great Numbers of Soldiers therefore marched out of it, to assist their Galley; and this Sight made the *Roman* Ambassadors resolve to steer along the Coast fighting. Till at length the *Quinqueremis*, being hard pressed by the three Ships of the Enemy, ran aground on the Strand; and there they found some *Carthaginian* Troops, who had made more haste thither than the *Romans*. In the Hurry of getting to Shore, these perfidious Men killed a great Number of the *Romans*: and it was a kind of Prodigy, that the Ambassadors themselves escaped, after two of the three had been wounded ⁹⁵.

§. XXXVI. THIS Perfidiousness, and these Hostilities, were but too plain Proofs, that the War would be renewed with fresh Rancour; the Infraction of the Truce was too visible to be dissembled. It therefore was taken for granted, that *Hannibal's* Arrival would produce an open Rupture; and this General, so long desired by his Friends, at length got Sight of *Africa*. As soon as he saw his native Country, he ordered a Sailor to the Scuttle of the Mast of his Ship, to discover the Country, where he was going to land. And this Sailor being asked what he saw, replied, the Ruins of a Tomb on an Eminence. Then *Hannibal*, affrighted at this Presage, ordered him to sail on; and at length his Fleet arrived in Sight of *Little Leptis* ⁹⁶, a City between *Susa* ⁹⁷, and *Adrumetum* ⁹⁸. And there he first landed in his native Country, which he had left at nine Years of Age, and had not seen for three and thirty Years together.

ALMOST at the same time, *Laelius* and *Fulvius* returned from *Rome* to *Africa*; the latter, to continue in his Post of Lieutenant-General in *Scipio's* Army; the former in Quality of *Quæstor*, as well as Lieutenant-General. These two Offices were not incompatible. *Scipio's* Friend brought him all the News from

⁹⁴ The *Bagrada* is a River in *Africa*, which rises in the Mountains of *Lybia*. After it has passed through *The Provincia Zengitana*, it discharges itself into *The Gulph of Carthage*. It is now called *Me-grada*.

⁹⁵ According to *Appian*, the two Ambassadors died of their Wounds.

⁹⁶ We have already shewn the Situation of *Little Leptis*.

⁹⁷ The City of *Susa* is still in being, and stands twenty five Miles a little East of *Tunis*. It is thought to be the same Place which *Ptolomy* calls *Siagul*. At least the Situation this Geographer gives the latter, agrees with that of *Susa*. It gloried in having been founded by the *Romans*.

⁹⁸ We shall speak of the City *Adrumetum* hereafter. It was formerly one of the most considerable Cities in *Africa*.

Year of
R O M E
DL.
CN. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO,
C. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

*App. in Punic.
Liby, B. 30.
c. 25.*

Year of *Rome*; and doubtless did not forget to mention the Death of *Fabius*, his inveterate Rival in Glory.

DL.
CN. SERVILI-
US CAPIO,
C. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

THIS great Man was now dead, at the Age of an hundred Years, after a short Sickness. The Republick had not for a great while bred a greater Officer, or more zealous *Citizens*. He acquired the Surname of *Cunctator*, or *The Temporizer*, by his Delays; tho', whether his Dilatoriness was a Virtue, or a Fault, may admit of a Question. But be that as it will, it must at least be granted, that this cautious Conduct was very seasonable in the perillous Times, when *Fabius* had the Command of the *Roman Legions*. Had he been more precipitate, he must have sunk under the Valour of the young, and the victorious *Hannibal*. But *Fabius* found means to weaken him by Delays, and preserve for his Republick the Remains of her Forces, which at length were sufficient to drive him out of *Italy*. In his civil Employments, *Fabius* governed *Rome* with Prudence. His Counsels were revered there, as so many Oracles. He was long *Prince of the Senate*, and did not resign that Office, but with his Life. Indeed he cast a little Blemish on his old Age, by his unworthy Jealousy of *Scipio*. But this was a very pardonable Weakness in a Man so very far advanced in Years. And lastly, he likewise merited the Title of *Maximus*, which had been given to his 99 Great-Grandfather before him. But it must be confessed, the Opportunity he had of coping with *Hannibal* contributed much to raise his Glory above that of his Ancestors. After his Death, the *Roman* People gave very signal Proofs of their Gratitude to him. They ¹⁰⁰ taxed themselves to raise a Sum, to defray the Expences of his ¹⁰¹ Funeral; not so much, because he died poor, and wanted it, as merely in Testimony of their Esteem for him.

§. XXXVII. AND now, the Eyes of all the Nations in *Europe* and *Africa* were fixed on the new Scene that was going to be opened between *Rome* and *Carthage*. The two Heroes of the Age, *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, were soon to enter the Lists: and all Men were intent on the future Success, and wished well to one or the other. The former had acquired as much Glory in *Italy*, tho' he had failed of reducing it; as the latter had done in *Spain*, which he had conquered. None of *Scipio's* Victories were compared to those of the Lake *Thrasimenus*, and at *Canna*; but *Hannibal's* Success was now no longer equal to his Courage. Tho' Errors appeared in the Conduct of the *African*, he discovered an incomparable Genius for War. Tho' the *Roman* was allowed to have more Virtues, he was likewise thought more capable of gaining Hearts by his Sweetness, than of crushing Enemies by

99 The Great-Grandfather of *Fabius*, according to *Plutarch*, was this *Quintus Fabius Rullus*, who obtained the Honours of the *Consulship* five times, and was promoted to the Dignities of *Dictator* and *Censor*. By the Term *Avus*, which *Livy* uses, he seems to have thought that *Rullus* was Grandfather, and not Great-Grandfather to the Great *Fabius*: unless we say that *Avus* is a general Term, which signifies a Grandfather, Great-Grandfather, or any Ancestor in general, in a direct Line. But be that as it will, we have followed the *Greek* Writer, whose Authority has the most Weight with us; and upon this Supposition, it is clear, that *Quintus Fabius Gurges* was Grandfather to *Fabius*. As to his Father, the *Roman* Historians have not clearly enough told us who he was. Nevertheless, there is room to believe, that *Fabius* was the Son of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, surnamed *Pictor*, whom the Republick raised to the *Consulship*, in the Year of *Rome* 487. Between *Fabius Gurges*, and the *Fabius Maximus* here spoken of, the *Fasti Consulares* mention no other *Fabius*.

100 *Plutarch* says, that every Person payed towards the Expences of *Fabius's* Funeral, a small Piece of Money then current among the *Romans*; probably the same, which the *Greek* Historian calls *Quadrans*; which was the fourth Part of an *As*. We have already observed, that in the first Ages of *Rome*, the *As* weighed a *Roman* Pound of twelve *Ounces*, and consequently the *Quadrans* weighed three. For this Reason, says *Pliny*, *B. 33*. It was called *Triunx*. Afterwards, in the first *Punic* War, the *As* was re-

duced to the Weight of two *Ounces*, and consequently the *Quadrans* to that of half an *Ounce*. Several Years after, in the Beginning of the second *Punic* War, whilst *Fabius* was *Dictator*, the *As* was reduced a second time, and brought to one *Ounce*, and consequently the *Quadrans* to two *Drams*. And lastly, when the *As* was reduced to half an *Ounce* only, by the *Papirian* Law, a little after the *Dictatorship* of the same *Fabius*, as *Pliny* observes, the *Quadrans* was then fixed to one *Dram*. It is manifest therefore, that this Law was made before the Year *Fabius* died, since there were fourteen Years between his *Dictatorship* and Death; and consequently the *Quadrans* was worth but one *Dram* at this time.

101 The Year of *Rome* 550, was not only remarkable for the Death of *Fabius*, and the Retreat of *Hannibal*; but likewise, according to *Livy*, for a Fire which consumed the Street called *Publicus Clivus*. All the Houses of this Quarter, the Situation of which we have shewn, *Vol. 2*. were reduced to Ashes. And it was at this time, that the *Spaniards* sent so great a Quantity of Corn to *Rome*, that a Bushel was sold for four *Asses*. The *Roman Games*, and The *Plebeian Games*, which were also then celebrated, contributed much to the Joy of the People. And lastly, in regard to the Memory of *Fabius*, his Son was honoured with the Dignity of *Augur*; and *Servius Sulpicius Galba* succeeded this great Man in the Dignity of *Pontifex*; which he had held together with the *Augurate*.

Force. In the Opinion of Mankind, the latter better deserved to conquer; but the former was better qualified for it. Hence the Suspension of Mens Minds between two Generals, one of which seemed to have most Skill in the Business of Arms, the other a more general Merit. But of all the Countries in the World, none were more concerned in the great Show which was preparing in *Africa*, than *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*. However, some were for *Rome*, others for *Carthage*; and prayed for one or the other, as their Affections led them. At *Rome* itself, the Expectations of the People were not free from Doubts and Distrusts; which appeared after the Election of the *Consuls* for the Year of *Rome* 551.

Year of
R O M E
DL.
CN. SERVILI-
US CÆPIO,
C. SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

AFTER the *Dictator*, *Sulpicius Galba*, had run over the Provinces of *Hetruria*, and *Cisalpine Gaul*, punished the Rebels, and settled Peace there, he returned to *Rome* to preside at the great Elections. The *Comitia* chose *Tib. Claudius Nero*, and *M. 102 Servilius Pulex*, *Consuls*; and as soon as they were in Office, the People and Senate were divided about their *Provinces*. The Senators were first of opinion, that the *Consuls* should draw Lots, which of them should go and command in *Africa*, with *Scipio*; and both Collegues appeared very desirous of so honourable a Commission. But *Metellus*, a faithful Friend to *Scipio*, and his Agent in the Senate, took care that *The Conscrip't Fathers* should come to no Determination to the Disadvantage of the *African Pro-Consul*. They referred the Decision of the Pretensions of the *Consuls* to the assembled People. The Affair was brought before the *Comitia* by the *Tribunes of the People*; and not one of the *Tribes* was for giving *Scipio* a Coadjutor. Nevertheless, the *Consuls*, contrary to the Inclinations of the People, under the Pretence of a Decree of the Senate, drew Lots, which should command an Army in *Africa*: but their Proceedings were not regular. And the Decree itself declared, that the *Consul*, to whose Lot it should fall to go and command in *Africa*, should have no Superiority over *Scipio*. He was to be content with conducting the Fleet; and to leave the Direction of all Affairs at Land, wholly to the *Pro-Consul*: which was at least equalling the Authority of *Scipio* to that of a *Consul*, and increasing his Glory by dividing it. Then *Nero* and *Pulex* drew Lots for their respective *Provinces* in the approaching Campaign; and the Command of the Fleet in *Africa* fell to the former, that of the Army 103 in *Hetruria* to the latter. After this, the Republick, which now had only one War to maintain, disbanded many of her Troops. She reduced the numerous Forces she kept on Foot, whilst *Hannibal* and *Mago* infested *Italy*, to sixteen *Legions*. But she increased her Sea-Forces as much as she lessened those at Land. *P. Villius*, who from being *Prætor* in *Sicily*, now acted as *Pro-Prætor* there, guarded the Coasts of that Island with twenty Galleys, and sent twenty more from thence to secure *Italy*. Besides, fifty *Quinqueremes* were equipped for *Africa*, under the Command of the *Consul Nero*. Not to mention the great Fleet *Scipio* then commanded in *Africa*, and that which was cruising towards *Sardinia*. The Sea-Armaments of *Rome* were indeed very formidable; she now deprived *Carthage* of the Empire she had so long acquired over the Seas.

Year of
R O M E
DLI.
TIB. CLAU-
DIUS NERO,
M. SERVILIUS
PULEX, Con-
suls.

Livy, B 30.
c. 27.

AND in this Year, which so much raised the Hopes and increased the Fears of Mankind, several Acts of Religion were also performed. *Rome* caused the *Consuls* to discharge the Vow the *Dictator Manlius* had formerly made, to celebrate some *Games*,

102 It appears by *The Capitoline Tables*, that *Marcus Servilius*, one of the *Consuls* for this Year 551, was Brother to *Caius Servilius*, who was *Consul* the Year before. At least, according to this ancient Monument, it is certain, that they both were Sons to one *Caius Servilius*, and Grandsons to one *Publius Servilius*. Some conjecture, that *Marcus Servilius* was surnamed *Pulex*, from the Smallness of his Stature. The Surname of *Geminus* had been continued in the *Consul's* Branch of the Family, from *Publius* and *Quintus Servilius*; the former of whom had been *Consul* in the Year of *Rome* 501. The Term *Geminus* makes it probable, that this *Publius* and *Quintus* were Twins.

103 After the *Provinces* of the *Consuls* had been fixed by Lot, the Senate and People confirmed the Command of the Army in *Hetruria* to *Caius Servilius*, the *Consul* for the last Year, in case the Pre-

sence of *Marcus Servilius*, the present *Consul*, should be thought necessary at *Rome*. It has been observed in the Text, that *Hetruria* had fallen by Lot to *Pulex*. The Government of *Cisalpine Gaul*, and the Command of the two *Legions* which *Publius Quintilius Varus* then commanded there, fell by Lot to the *Prætor*, *Marcus Sextius*. *Caius Livius* succeeded the *Pro-Consul Sempronius*, who commanded in *Bruttium*, at the Head of two *Legions*. *Cneius Tremellius* succeeded *Publius Villius Tappulus* in the Government of *Sicily*; and *Caius Aurelius Cotta* was made *Prætor Urbanus* in *Rome*; that is, his Jurisdiction was confined to Causes between *Citizen* and *Citizen*. *Marcus Pomponius* was ordered to carry back to *Rome* twenty Ships, and fifteen hundred *Roman* Soldiers, which had hitherto been employed in guarding the Coasts of *Sicily*.

Year of
R O M E
DLI.

TIB. CLAU-
DIUS NERO,
M. SERVILIUS
PULEX, Con-
suls.

in Honour to certain Divinities. Nor were the People content with rejoicing in these Shows for one Day; they were repeated for four successively. Nevertheless, these Amusements, and the Victims which were slain, did not entirely appease the Apprehensions of the People. They remembered the Predictions *Fabius* had given out, a little time before his Death. The *Romans* had heard him affirm, that the Seat of the War was indeed changed, but the Danger not at all diminished. He thought *Hannibal* as formidable in *Africa*, as in *Italy*. He had said, *Scipio will find Hannibal not to be such an Adversary, as the contemptible Asdrubal, or Syphax, who was formerly instructed in the Art of War by a vile Roman. How great a Man is Hannibal! Spain, Cisalpine Gaul, and Italy, have been more than once over-run by him! He was in a manner born in the Bosom of Bellona, and spent his Infancy in Camps. He was victorious when a Child; and tho' yet young, has gained the Experience of the oldest Officers. The Army he commands is inured to Fatigues, and aspires at nothing but shedding Roman Blood. When he left Italy, he carried with him into Africa numberless honourable Spoils, which he has taken from us. Such are the Enemies Scipio is to contend with! How many of the Carthaginians, who now oppose him, have killed Roman Tribunes, Prætors, and Consuls, with their own Hands! How many of them have received military Rewards, either for having forced our Lines, or taken our Cities by Storm! Hannibal himself may boast of having vanquished more of our Generals, than our Consuls have Lictors to attend them!* These Discourses of *Fabius*, just before his Death, made the stronger Impression on the People, because they had been but too sensibly convinced of the Truth of what he asserted. They had seen the tragical Scenes he spoke of, with their own Eyes; and the nearer the Danger approached, the greater were the Distrusts even of those who were most prejudiced in *Scipio's* Favour.

BUT then *Carthage* had her Disquietudes too. The People there remembered the two Battels, which had lately covered *Africa* with Blood. They were sensible, that the Alliance they had made with *Numidia*, was become in a manner useless, by the Captivity of *Syphax*. *Masinissa*, a Prince of known Valour, and zealous in the Interests of *Rome*, had made himself Master of almost all the Dominions of his Rival, and was now wholly employed in raising up new Enemies against the *Carthaginians*. *Cyrtha*, the capital City of King *Syphax*, was then in his Power; and it was to be feared, that this vast Country would become entirely *Roman*. The *Carthaginians* also looked on *Scipio* with Dread; they imputed to him only, the Misfortunes of having been driven out of *Spain* and *Italy*. They said he was an Avenger whom Heaven had raised up, to punish their Pride. Such were the Thoughts and Discourses of the most Fearful; whilst the most Fierce thought they had an infallible Resource in *Hannibal*. They believed he would prove a surer Defence to *Carthage*, than *Fabius* and *Marcellus* had been to *Rome*; and being full of this Hope, the most Daring repented of their having demanded, and obtained, a Peace.

§. XXXVIII. IN the mean time, *Hannibal* had left the Place where he landed, and advanced towards ¹⁰⁴ *Adrumetum*. He knew not whether the *Roman* Senate had granted *Carthage* a Peace, or refused it. The Ambassadors sent to *Italy* to treat of it, were not yet returned. At least *Hannibal* knew not that his Senate were inclined to War; till the Infraction of the Truce gave him an Assurance, that Hostilities were going to be renewed. But then he took his Measures to gain over to him as many *Numidians* as possible. He made an Alliance with the little King of the ¹⁰⁵ *Areacides* in *Numidia*: and another Lord ¹⁰⁶ of that Country brought him a Reinforcement of a thousand Horse. *Vermina*, the second Son of *Syphax*, joined all the Forces he had left, to those of *Hannibal*; and was wholly bent on revenging the Cause of his Father and elder Brother, who were kept in Chains at

App. in Punic.

¹⁰⁴ *Adrumetum* was a City of *Africa*, which was thought to have been founded by a Colony of *Phanicians*. It stood on the Sea-Coast of *The Byzacene Province*, or of the Kingdom of *Tunis*, seventy five thousand geometrical Paces, that is, twenty five Leagues, East of *Carthage*. According to *Mercator*, the Situation of this ancient City agrees well enough with that City which is now called *Mahometta*, or *Hamameta*, in the Language of the *Arabs*. But others place it near *Toulba*.

¹⁰⁵ The Name of the *Areacides* was unknown both to the ancient and modern Geographers. So that we cannot guess what Part of *Numidia* they inhabited.

¹⁰⁶ *Appian* gives this Lord the Name of *Mese-tulus*.

Rome. The *Carthaginian* General entered also into a Negotiation with another *Numidian* Lord named *Tychæus*; and got some Horses of him to remount his Cavalry. *Hannibal* found means to persuade this Prince, who was also a Friend to *Syphax*, that if *Rome* should be victorious in *Africa*, the ambitious *Masiniſſa* would deprive him both of his Dominions and his Life. Upon which, *Tychæus* declared for the *Carthaginians*, and brought *Hannibal* two thousand Horses. So that the artful General increased his Troops, with a considerable Reinforcement of *Numidians*. Indeed, he did not always depend on all the Bodies of Men, which came from *Numidia*, and offered him their Service. Four thousand Horses, which had formerly served under *Syphax*, and had since gone over to *Masiniſſa*, came to enlist themselves in his Troops; but *Hannibal* suspected them of Treachery, and delivered them up to the Archers in his Army, who shot them to death with their Arrows.

Year of
R O M E
DLI.
TIB. CLAU-
DIUS NERO,
M. SERVILIUS
PULEX. Con-
suls.
Polyb. B. 15.
c. 3.

AND whilst *Hannibal* was thus drawing off from the *Romans*, all the People, and petty Kings he could, in *Numidia*; *Scipio* was renewing the War, with all the Fury that the Perfidiousness of the *Carthaginians* deserved. He took Towns from the *Africans*, not by Capitulation, as formerly, but by Force; and no longer gave any Quarter, or shewed any Mercy. He made all the Inhabitants of the Cities he took by Assault, to pass under the Yoke; and he sent Courier after Courier to *Masiniſſa*, pressing him to leave his Dominions, and come and join him, with all the Forces he could get. Besides, this Prince had carried with him into *Numidia*, ten *Manipuli* of *Romans*, whom he had made use of, in reconquering his Dominions; and they were wanted, to strengthen the *Roman* Army. But during these Expeditions, *Scipio* did not give himself up to his Resentments; his Reason always kept the Ascendant over his Passion. And in short, in the midst of Blood and Slaughter, he never forgot the Duties of Humanity, or the Laws of Nations. Posterity cannot enough admire the noble Example of Moderation which he shewed, at a time when the *Carthaginians* deserved the worst of Treatment.

THE Ambassadors *Carthage* had sent to *Rome*, to treat of Peace, at length returned to *Africa*, when Affairs there were more embroiled than ever. *Fulvius Gillo*, who had convoyed them to *Italy*, landed them at the Port, where the *Roman* Fleet was in Harbour; and it was natural for *Scipio*, to return on the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors, the ill Treatment his own had received. ¹⁰⁷ *Bæbius* therefore arrested the *Carthaginians* as Criminals, and did not doubt but the *Pro-Consul* would empower him to execute his Revenge upon them. *Bæbius* had been personally ill treated by the *Carthaginian* Senate; and he acquainted the *Pro-Consul*, that he had detained these unfortunate Men. But, to his great Surprise, he found that *Scipio* respected their Character of Ambassadors, though from a Nation, which did not deserve the least Regard. The General ordered, that they should be received with Humanity, though he was at the same time informed, that they had brought him full Powers from his Republick, to conclude or reject a Peace with them, as he thought fit. Nor did *Scipio* only abstain from insulting the *Carthaginians* in their Ambassadors; he commanded that they should be treated with Respect, cared for, and sent back to *Carthage*. He knew, that it had always been agreeable to his Republick, to shew Regard to the Law of Nations; and *Scipio* did not so much consider, what *Carthage* had deserved, as what became the Virtue of a *Roman*. He kept up the Glory the first Citizens of *Rome* had acquired, more by their rigid Virtue, than their Arms. And the Virtue of the *Pro-Consul* on this Occasion, had the Effect he expected, both on the *Carthaginians*, and *Hannibal*. His Moderation abated their Fierceness, and raised their Admiration, though it did not diminish their Hatred.

§. XXXIX. NEVERTHELESS, *Scipio* did not cease ravaging the Fields and taking Cities; which alarmed *Carthage*. She sent Orders to *Hannibal* to advance towards the Enemy, and stop his Progress. The *Carthaginian* General obeyed, left his

¹⁰⁷ Polybius tells us, that *Bæbius* did the Office of Captain-General, in the *Roman* Camp, whilst *Scipio*, with the greatest part of his Army, was running over, and conquering *Africa*. The *Pro-Consul* had also the Precaution to secure his Fleet, before his Departure, that he might not be stopped in his Career.

Year of
R O M E
DLI.

TIB. CLAU-
DIUS NERO,
M. SERVILIUS
PULEX, CON-
suls.

Post at *Adrumetum*, and came and encamped under ¹⁰⁸ *Zama*. This was a long March; he having been forced to advance up into the Country, near two hundred Miles from the Sea-Shore, which he left : And from his new Camp, *Hannibal* sent out his Spies, to discover the Situation, Strength, and Appearance, of the *Romans*. These Spies were known by their Air, and taken; and they confessed, that they had been sent by *Hannibal*, to watch *Scipio's* Steps, and acquaint the *Carthaginian* with them. It was then a settled Custom in all Nations, which were at War, to put Spies to Death. But *Scipio's* Greatness of Soul raised him above common Rules. He put these Wretches into the Hands of his *Tribunes*, and ordered his Officers to lead one of them, into all the Quarters of his Camp, shew him the whole Army, and conceal nothing from him, which he was sent out to discover. When he had walked through all the Trenches, and seen every thing with his own Eyes, he was brought back to the General, who asked him, *Whether he had seen all*. And upon the Spy's assuring him, that he had, *Go back then*, replied *Scipio*, *with your Companions, to the General who sent you, and give him the Account he expects from you*. Nor was even this enough. *Scipio* ordered that Meat should be given them, and Money enough to defray their Expences in their Return. This Air of Confidence, and this Magnanimity, surprised all *Africa*. The Nations there were not used to make War in this polite manner; And the fiercest of Men are capable of being struck with such unexpected Actions as this, which proceed from an uncommon Greatness of Soul. *Hannibal* himself was affected with it; and it is said, that being transported with Admiration at it, he resolved to have an ¹⁰⁹ Interview with *Scipio*, and sent to him to desire one.

App. in Punic.
Livy, B. 30.
c. 29.
Polyb. B. 15.
c. 5.

§. XL. *MASINISSA* was now arrived in the *Roman* Camp with six thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; and this great Number of Enemies must have terrified *Hannibal*. He considered that he should more easily obtain advantageous Terms now, than if he did not desire a Peace, till he had received some Shock. Besides, his Provisions began to fail. *A. Thermus*, one of *Scipio's* *Legionary Tribunes*, had just intercepted a considerable Party of *Carthaginians*, who were carrying Provisions to *Hannibal's* Camp; had killed four thousand Men; made as many Prisoners of War; and carried the Convoy of Provisions to the *Roman* Camp. Want softens the fiercest of Men: And *Hannibal* himself did not now disdain to have recourse to *Masinissa*. The latter was an *African* by Birth, had been brought up in *Carthage*, and had many Friends there. To him therefore the *Carthaginian* General addressed himself, to intercede with *Scipio* for him.

MASINISSA discharged his Commission with Zeal. He asked, nay entreated Favour for the *Carthaginian* People; and the *Pro-Consul* had too much Regard for his Entreaties, to reject him. He condescended to form the Plan of a Truce, which was to be the Preliminary to a Peace. The only Condition *Scipio* demanded was, That all the Ships, Men, and Effects, which had been seized, belonging to the dispersed *Roman* Fleet, should be restored him; and That a thousand *Talents* should be paid him by way of Fine, for contravening the Treaty. *Hannibal* readily consented to this Article; thereby obtained a Truce; and the Famine ceased in his Camp. The Senate of *Carthage* were likewise as ready to grant the *Roman* his Demand. But it was also necessary to get the Consent of the People; who, warmed with their Climate, and Prepossessions, opposed the Desires of the wisest of the Senators. *The Grandees*, said the Commons, desire

¹⁰⁸ *Æmilius Probus*, places the City of *Zama*, three hundred Miles from *Adrumetum*. *Polybius* and *Livy* place *Zama*, five Days Journey from *Carthage*; and *Æmilius* reckons it to lie a hundred thousand Paces West of *Carthage*. Nevertheless, according to the best Geographers, *Adrumetum* was but about seventy five Miles distant from *Carthage*, as we have already observed. And if then we add to this Distance, the hundred Miles which there were between *Zama* and *Carthage*, there will then appear to be but a hundred and seventy five Miles from *Adrumetum* to *Zama*. So that, it is probable, *Æmilius Probus*, or his Copyists, were mistaken in their Calculation. Add to this, that we must take care not to confound this City with that *Zama*, which *Strabo* mentions. This ancient Geographer

places the latter in the Country of the *Masæsylians*. He says, that young *Juba* made it the Capital of his Kingdom, and that, after the Death of this Prince, the *Romans* entirely destroyed it. *Ptolomy* calls it *Azama*. It stood in *Numidia*; whereas, the *Zama* mentioned by *Polybius* and *Strabo* in this part of our History, stood in *Africa Propria*; where, according to *Marmol*, it still subsists, and is called *Zamora*. *Pliny* ranks it among the free Cities of *Africa*.

¹⁰⁹ *Livy* does not say that *Hannibal* was inclined of himself to have a Conference with *Scipio*. He doubts whether it was proposed by the General of his own Accord, or by Order of the Senate of *Carthage*.

a Peace, only that they may reign the more despotically in Carthage. Hannibal himself seeks the Friendship of the Romans, only to support his Tyranny. Asdrubal has also done the same thing. Have not we seen him draw near to Scipio's Camp in the Night, in order to surrender himself up to him; and purchase his own Reconciliation with our Enemies, at the Price of our Liberty? These Discourses were indeed built on no other Foundation than some malicious Reports, which the artful Hanno had spread, of the pretended Treachery of Asdrubal: But nevertheless, these false Rumours were the Death of that unfortunate Father of Sophonisba. Some seditious Persons among the People went in a tumultuous manner, to search for him in the City, whither they supposed he was come; and indeed Asdrubal had fled for Refuge to his Father's Tomb, and had there ended his Days with Poison. But the Rage of these Mutineers was not appeased at the sight of his dead Body. They dragged it out of the Tomb, cut off his Head, fixed it on a Lance, and carried it through all the Streets of Carthage. Thus died one of the most illustrious, and bravest Noblemen, in the Carthaginian Republick. He probably would have overcome any Rival, except Scipio; but to complete his Misfortune, this great Commander of the Romans was the Adversary which Heaven sent against him, both in Spain, and Africa. And after he had so often escaped Scipio's Arms, he sunk under the Persecution of his fellow-Citizens. They unjustly condemned him, and treated him in an ignominious manner, even after his Death. A terrible Example for the greatest Men, who are exposed to the sudden Storms of a popular State! The same Caprice which raises them to the highest Honours, as soon throws them down from thence, and destroys them.

§. XLI. AND now, the Commons having gotten the Ascendant in Carthage, the Truce Hannibal had desired, and enjoyed for some Days, was again broken. Orders were sent to that General to continue the War, and not delay coming to a decisive Battel. But it is probable, that though Hannibal executed these Orders, it was utterly against his own Inclinations. He had, I know not what secret Forebodings, of the approaching end of his Glory, and Scipio's Superiority over him. And indeed, when the Roman found himself under a Necessity of renewing Hostilities, he began with a signal Action. He led his Army to ¹¹⁰ Parthus, a large City, pretty far up in the Country, and took it by Assault; and this ¹¹¹ made Hannibal again very solicitous to end the War with a Conference. The Roman Army was advanced as far as ¹¹² Nadagara, and Scipio had fortified himself there. The Place ¹¹³ the Roman had chosen was convenient, especially for Water, which Armies in Africa often want; and from thence, Scipio sent Hannibal Word, that he was ready to agree on a Place for an Interview. Then the Carthaginian came and encamped four Miles from the Roman Camp, on an Eminence, from whence he was forced to send a little farther for Water. Between the two Camps there was a large Plain, which was entirely open; so that neither General had Reason to fear an Ambush there: And this was the Place chosen for the Meeting. The next Day the two Generals, escorted by a like Number of Guards, came to the Place appointed; and then they separated from their Attendants, each with his Interpreter, and held a private Conference. Perhaps two greater Men

¹¹⁰ We don't know the Situation of the ancient City of Parthus in Africa. Appian is the only Author who mentions it.

¹¹¹ According to Valerius of Antium, quoted by Livy, the taking of Parthus was followed by a considerable Victory, which Scipio gained over Hannibal. This ancient Author says, that twelve thousand Carthaginians were killed upon the Spot, and that seventeen hundred others saved their Lives, by surrendering at Discretion. Then, according to him, Hannibal being reduced to great Extremity, sent Deputies to the Roman General, designing seriously to enter into proper Measures to put an end to a War, the fatal Consequences of which he now foresaw. The Person who was at the Head of the Deputation, came, according to our Author, in sight of the Roman Camp, accompanied by ten other Carthaginians. They were all brought into the Pro-Consul's Tent; and the Day and Place

were fixed, for a Conference between the two Generals.

¹¹² The Ancients don't agree about the Name of this City. Some, as Ptolomy and Antoninus, call it Naraggara. Livy calls it Nadagara; but it is most commonly called Narangara. It stood on the Confines of Numidia, a hundred and ninety Miles South of Carthage, between the Rivers Bagrada and Ampsaga. And according to some, it retains its ancient Name to this Day.

¹¹³ Appian here mentions the Adventure of the Carthaginian Spies, which we have before related in the Text, after Polybius and Livy. But this Fact seems to be certainly misplaced. Hannibal now thought of treating of a Peace between Rome and Carthage, in good Earnest. And it is very improbable, he should run the Hazard of giving Scipio Cause to suspect him, and of obstructing the Conference he desired.

Year of
R O M E
DLI.

TIB. CLAU-
DIUS NERO,
M. SERVILIUS
PULEX, Con-
suls.

Livy, B. 30.
c. 30.

Livy, *ibid.*

Livy, *ibid.*

Livy, *ibid.*

Livy, *ibid.*

Livy, *ibid.*

Livy, *ibid.*

Liv. *ibid.*

never met; nor was ever any Deliberation of more Importance. Besides their Ability of War, *Hannibal* and *Scipio* were Men of superior Talents for Business, had great Penetration and Eloquence, and were mutually suspicious, to prevent Surprise. These two Heroes had never yet seen one another; but Fame had given each a high Esteem of the other. Their Surprise at meeting, kept them for some Moments in a profound Silence; which at length *Hannibal* broke, in these Words.

SINCE it is the Will of the Gods, that I, who was the Author of the War, must be the first to desire a Peace, it is the highest Satisfaction to me, that I am to ask it of none but Scipio. And to you it will not be the least part of your Glory, that Hannibal gives Way to you. How much does your Happiness surpass that of Scipio your Father! That great Man was the first Roman I met in Arms, after my Arrival in Italy. But to his Son I sue unarmed for a Peace, to put an end to a long War, in which I have gained my self some Reputation. Most happy indeed it had been for us all, if the Gods had given our Fathers such a Temper of Mind, that You could have been contented with your Continent of Italy, and We with our Dominions in Africk. Even Sicily and Sardinia are but a poor Recompence to you, for the immense Expences you have been at, in conquering them. But let us not enlarge upon what is past; it is now irrecoverable. We have extended our Ambition to your Countries. You have brought the War into ours. I have displayed my Standards at the Gates of Rome. Your Armies have encamped near enough to Carthage, to be heard in it. And now, what You most desire, and We have most dreaded, has happened to us; we are forced to sue to you for a Peace. Indeed, both You and I have Reason to wish for one; and our Republicks will without Difficulty ratify any Treaty we shall make. What then is wanting to complete it, but a Love of Concord? As for me, my Age, my Misfortunes, my Love of my Country, which I left in my Infancy, and to which I return far advanced in Years, all incline me to prefer Repose to the Hazard of Battels. But is that Scipio's Case? Does not He, yet young, and hitherto always successful, promise himself the Reduction of Africa, after the Conquest of Spain? You indeed now are, as I formerly was, after the Battels of The Lake Thrasimenus, and Cannæ. You were, like me, put at the Head of an Army almost in your Infancy; and you have revenged the Death of your Father and your Uncle. Victory has completed what Piety began; and you have driven four African Generals out of Spain. Though made Consul before the legal Age, you have soon removed the Fears of your Republicans. You have now brought the War into Africa, destroyed two Armies here, taken and burnt two Camps at the same time, made Syphax Prisoner, destroyed many of his Cities, taken many of ours, and thereby forced me from Italy, after sixteen Years Continuance there. Powerful Motives to you, no doubt, to pursue the War. But alas, Scipio! I had formerly the very same Sentiments! And it has been my irreparable Misfortune, that I did not then so much reflect on the ill Success I might meet with, as on the Prosperities which had swelled my Mind. All ambitious Conquerors may learn Wisdom from my Example. You have seen me marching in Triumph on the Anio, and ready to scale the Walls of Rome. But now, you behold me deprived of my two excellent Brothers, and reduced so low, as to deprecate those Evils from my native City, with which I threatened yours. Will you, after this, trust to Fortune! The Glory which the Inconstant promises You, shall acquire by Battels, is at best, but an uncertain one. Whilst that which I offer you, is sure. What an Honour will it be to you, to have given us that Peace, which you have forced us to desire of you! Victory is absolutely in the Hands of the Gods. But what we ask, is in your Power. Don't then make the Success of so many Tears to depend on the uncertain Event of one Moment? If you will fight, there are brave Men on both sides; and if your Legions are well armed, our Phalanxes have their Swords and Javelins. And one unfortunate Action will endanger your losing all. Whereas, if you grant us a Peace, it can produce nothing but Glory to you. Had Regulus done this, his Captivity, and his Death, had not been followed by so many Calamities to his Country. I allow it to be just, that the People who ask a Peace, should give some Advantages to those who grant it. But after all, Carthage is not reduced so low, as to deserve no Consideration or Regard. It is enough for her to give up to Rome, Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and all

the Islands between Africa and Italy. And we are content to confine our selves to our Continent, and see you enjoy the Empire of the Seas, and rule over foreign Countries. What Motive then can you have to reject these Offers? It is in vain to urge the Insincerity with which the Carthaginians are reproached; or Suspicions founded on the Breach of the late Treaty. Are not the Authority of the Man, who proposes a Peace, and the present Dispositions of those who ask it, sufficient to assure you of the Preservation of it? It is no less a Man than Hannibal who offers himself as a Guaranty for the Promises he is commissioned to make; and it is Carthage herself, who, pressed by a troublesome War, desires a little Respite. My Word, and the publick Necessity, are sufficient Securities to you, of our Constancy in observing the Treaty. Hannibal knew how to begin the War, and carry it on, notwithstanding his Losses; and he will know how to maintain the Peace. The Credit I have gained in my Republick, makes me hope, that she will never cancel any Work of mine.

Year of
R O M E
DLI.

TIB. CLAU-
DIUS NERO,
M. SERVILIUS
PUBLIUS CON-
SULS.

THESE Words, in which the Subtlety of the Carthaginian was very apparent, were received by Scipio with all the Haughtiness of a Roman. I took it for granted, said he, that you left Italy, purely to come and prevent our settling a Peace here. The bare Hopes of seeing you, made your Carthaginians insolent. The Articles of Peace were all drawn up; Carthage had consented to them; and Rome was very willing to confirm them. But your Departure from Bruttium caused the Treaty to be violated, and produced Hostilities contrary to the Law of Nations. And now that you are at last arrived here, how are the Conditions of the Peace altered! In order to obtain it, you will grant us, you say, Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily? But were we not in Possession of them, before any of our Conferences? If you had made this Proposal before you left Italy, it might perhaps have been thought a tolerable one. But can we accept it now? The Truce has been broken; and you despise a Peace, though you ask one! You have struck off all the burdensome Articles consented to in the first Treaty; and say nothing, of any Satisfaction for the Violence offered to our Ambassadors, of making Reparation for the Plunder of our Ships, of the five thousand Talents we demanded, or of the Hostages which we required. Shall you then receive Advantage by your Perfidiousness, and profit by your want of Faith? As to the Inconstancy of Fortune, I have not forgotten it, Hannibal; but allow what you say on that Head. Yet after all, it is better to run the Hazards of a Battel, than to suffer Treachery to escape unpunished. The Gods will avenge it, by my Arms. If you will ratify the Conditions sent to Rome, I will consider of it. If not, let us take to our Arms, and hasten to the Battel!

§. XLII. AT these Words the two Generals parted; each returned to his Camp to declare that the Conference had produced no good Effect; and it was therefore necessary to make Preparations for renewing Hostilities. And indeed, never was Contest of more Importance. Not only the Fate of Rome and of Carthage depended upon it; the Empire of the World was to be the Reward of the Victory. This was very evident, when Rome once became victorious. The Conquest of Europe and of Asia, soon followed the Reduction of Africa.

EARLY the next Morning, Scipio without more delay, marched out his Troops into the Plain. ¹¹⁴ Cilla was a Village pretty near the two Camps; and near the Village was an Eminence, which it would be some Advantage to seize, and Scipio therefore made himself Master of it. Hannibal also sent a Detachment to take Possession of it, but his Africans came too late. They were repulsed by the Roman Troops, and this began the Battel. It is said, that Hannibal was forced to fight contrary to his Inclination, at a time when he did not expect it. His Army wanted Water; and in order to get some, his Men had been busy all Night in digging Wells, had fatigued themselves with their Work, and wanted Sleep. But the Roman pressing him hard, it was difficult for him to retreat. The Order of Battel observed in both Armies was this. Hannibal made a large Front with his Elephants, which were armed, and carried Towers. He had above fourscore of them in his Army; which was so considerable a Number, that it must have terrified the Romans. The Carthaginian therefore artfully placed them at the Head

App. in Punic.
Zonaras, B. 9.
c. 14.

Polyb. B. 15.
c. 9. And from
him, Livy
B. 30. c. 33.

¹¹⁴ Appian, and after him St. Cyprian, are the only Authors, that mention the City of Cilla in Africa. The latter speaks of a Bishop of Cilla, who assisted at the Council of Carthage.

Year of
R O M E
DLI.
TIB. CLAU-
DIUS NERO,
M. SERVILIUS
PULEX, CON-
suls.

of his Troops. In his second Line he posted the Mercenaries his Republick had hired into her Service; which consisted of *Ligures*, *Gauls*, *Spaniards* raised in the *Baleares* ¹¹⁵ Islands, *Moors*, and some *Macedonians*, which King *Philip* had sent to the Assistance of *Carthage*. The third Line consisted of the Natives of the Country, that is, *Carthaginians*, and other *Africans*; and lastly, in the Rear, at the Distance of a *Stadium* from all these, *Hannibal* posted his *Italians*, whom he had brought with him, because he suspected their Fidelity. His Cavalry flanked his Infantry on both Sides; the *Carthaginian* Squadrons to the right, and the *Numidian* to the left. *Scipio* drew up his Men according to the Order he had observed in the Enemy's Army. His *Hastati* formed his first Line, his *Principes* the second, and his *Triarii* the third. *Laelius*, ¹¹⁶ at the Head of the *Italian* Cavalry, led up the left ¹¹⁷ Wing, and *Masinissa*, ¹¹⁸ with his *Numidian* Squadrons, closed the right. So that there was nothing extraordinary in this Disposition; it was the common Method used by the *Romans*. Only *Scipio* observed, that in order to resist this great Number of Elephants, it was necessary to leave ¹¹⁹ large Spaces between his *Manipuli*. This gave these furious Beasts the more room to penetrate into his Army; where they would soon be surrounded by the *Manipuli* to the right and left; and would thereby be the more easily wounded on both ¹²⁰ sides, and driven out of the Battel. The *Roman* filled these Spaces with his light-armed Infantry, and gave them Orders to retire behind the first Line, or to one Side, as soon as the Elephants should be in Motion. When all Things were ready, both *Hannibal* and *Scipio* harangued their Troops. The latter, with a steady Voice, and with as much Assurance, as if the Gods had promised him the Victory, put his *Romans* in mind of his Exploits in *Spain*, and *Africa*, and of the Perfidiousness of the *Carthaginians*. *You must*, said he, *either conquer, or die. You have no Asylum in a foreign Country.* As for *Hannibal*, he could only address himself by Interpreters to Soldiers of so many different Languages, whom he put in mind of his Victories in *Italy*, and the great Number of *Romans* he had slain: and then he ordered them to turn their Eyes to *Scipio's* Army, which appeared less numerous ¹²¹, than his.

AFTER this, the Action was begun by the *Numidian* Cavalry, who skirmished for some time. Then the Elephants began to move, and some of them were so affrighted with the Shout the *Roman* Army gave, that they turned about, and fell on the *Moorish* Infantry, and *Numidian* Cavalry, of the *Carthaginian* Army. *Masinissa* therefore led on his Squadrons to the Wing which the Elephants had broken, overpowered it, put it into Disorder, and left one Flank of the Enemy's Army entirely open, and unguarded by the Horse. The rest of the Elephants made a great Slaughter among *Scipio's* light-armed ¹²² Men. But at length they affrighted them

¹¹⁵ The *Baleares* Islands are now known by the Names of *Majorca* and *Minorca*. See Vol. 3.

¹¹⁶ *Livy* says, that *Laelius* was then *Questor* in the *Roman* Army.

¹¹⁷ *Appian* differs from *Polybius* and *Livy* in this Particular. He places *Laelius* in the right Wing. But it is more reasonable to believe these two Historians than him.

¹¹⁸ *Appian* also contradicts those two Authors in this Instance. He gives the Command of the left Wing to *Octavius*; and places *Masinissa* at the Head of the *Numidian* Cavalry, and the Auxiliaries, which he had brought to the *Roman* Army.

¹¹⁹ According to this new order of Battel, the Distances which the Generals used to leave between the *Manipuli*, exactly answered to one another; so that the *Principes* were not posted over against the Spaces in the first Line. By this means *Scipio* left an open Space for the Elephants, and guarded his Soldiers against the Fury of those Animals, who in the first Onset, beat down every thing that stood in their Way. Formerly *Regulus*, for want of this Precaution, had exposed his Troops to the Fury of these Beasts. *Appian* is the only Historian we have seen, who says, that *Scipio's* De-

sign in making the Spaces in each Rank to answer one another in a direct Line, was to give his Cavalry the more play.

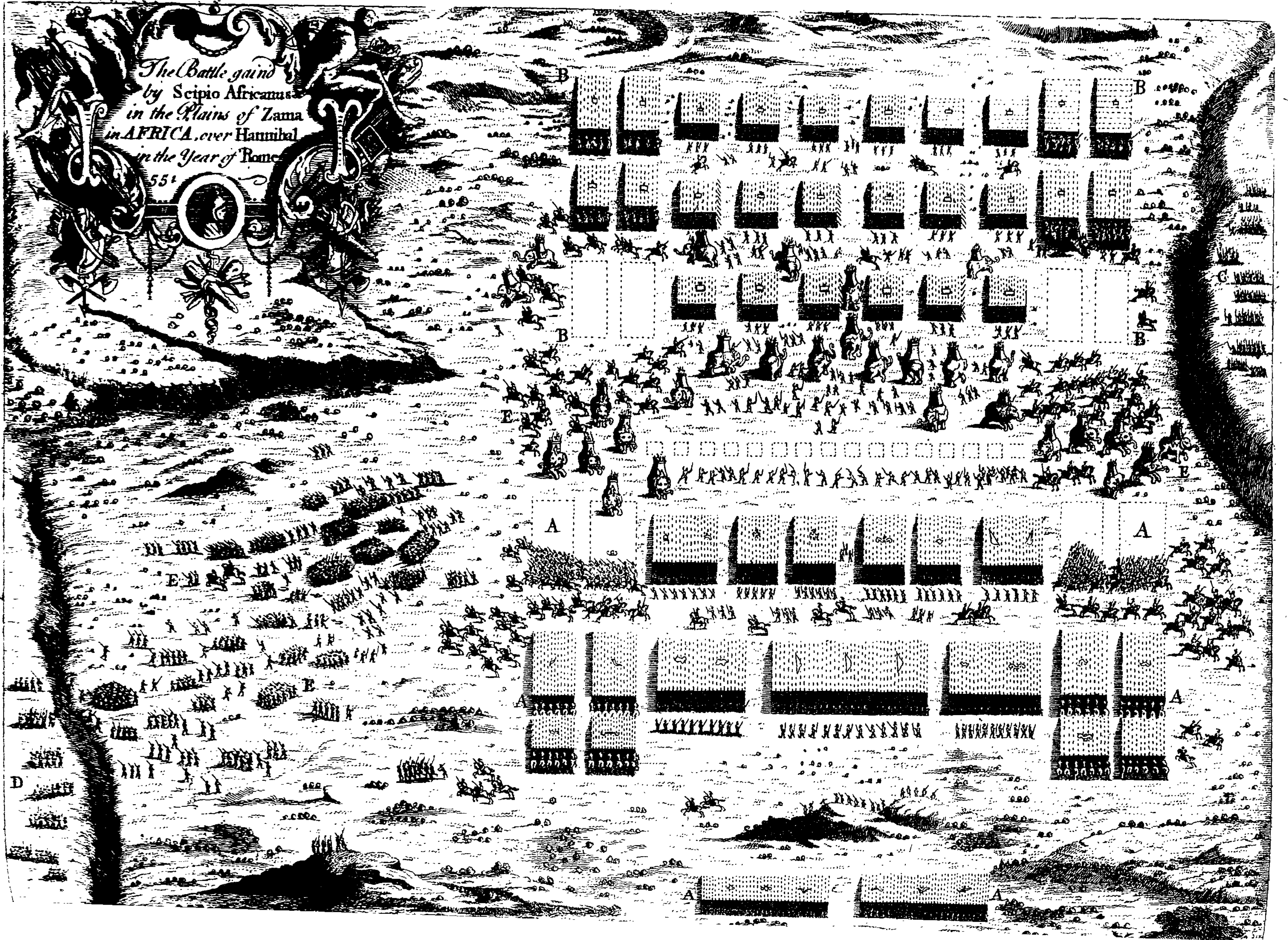
¹²⁰ According to *Appian*, the *Pro-Consul* had placed at the Head of his first Line, some Soldiers, armed with long Poles, headed with Iron, that they might reach the Elephants at a Distance; and at the same time, he ordered his Infantry to give way before these heavy Beasts, and retire to the right and left. Then all the *Legionaries* were to throw at these Animals from all Parts, a sort of Javelin, the Head of which had two Edges. Above all, the General had ordered them to aim at the Trunks of the Elephants, and to draw near to them Sword in Hand, to cut them off; but with Caution, and without exposing themselves to manifest Danger.

¹²¹ According to *Appian*, *Hannibal's* Army amounted to fifty thousand Men. That of *Scipio* consisted of twenty three thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, partly *Roman*, and partly *Italian*: exclusive of the Auxiliaries which *Masinissa*, and a petty King of the Country named *Lacumaces*, had brought the *Pro-Consul*. The latter had but six hundred Horse in pay.

¹²² The Elephants, says *Appian*, began already to break into the main Body, and the Horses being terrified,

The Battle gain'd
by Scipio Africanus
in the Plains of Zama
in AFRICA, over Hannibal
in the Year of Rome

551



them with their Darts; forced them into the wide Spaces between the *Manipuli*; and then being wounded on all sides, or forced to fly, they left the Plain, and made Way for another kind of Battel. Some of these unweildy Beasts fell on the right Wing of *Hannibal's* Army, and broke his Horse. Upon which *Laelius*; taking Advantage of this Opportunity, fell on these *Carthaginian* Squadrons, and routed them, as *Masinissa* ¹²³ had done those in the left Wing. But these considerable Advantages were only the Prelude to the Battel. The *Legionaries* had not yet engaged. As they were heavily armed, they advanced slowly against the Enemy's Infantry. But when they came up, there followed a close and resolute Engagement, which was begun with an unequal Shout. On the side of the *Carthaginians* it was weak, and broken. *Hannibal's* Army consisted of People of different Nations, which were not taught to shout all together, and with the same Tone. But the Shout of the *Romans* was more uniform, and much louder; which was an happy Prefage. And indeed, *Hannibal's* Mercenaries were vigorously attacked, especially to the right, by *Scipio's Hastati*, which found it difficult at first to break the Enemy's Battalions. They were lighter-armed than the *Legionaries*; and being more active, returned oftner to the Charge, and retired with greater Readiness. But at length the *Romans*, who moved less about, fatigued those who opposed them, and continually got Ground of them. Besides, the other Lines of the *Romans* followed close to those who fought in the first Ranks, and encouraged them; but in *Hannibal's* Army, it was quite otherwise. The *Africans*, in his second Line, did not offer to assist their Mercenaries, which were fighting. The latter therefore thinking themselves betrayed, or despised, turned their Backs upon the *Romans*, and fell furiously on their own Line, which seemed to have deserted them. Then the *Legionaries* pushed on their routed Enemies, with their Elbows and Bucklers, and forced them back with the greater Force on the second Line, to put it into Disorder. So that the *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, had not only the *Romans*, who were advanced up to them, to engage with, but also their own Mercenaries, which were in Confusion, at the Head of their Army. Indeed, it must be granted, that this second Line of *Hannibal* performed Wonders. They defended themselves both against their own Troops, and those of the Enemy, and made a great Slaughter of them; and at length, even broke some of *Scipio's Hastati*. But *Scipio* took care to carry the Wounded out of the Battel, through the Spaces in the Army; and at length, the *Hastati* took Courage, and, in their turn, overpowered the *African* Battalions. And then, the only remaining Difficulty to *Scipio*, was to break into the Enemy's *Phalanx*, where *Hannibal* commanded in Person. In order to hinder his own Fugitives from entering it, and putting it into Disorder, *Hannibal* had ordered the *Phalangites* to present the Points of their Darts to them. So that these Wretches dispersed themselves to the right and left, and got into the Fields. But when *Scipio* came to force this last Body, which *Hannibal's* Presence made formidable, he was much embarrassed. The Ground he was to cross to come at the *Phalanx*, was covered with dead Bodies, Bucklers, and Darts. The Earth being soaked with Blood, was so slippery, that the Men could scarce keep their Feet. And the *Hastati* were fatigued. Their Wounded having been carried out of the Battel, this, with the Dead they had lost, much widened their Ranks. *Scipio* therefore commanded the *Principes* and *Triarii* to leave their Posts, and drew up all his Men in one great Front. The whole Army fought in one Line; the *Hastati* in the Center; and the *Principes* and *Triarii* to the right and left. In this order, the *Romans* advanced against the last Body of the Enemy, which continued unbroken; (for the *Italians* in the *Carthaginian* Army served only for Show, during the whole Action) whilst *Hannibal*, without making any Motion, kept his Men close, and waited for the *Romans*. And it must be granted, that *Scipio*, who was victorious, in all other Parts of the Army, was here exposed to much greater Danger, than he had been else-

Year of
R O M E
DLI.
TIB. CLAU-
DIUS NERO,
M. SERVILIUS
PULEX, Con-
suls.

terrified, retreated at their Approach. Then *Scipio* ordered his *Italian* Cavalry to dismount, and throw a Shower of Darts at these formidable Beasts. As for himself he dismounted, and wounded an Elephant; and the two Wings of the *Roman* Army imitating the Example of their General, threw so

many Lances at these Animals, that they at last made them fly, and drove them out of the Battel.

¹²³ Then, according to *Appian*, *Masintha*, one of the petty Kings of *Numidia*, and a Friend to *Hannibal*, was wounded by *Masinissa*.

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Year of
R O M E
DLI.

TIB. CLAU-
DIUS NERO.
M. SERVILIUS
PULEX, CON-
suls.

Appian. in
Punic.
Zonaras, B. 9.
c. 14.

where, through the whole Action. The *Phalanx*, which was yet to be overcome, was the Choice of *Hannibal's* Army. This General had formed it of those old Soldiers, who had so often made the *Romans* tremble, in the Plains in *Italy*. Nevertheless, *Scipio's* good Fortune drew him out of the Danger, and prevented the Slaughter of many of his Infantry. After *Masinissa* and *Laelius* had long pursued the *Carthaginian* and *Numidian* Cavalry, which they had defeated; they again appeared very seasonably on the Field of Battel, when their Assistance was most wanted; and with their Squadrons, attacked the *Phalanx* *Hannibal* commanded, in the Rear. The *Roman* Infantry had already attacked it in Front, with doubtful Success. But now, *Hannibal* could hold out no longer. His *Phalanx* was broken in all Parts; and so terrible a Slaughter was made of these brave *Carthaginians*, that very few of them escaped, and their General himself was forced to fly. A memorable ¹²⁴ Victory for *Scipio*! It raised him above *Hannibal*; and it was to the *Roman* People, an Earnest of the Conquest of the World. There were above twenty thousand Men slain, on the side of the *Carthaginians*, and their Allies; and as many Prisoners were taken from them, among whom were many *Macedonians*, and with them *Sosipater*, their Commander. The *Africans* also lost eleven Elephants, and a hundred and thirty three Colours. As for *Scipio*, he did not lose more than about two thousand ¹²⁵ Men. And *Hannibal* had the good Fortune in his Flight, to be able to reach *Adrumetum*.

INDEED, if we had given credit to the Accounts two *Greek* Historians have given us of this famous Battel, we should have adorned our relation of it with many Incidents, which are not to be found in the most faithful Writers. According to the former, *Hannibal* and *Scipio* fought a single Combat. *Scipio* threw a Dart at *Hannibal*, and pierced his Buckler. *Hannibal* wounded *Scipio's* Horse, and the *Roman* being immediately remounted, threw a second Dart at the *Carthaginian*, which had no better Effect, than the former. Nor was this all. *Hannibal* likewise fought a single Combat with *Masinissa* the same Day, according to these Writers; and with the same Success as he had fought *Scipio*. The Buckler of the *Numidian* King was pierced through, his Horse wounded, and the dismounted Prince took hold of *Hannibal's* Leg, and endeavoured to dismount him. Then

¹²⁴ The same Historian adds a considerable Circumstance here, which hastened the entire Defeat of the *Carthaginian* Troops. The two Armies, says he, encouraged by the Examples of their Generals, disputed the Victory with equal Ardour, when *Hannibal* perceived that a Body of *Spaniards* and *Gauls* were retired to a neighbouring Eminence. Then he rode full Speed to those Cowards, to bring them back to the Battel; and his Soldiers, which were then actually engaged with the Enemy, thought their General had deserted them. Upon seeing *Hannibal* cross the Plain in his Way to the Hill, they all imagined he was flying; and being therefore seized with a sudden Pannick, they immediately gave way, dispersed, and fled in Disorder. Then the *Romans*, who from that time thought the Victory sure, quitted their Ranks, and ran in Confusion to pursue the Fugitives. In the mean time, *Hannibal*, who did not expect so melancholy a Catastrophe, hastened to rejoin his Army. He was followed by this Troop of *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, who complied at his Instances, and prepared to renew the Fight with fresh Fury. *Scipio* also immediately rallied his scattered Troops, fled to the new Reinforcement, attacked it, cut it in pieces, and thus completed his Victory. *Hannibal*, reduced to a Necessity of endeavouring to save himself by Flight, after he had signalized himself by a thousand Acts of Valour, escaped the Pursuit of his Conqueror. *Masinissa*, notwithstanding his Wound, pursued him, without Intermision. The Desire of crowning his Exploits with the taking of the General himself, led him to all Places through which he past. But at length the Darkness of the Night favoured *Hannibal's* Escape. He got safe into *Thon* a little City in that Country, accompanied only by twenty Troopers. Thither many of his Soldiers,

both *Spaniards*, and *Bruttians*, came to join him. But he did not think himself safe among Mercenaries, whose Fidelity he suspected, and who were more attached to his Fortune than his Person. He feared the Barbarity of some, and the Perfidiousness of others. It was to be feared, that the *Bruttians* would make it Matter of Merit to deliver him up to *Scipio*, in order thereby to obtain of the *Romans* a Pardon for their Revolt. *Hannibal* therefore immediately resolved to avoid the ill Designs of this Company of Foreigners, whose Interest it was to destroy him; and he mounted his Horse, and fled, with only one Man, in whom he could most confide. His Flight was so precipitate, that he fled from the Place he left, to *Adrumetum*, that is near three thousand *Stadia*, or a hundred and twenty five Leagues, in two Days, and two Nights. As soon as he arrived at *Adrumetum*, he assembled the Troops in the Neighbourhood, and joined them to a *Corps-de-reserve*, which he had left to guard his Magazines of Corn. And after he had gathered together these miserable Remains of his Army, he made it his whole Business to prepare Arms and Machines for his Defence, in case of an Attack.

¹²⁵ *Appian* makes the *Romans* to have lost above two thousand five hundred Men. But *Livy* and *Polybius* say only two thousand. And according to the first Historian, the Loss of the *Carthaginian* Auxiliaries under *Masinissa* was much more considerable. He pretends that this famous Victory cost them twenty five thousand Men, on the Spot. He reduces the Number of the Prisoners to eight thousand five hundred: And at the same time adds, that three hundred *Spaniards* came to *Scipio's* Camp, and surrendered; and that eight hundred *Numidians* deserted from *Hannibal*, and came over to *Masinissa*.

an Horseman hastened to *Hannibal's* Assistance. *Masinissa* stabbed this brave Man with his Sword, and the *Carthaginian* General immediately disappeared. Then the *Numidian* King, after he had received on his Shield, which was covered with an Elephant's Skin, a great Multitude of Darts; withdrew from the Battel, being slightly wounded in the Arm. But these Adventures, and especially the Eclipse of the Sun, which is said to have happened during the Battel, seem to be mere Fictions, invented purely to give Lustre to the most decisive Victory, which *Rome* ever had the Glory to gain.

Year of
R O M E
DLI.
TIB. CLAU-
DIUS NERO,
M. SERVILIUS
PUBLIUS CON-
SULS.

It must be granted, that *Hannibal* acted up to his Character on this unfortunate Day, and behaved himself like a great Commander. He took the most proper Measures he possibly could have done, in order to succeed. In this last Battel which he ever fought with the *Romans*, he formed his Troops with all the Art and Judgment, that could have been expected from a General of so great Merit. *Scipio* himself was surprized at it, and did Justice to his Rival. Nothing was ever better judged, than his opposing that large Front of Elephants to the *Romans*, in order to put them into Confusion. It was very natural for him to expect, that the mercenary Troops he had posted in the first Line, at a sufficient Distance from the *Carthaginian* Battalions, would have produced a very different Effect, from what they actually did. *Hannibal* had exposed them to the first Fury of the *Hastati*, who, in all Probability, must be fatigued, with the Resistance of this first Body, with whom they engaged. After which, the *Carthaginians* were to fall on this first Line, already harassed with a long Engagement, and break through it. Besides, it was reasonable to expect, that the Swords of the *Romans* would be blunted, their Bucklers broken, and their Darts all spent, in the Attack of the Mercenaries. And lastly, what more probable, than that the *Africans*, who were fresh, and had long continued unactive, would, in their turn, gain the Advantage over Soldiers that were fatigued, and already broken by the first Line? So that *Hannibal* had formed his Plan very wisely. But the Fate of Arms, and *Scipio's* good Genius, determined the Affair in favour of the latter. *Hannibal* was overcome, though he did not deserve to lose the Reputation he had acquired. Perhaps he would have conquered any other Man, except *Scipio*. But he must give way to the Prudence, Precautions, Valour, and interrupted Success, of an Enemy who had more Virtues, and was therefore more worthy of the Protection of Heaven, than himself.

Polyb. B. 15.
c. 16.

§. XLIII. FROM *Adrumetum*, whither *Hannibal* had fled for Refuge, he was soon recalled by the Senate of *Carthage*; and then this great Man returned to his native City, from which he had been absent for six and thirty Years. Notwithstanding his Misfortunes, his Republick still looked on him with Respect. Being known to be as able at the Council-Table, as in the Field, he was introduced into the Senate; and there it was deliberated, whether the War should be continued, or a Peace desired. *Hannibal* said little; but what he said was of great weight. *Scipio has overcome me*, said he, *and thereby put us out of a Condition to resist the Power of Rome. We have no Resource but in a Peace, the obtaining which is the only Step we have to take.* These Words, in the Mouth of the warlike *Hannibal*, were decisive; and *Carthage* now thought of nothing, but using all means to soften the *Roman* General, whose Inclinations to Clemency were well known. All things were got ready at *Carthage*, for making new Supplications to the Conqueror; whilst he on the other hand, was considering how to make Advantage of his Victory. After he had plundered *Hannibal's* Camp, he had drawn near to the Sea, and encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Tunis*. What made him the more in haste to seize this old Post, was the News he received, that *Lentulus*, *Pro-Prætor* of *Sardinia*, was arrived in the Port of *Utica*, with fifty Ships of War, and a hundred Transports laden with Provisions. Then this Reinforcement, added to the Fleet the *Pro-Consul* already had, emboldened him to appear before *Carthage*, in order to fill it with Terror. *Scipio* went on board his Fleet, and commanded it in Person. Nevertheless, before he set sail, he did these two things. First, he sent *Lælius* with the ¹²⁶ News of his Victory to *Rome*.

Livy, B. 30.
c. 35.

¹²⁶ *Scipio* put the greatest part of the Spoils he had taken from the Enemy, and the choice of the Prisoners, on-board the Fleet, which carried *Lælius* to *Rome*. He likewise sent with him Moveables wrought

Year of
R O M E
DLI.
TIB. CLAU-
DIUS NERO,
M. SERVILIUS
PULEX, Con-
suls.

Rome. And Secondly, he ordered *Cneius Octavius*, the *Pro-Prætor* of *Sardinia*, who was come to him into *Africa*, to march the *Roman Legions* towards *Carthage*. By these Motions one would have thought, that *Scipio's* Design was to lay Siege to *Carthage*; but all these Preparations were really intended only to fill the *Carthaginians* with Consternation, and oblige them to sue for Peace. *Scipio* had more Reasons than one, to put an end to the Affairs in *Africa*, without Delay. He knew that the *Consul, Tiberius Nero*, was ardently desirous of coming into *Africa*, and there sharing his Conquests with him; and he had Reason to expect to see this new General soon arrive with a Character superior to his own, and put the last Hand to the Reduction of the *Carthaginians*. It was therefore necessary for him to proceed with the utmost Dispatch, if he expected to reap the Fruits of his own Labours.

With these Thoughts, *Scipio* appeared at the Head of a formidable Fleet, off *Carthage*; and at this Sight the whole City was in an Uproar. *Hannibal* himself was terrified and enraged; but made his old Pride give way to the present Necessity. So that having a great Ascendant over the Senators, he prevailed on them, to resolve to try all means to move the Heart of the *Roman*, by Supplications. To this end, a Galley was immediately equipped, and adorned with Flags, and Branches of Olive, and all the Symbols of ¹²⁷ *Peace*. Twelve Deputies, of the most Illustrious of the Nobility went on board it; and it was rowed towards *Scipio's* Ship. When the Deputies came into his Presence, they sued to him for Peace; and spared neither Submissions, nor Prostrations, nor Promises, to prevail on him to do, what he



wrought in Ivory, and several other things of that kind; and two thousand five hundred and ten *Talents* in Gold and Silver (that is, to the Value of seven million seven hundred and thirty thousand *Livres*) for the publick Treasury. The rest of the Booty the *Pro-Consul* divided into two Parts. One he put to sale, and distributed the Money it produced among his Soldiers. Nor did he spare military Honours to those who had distinguished themselves in the Battel. King *Masinissa* was honoured by the General with a Crown, which was the highest Respect he could pay him. The other part of the Booty, which contained the least valuable of the Spoils, was allotted to the Pagan Divinities. *Scipio* heaped them up on a funeral-Pile, to burn them; and offered them up himself as a Burnt-offering to his Gods, by way of Thanksgiving. In the midst of all his Pomp, he did the Office of a Sacrificer. It may have been remarked in the preceding Volumes, that the *Roman* Generals several times performed that Ceremony, especially in honour to the military Divinities. *Arnobius* mentions this Custom, *B. 4. Against the Gentiles*; and *Tertullian*, *B. 1. De Spectaculis*. *Appian*, from whom we have borrowed these Particulars, informs us of one remarkable Circumstance, of which the *Roman* Historians were ignorant. He tells us, the Steps the *Carthaginian* Republick then took, in order to maintain the War against the *Romans*, with Vigour. Before the News of *Scipio's* Victory was brought to *Carthage*, the Senate of that City had dispatched an Express to *Mago*, who had lately penetrated into *Cisalpine Gaul*, with design to draw those Nations into the Interests of *Hannibal*, and raise new Levies there. This Express carried him the News of *Sci-*

pio's Arrival in *Africa*; and pressing Orders to try all possible means to force his Way into *Italy*, or if that could not be done, to return to *Africa* with his Army. But the Messenger was surprized by the *Romans*, his Letters intercepted, and *Scipio* sent them to *Rome*. These were read in publick; and the Senators were unanimously for fitting out a Fleet immediately, and sending it to the Assistance of the *Pro-Consul*, with a fresh Supply of Money. But this last Victory of the *Roman* Army, dispelled the Fears of the Senate; and the Conclusion of the Peace between the two Republicks, put a Stop to this new Armament.

¹²⁷ *Peace*, which the Ancients turned into a Goddess, is represented on Medals, with several different Symbols. Sometimes she is setting Fire to an Heap of Helmets, Bucklers, and *Cuirasses*, with a burning Torch. Sometimes she treads upon a Snake, the Symbol of Discord and War. She has a *Caduceus*, a Branch of Olive, a *Cornucopia*, and sometimes an Ear of Corn, in her Hand, to shew that she is the Source of real Benefits to Mankind. This may be seen in our Remarks on several Symbols in the preceding Volumes. The two first Reverses above, are taken from two *Domitians*. In the first we see *Bellona's* Pillar, agreeably to what we have observed, *Vol. 2*. The third is the reverse of *A Titus*, with this Inscription *EIPHNH*; which is the Name the *Greeks* give *Peace*. She holds a *Caduceus* in one Hand, and Ears of Corn in the other. *Tibullus* had an Eye to this last Symbol in this Line of his 10th *Elegy*, in *B. 1*.

At nobis Pax alma veni, spicamque teneto.

himself

himself desired, above all things. Nevertheless, he put on an haughty Air, which did not misbecome a Conqueror, and replied. *I am returning to Tunis; and there I will consider whether I shall receive your Homage, and accept your Proposals.* Accordingly, *Scipio* returned with the Fleet to the Port of *Utica*; and *Octavius* on the other hand, marched back the Land-Army to the Camp near *Tunis*, whither *Scipio* designed to come. Then the *Pro-Consul* began his March thither; but received Information, on the Road, that *Vermina*, the second Son of *Syphax*, was coming from *Numidia*, to assist *Hannibal*. The *Numidian* knew nothing of *Hannibal's* Defeat, and was advancing to join him with so great an Army, that it is probable, the *Carthaginian* would not have been defeated, had he received this Reinforcement in time. The Body *Vermina* commanded was a numerous one, and stronger in Cavalry than Infantry. It was therefore necessary that *Scipio* should send a strong Detachment of his *Legionaries*, and all his Cavalry, to meet the young Prince; whom they came up with, and attacked, about the middle of *December*. And though the Battel did not cost the *Romans* much, it proved a bloody one to the *Numidians*. All their Cavalry were surrounded, and cut in pieces in a terrible manner. They lost fifteen thousand Men on the Spot, and had twelve hundred taken, together with fifteen hundred *Numidian* Horses, and seventy two Standards.

§. XLIV. THIS new Advantage doubled the Terror of the *Carthaginians*; and they immediately dispatched away their Deputies to *Tunis*. The Embassy consisted of thirty *Carthaginian* Lords; and it is easy to judge in how low and servile a manner, they presented their Supplications, by their Cringings and Fawnings in their former Embassies. Their Republick was now in greater Confusion than ever; their Capital itself was threatened; and they suited their Humiliation to their present Condition. As for *Scipio*, he at first put on an Air of Contempt for these perfidious Men, who had deceived him. How ardently desirous soever he might be to conclude a Peace, he pretended to neglect their Submissions. He held a Council of War, and took the Advice of his Officers; whose Resentment prompted them to execute some signal Vengeance, on the perfidious *Carthaginians*, and sack their Capital. But on the other hand, the length of so difficult and bloody a Siege discouraged them. As for the *Pro-Consul*, he declared for a Peace. He had received Advice, that the *Consul Nero* was equipping a Fleet, with all haste, in order to come into *Africa*. Indeed, *Scipio* had no Reason to fear, his Successor would arrive so soon. The Senate equitably, though underhand, retarded his Departure from *Italy*; not being willing that a *Consul* should rob the Conqueror of *Africa*, of the Glory of having settled it in Peace. But *Scipio* not being informed of these Proceedings of the Senate, he took the surest Method to secure that Honour. The next Day, he sent for the Ambassadors, whom he had rejected the Day before; and at first broke out into Invectives against them, reproaching them with their ill Faith, in not observing Treaties. After this, he grew milder by Degrees; and exhorted them to reverence the Gods, and fear their Vengeance, which was always ready to fall on the perjured; and at length he told them the Conditions of the Peace which he would grant them. As far as we have been able to collect them out of different Authors, they are as follow.

1. *We permit the Carthaginians to live according to their own Laws and Customs; grant them all the Cities and Provinces they had in Africa before the War; and the Romans shall immediately abstain from plundering them.*
2. *Carthage shall deliver up to the Romans all their Deserters, fugitive Slaves, and Prisoners of War, and all the Italians, whom Hannibal forced to follow him.*
3. *She shall deliver up into Scipio's Hands, all the Ships of War in the Carthaginian Fleet, except ten Triremes, and all her Elephants which are instructed for War; and she shall not hereafter tame any more of these Animals.*
4. *The Republick of Carthage shall enter into no War, either in Africa, or out of Africa, without the Consent of the Roman People.*
5. *The Carthaginians shall restore Masinissa all they have usurped from him and his Ancestors, and shall make an Alliance with him.*
6. *Carthage shall supply the Roman Legions with Corn, and pay their Auxiliaries, till the Ambassadors return, which she shall send to Rome, to have the Peace ratified there.*
7. *The Carthaginian Republick shall promise in writing to pay the Romans, in the Space of fifty Years, ten thousand Talents, at equal Payments.*
8. *The Carthaginians shall deliver up to Scipio a hundred*

Year of
R O M E
DLI.
TIB. CLAU-
DIUS NERO,
M. SERVILIUS
PULEX, Con-
suls.

Polyb. B. 15.
c. 18.
App. in Punic.
Zonar. B. 9.
c. 14.
Livy, B. 30.
c. 37.

Year of *a hundred such Hostages, as he shall chuse, the youngest of which shall not be under*
 R O M E *fourteen, nor the oldest above thirty, Years of Age. 9. Neither the Truce, nor the*
 DLI. *following Peace shall take Place, till the Carthaginians have restored the Romans*
 TIB. CLAU- *the Ships and Effects they took from them during the former Truce. 10. The Ro-*
 DIUS NERO, *man Armies shall leave Africa, within fifty Days after the Conclusion of the*
 M. SERVILIUS *Treaty* ^{128.}
 PULEX, Con-
 suls.

THESE were hard Conditions, but the Conqueror insisted upon them; and the Deputies were therefore forced to return with them to *Carthage*, to get them accepted. However *Gisco*, a Man of great Distinction in his Republick, did his utmost to persuade the assembled *Carthaginians* to reject a Peace, offered them on such intollerable Terms, and the Multitude began to incline to the Orator's Opinion. At *Carthage*, the *Citizens* did not take the Field, as those of *Rome* did. They carried on the War, with other Hands, and raised all their Soldiers in the Country. And hence proceeded their insatiable Ardour for War. Generally speaking, none but foreign Soldiers and Mercenaries were exposed to the Danger of it. *Hannibal* ¹²⁹ therefore had Reason to fear, that *Gisco* would incline the People to chuse the most dangerous Part; and being both fierce and bold, he mounted *The Tribune*, and drove the Haranguer from it. This was a very bold Attempt, in the Presence of a People jealous of their Liberty; and the murmuring that arose upon it in the Assembly, made an Impression on *Hannibal*. He therefore addressed himself to the enraged People, in this manner. *I was but nine Years old, when I went from this Place; and have now spent six and thirty Years in Arms. In Camps I have learnt nothing but the Art of making War; and I have been accustomed to treat Men roughly. It is your Business to teach me the Laws, Customs, and Civilities, which ought to be observed in your Assemblies.* This *Exordium* appeased their Rage; and then *Hannibal* made a long Discourse on the Necessity of a Peace; and shewed, that how burdensome soever the Conditions of the Treaty were, they neither were unjust, nor extravagant. And the main Opposition to accepting them coming from those Citizens of *Carthage* who had appropriated the *Roman* Ships, and their Cargoes, to themselves, *Hannibal* shewed them, that since it was impossible to restore *Scipio* his Ships, and their Cargoes, they should make the *Romans* Amends by a Sum of Money. Then the People acquiesced in the Opinion of a General, who, warlike as he was, declared so zealously for a Peace; and thus *Hannibal*, by his wise Counsels, saved his Country, from almost certain Ruin. And some Historians say, he did not continue a Moment in *Carthage*, after he had done her this important Service; but immediately embarked for *Asia*, and retired for Refuge to the Court of King *Antiochus*. He knew, say these Authors, that *Scipio* would demand him of the *Carthaginians*, to be the chief Ornament of his Triumph; and by this Retreat, *Hannibal* gave his fellow-Citizens an Opportunity to answer the *Roman* General,

¹²⁸ *Appian* states the Conditions of this Treaty, much in the same manner as *Livy* and *Polybius* do. But though these three Authors agree pretty well, as to the most material Things, they differ in several Particulars. According to the former, *Scipio* demanded of the *Carthaginians* two hundred and fifty *Euboic Talents, per Annum*, for fifty Years together; that is, he condemned them to pay his Republick, twelve thousand five hundred *Talents*, instead of ten thousand, which is the Sum mentioned by the latter Historians. And if we make the *Euboic Talent* equal to the *Attick*, as we have elsewhere done, this will appear to be a very exorbitant Demand. These twelve thousand five hundred *Talents* will amount to above thirty seven Millions of *Livres*, at the Rate of a thousand *Livres, per Talent*. Whence we may judge of the immense Riches *Carthage* had acquired by her great Commerce.

Again, *Appian* represents *Scipio*, as demanding of *Carthage* only a hundred and fifty Children for Hostages, without mentioning any other Hostages, who were more advanced in Years. He likewise says, that the *Roman* General obliged himself to restore these Children to their Parents, as soon as the Peace

should be settled; and signed by both Parties. And in the mean time, *Scipio* required that *Carthage* should, by way of Preliminary, advance him a thousand other *Talents* (which was not to be reckoned into the twelve thousand five hundred *Talents*) and all sorts of Provisions necessary for the Support of his Army.

And lastly, to the Articles mentioned by *Polybius* and *Livy*, *Appian* adds these. 1. *The Carthaginians shall order Mago, to leave Liguria, in sixty Days.* 2. *Carthage shall withdraw her Garrisons out of all the Cities which did not belong to her before the new Conquests.* 3. *The Territory of Carthage, shall be confined to the same Limits, as when Scipio arrived in Africa.* 4. *The Carthaginian Republick shall assist the Roman People, both by Sea and Land, in case of need; and in such a Manner and Proportion, as the Senate shall require.*

¹²⁹ According to *Appian*, *Hannibal* was not at *Carthage* during these first Commotions. He was then at *Marthama*, a City of *Africa*, where he was busy in raising an Army. But he was recalled by the *Grandees*, who did not think fit to resolve upon any Measures, till they had first consulted him, concerning the present State of Affairs.

that

that being fled from *Africa*, he was no longer in their Power. But other Writers, who were better informed, say, That *Hannibal* did not leave *Carthage* so soon; and That he was long after this, accused before the People, of having neglected to take *Rome*, and of having applied the Spoils of *Italy* to his own private Use. To which these Historians add, that he was acquitted, and obtained the chief Magistracy in his Republick. And this Opinion we shall follow, though it is disputed. We think it most agreeable to the Course of the History, and shall find it necessary for unravelling the Series of future Events. It is very probable, That *Hannibal* continued in his own Country, and spent some time there in Tranquillity; and That his Hatred to the *Romans* did not break out again, till the *Syrian Wars*.

§. XLV. *CARTHAGE* followed *Hannibal's* Advice, and sent Deputies to *Scipio's* Camp. The first Article discussed, was that of the Ships and Provisions which the *Carthaginians* had taken from the *Romans*, during the Truce. The Ambassadors offered to make as ample Satisfaction as *Scipio* himself should require. In the first Place, *Carthage* restored to the *Romans*, the Hulks of the Ships she had taken from them. Then the *Pro-Consul* himself made an Estimate of the Effects taken on board them; and every thing was honestly and faithfully performed. Some of these Boats had been loaded at the Expence of the Publick, others of private Persons. With Regard to the former, the Registers of the *Quæstors* were consulted; and with respect to the latter, the Proprietors were obliged to give in an Account of their Cargoes upon Oath. The whole Sum amounted to twenty five thousand Pounds weight of Silver; which was payed upon the Spot, and then the Truce was immediately concluded. But before *Scipio* granted it, he added one Article, which was, *That the Carthaginians should send no Ambassador from Africa, but to Rome; That they should give the Pro-Consul an Account of the Ambassador that came to them from Abroad; and That they should not give any Ambassador leave to depart, till they had given the Romans Advice of the Business upon which he came.* After this, when the Suspension of Arms took place, *Carthage* sent Deputies to *Rome*, to the Senate and People, with the Articles of the Peace, as they had been dictated by *Scipio*, and accepted by her. And in order the more easily to obtain the Ratification of them, the *Pro-Consul* sent with these Deputies, three Officers of his Army, one of which was his Brother *Lucius* ¹³⁰ *Scipio*. They all set sail together, and took the Road to ¹³¹ *Italy*.

WHILST the Ambassadors were crossing the Sea, *Scipio* made it his whole Business to fill his Camp with Plenty. He no longer lived at the Expence of the *Africans*; but Corn was at a very low Price in his Army. So much of it was brought

Year of
R O M E
DLI.
TIB. CLAUDIUS NERO,
M. SERVILIUS PULEX, Con-
suls.

¹³⁰ The Name of the first of the other two Officers was *Lucius Veturius Philo*, and that of the second, *Marcus Marcius Ralla*.

¹³¹ Whilst the *Pro-Consul*, says the *Roman* Historian, was succeeding to his Wish, in all his Proceedings in *Africa*, the *Romans* were divided between Hope and Fear, concerning the Success of their Army against *Hannibal*. Their Uneasiness was renewed, by the Reports spread, of certain Events, which Ignorance and Superstition turned into Prodigies. It was said, that at *Cannæ*, the Disc of the Sun had appeared less than usual; and a Rain of Stones, which happened at the same time, increased the Terrors of that Prodigy. In the Territory of *Pelina*, the Earth had opened in several Places, and made deep Gulphs, which swallowed up Trees. The People of *Rome* trembled to hear, That Lightning had fallen in the *Forum* in *Aricia*, and damaged the neighbouring Shops; and That the Walls, and one of the Gates of *Prusina* had been struck with it. To these Phenomena were also added another, altogether as chimerical. It was believed, that it had hailed Stones near *The Hill Palatinus*; and in the midst of the Alarms, which terrified all People, recourse was had to the Protection of the Pagan Gods. The Senate appointed nine Days to be kept holy, and decreed publick Sacrifices, in which

Victims of the largest sort were offered up to avert the Evils threatened by those pretended Prodigies. But these Devotions did not appease the Minds of an affrighted People, who took their own Visions, for menacing Prognosticks. Their Apprehensions were increased, when they saw the *Tyber* overflow the *Circus*, whilst Preparations were making there, for celebrating *The Apollinarian Games*. The *Romans* were forced, by the Overflowings of the River, to remove what had been brought thither for the Festival, without *The Gate Collina*, near the Temple consecrated to *Venus Erycina*. But in the mean time, the Day appointed for the Games was a finer Day than usual, and the Overflowings of the *Tyber* sunk all at once. So that Preparations were made for the Show, in the *Circus*, a second time. The People came thither on the Day appointed for the Solemnity. There was greater Joy than usual among them; every one looking on this sudden Change, as a Declaration of Heaven in their Favour. And at length arrived the Ambassadors from *Carthage*; and the News of *Scipio's* Conquests, complicated their Joy. Thus, this inconstant People, who were absolutely governed by their superstitious Prejudices, passed in an instant, from an immoderate Grief, to as great an Excess of Joy.

Year of
R O M E
DLI.
TIB. CLAU-
DIUS NERO,
M. SERVILIUS
PULCHER, Con-
suls.

from *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, that the *Quæstors* often payed the Freight of the Transports in Corn. In the mean time *Rome* was uneasy at some Reports which were spread Abroad, that *Carthage* refused to sign the Conditions of the Peace; and the Senate had just taken a very unusual Step. They had ordered the *Consul, Tiberius Nero*, to sail away with his Fleet, in all haste, to assist *Scipio* in besieging *Carthage*; and commanded the *Consul Servilius* to continue in *Rome*. Till such time as this Order was made, the Preparations for *Nero's* Departure had been slowly carried on; but at last, he put to Sea. A Tempest stopped him some Days between the Ports of ¹³² *Cosa*, and *Laureta* ¹³³; from thence he came and cast Anchor near ¹³⁴ *Populonium*; and at length pursued his Course. From the Island of ¹³⁵ *Ilva*, he coasted along towards the Island of ¹³⁶ *Corfica*, and from thence came near *Sardinia*, where he was surpris'd by another Storm, occasioned by the Winds which blow from the high ¹³⁷ Mountains that divide this Island. By the Storm his Ships were dispersed, but at length they joined together at ¹³⁸ *Caralis*, where they wanted to be refitted; and the whole Winter was spent, before *Nero* could reach *Africa*. Thus the Heavens, the Seas, and the Senate of *Rome*, seemed industriously to labour to favour *Scipio*. They, as it were by Consent, all contributed their Share, in preventing a *Consul* of little Merit, from robbing the brave *Pro-Consul*, of the Honour of finishing the second *Punic* War. The Year of *Nero's* *Consulship* expired, while he was on board his Fleet. From *Caralis* therefore he returned to *Italy*; and at his Landing, found his Successor already chosen.

Year of
R O M E
DLII.
SERVILIUS
NEPOS, Dic-
tator.

§. XLVI. INDEED, the *Consul Servilius*, who had not taken the Field till it was very late, and would not very soon leave it, had taken care to provide a President for the *Comitia* for the next Election. He had nominated *Servilius Nepos*, his Brother ¹³⁹, *Dictator*; and the latter had chosen *Ælius Pætus* for his *General of Horse*. When therefore the Time came, the *Comitia by Centuries* were assembled in *The Field of Mars*; but Storms, and the Superstition of the *Romans*, who judged of the Success of the Enterprises by Fairness of the Weather, had often

¹³² *Cosa* was a City of Old *Hetruria*, which stood on an Eminence. It had a Port, which some now take for *Porto Hercole*, others for *Porto di San Stephano*. See Vol. 2.

¹³³ It is plain from *Livy's* Account, that *Tiberius Nero*, coasted along *Hetruria*, as he went to *Africa*; but we know of no Port in *Tuscany*, called *Laureta*. At least it is certain, there are no Footsteps of it now remaining. This Port probably stood by itself, and served for a Refuge for the Gallies, which cruised along these Coasts. They, who have confounded *Laureta*, with the City of *Laurentum*, did not consider that the latter stood in *Latium*, and that the Port here spoken of, was in *Hetruria*. *Cluver* supposes, that there is an Error in the Text of *Livy*; and that this Historian meant the Port *Scapris*, over against *Populonia*, near the Promontory, now called by the Natives *Capo di Troja*. Our Author might likewise have in view the Port of *Faleria*, now called *Porto Falese*.

¹³⁴ According to the Description which *Strabo* has given us of the ancient City of *Populonium*, it stood on a Steep Promontory, which ran into the *Hetrurian* Sea, and formed a kind of Peninsula. *Virgil, Æneid B. 10.* ranks it among the ancient Cities of *Tuscany*. *Servius* says, that some pretended, it was originally inhabited by *Corficans*. Others say, the *Volaterrani* founded it. Whilst some pretend, that the latter took it away from the first Inhabitants. But be that as it will, *Populonium* had lost much of its ancient Splendor in *Strabo's* time. He tells us, that it was almost deserted, and all buried in Ruins, except some Temples, and a few Houses, which had been spared. Nevertheless, its Port was still frequented, because it was a very convenient and safe Retreat for Ships. It is now called *Porto Baratto*. Nothing now remains of this City, but the Promontory on which it was built, three Miles from *Piombino*. The Natives call it *Capo di Campana*. *Pliny* much extols an Image of *Jupiter*, which was made out of one

single Vine, and was kept entire at *Populonium* for several Ages. The neighbouring *Road*, was formerly famous for Tunny-fishing.

¹³⁵ *Ilva*, now known by the Name of *Elba*, is an Island in the *Tuscan* Sea. It was formerly famous, as it still is, for its Marble Quarries and Iron Mines. Thus *Virgil, Æneid, B. 10.*

*Ast Ilva Trecentos
Insula inexhaustis Calybum generosa metallis.*

This is the same Island, which *Pliny* says, was called *Ethalea*, by the *Greeks*. Nevertheless, *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* seem to have made them two different Islands. But *Casaubon* conjectures, that the Copyists have transcribed the Mistake of the latter, into the Works of the former. *Strabo* pretends, that the Ship *Argos*, which carried back *Jason* and *Medea* to *Colchis*, gave Name to the Port of *Ilva*, which the *Latins* called *Portus Argosus*. *Cluver* does not distinguish it from *Porto Ferraro*. *Orbelius* will have it to be *Porto Longone*. *Magin*, and others after him, place in this Island a City of *Cosmopolis*, which they say, had been built by *Comes of Medicis*. But there are no Footsteps remaining of it; this City existed only in their Imagination.

¹³⁶ See what we have said of the Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, Vol. 3.

¹³⁷ *Livy* calls these Mountains, *Insani Montes*, on account of the furious Tempests which these Winds raised in this *Road*.

¹³⁸ The City of *Caralis*, afterwards corruptly called *Galaris*, is the same which is now called *Cagliari*. It is the Capital of *Sardinia*, and gives Name to the neighbouring Promontory and Gulph.

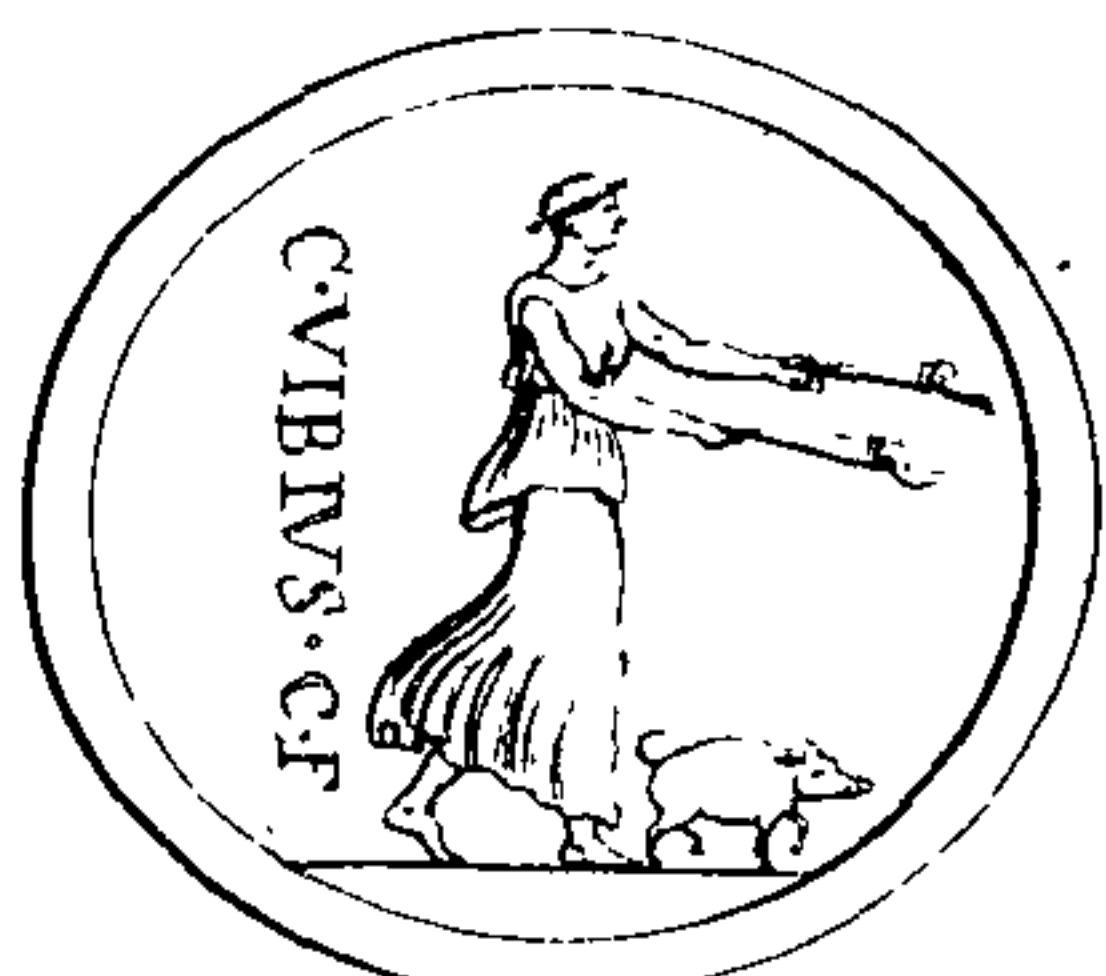
¹³⁹ *Velleius Paterculus* remarks on this Occasion, that from this *Servilius*, to the Time of *Sylla*, that is, for a hundred and twenty Years, the Republick chose no *Dictator*. The bare Shadow of an absolute Authority, became, says he, more and more odious and formidable, to a People jealous of their Liberty.

dissolved

dissolved the Assembly. Till at length the *Consular* Year expired, before the Republick had any other supreme Magistrates, but the *Dictator*, and his *General of Horse*; and they continued some time in their Dignities. It was now customary for the *Consuls* to lay down their Offices, on the Eve ¹⁴⁰ of *The Ides of March*; And the *Dictator* governed alone for some time. He must have been at the Head of the Republick in *April*, since he presided at *The* ¹⁴¹ *Games* which were celebrated in Honour to *Ceres*, in that Month; and about this time, Ambassadors from King *Philip*, and the Envoys from *Carthage*, arrived at *Rome*. Both demanded Audience of the *Dictator*; but he answered them, that they should not be introduced into the Senate, till *Rome* had chosen new *Consuls*. Then the *Comitia* ¹⁴² were assembled without Delay; and in them, the *Roman* People raised *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Ælius Pætus* to the *Consulate*. In the Assembly were also chosen *Prætors*, who drew Lots for their *Provinces*. It fell to *M. Junius Pennus*

Year of
R O M E
DLII.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS, Consuls.



Silver



Silver

¹⁴⁰ That is the 14th Day of *March*, according to our Way of reckoning.

¹⁴¹ The Festivals of *Ceres* were brought from *Greece*, into *Italy*. They were originally natural Representations of the fabulous Adventures, which the Pagans ascribed to the Goddess. At *Rome*, this Solemnity was introduced by a Procession of the *Roman* Ladies. They appeared in publick at break of Day, dressed in white, and ran through the chief Quarters of the City, with burning Flambeaux in their Hands. The Design of this Croud of Women was to represent, by their irregular Motions, and distorted Gestures, the Uneasiness and Troubles *Ceres* suffered, in the Journey she took in Search of *Proserpine*, who had been taken away by *Pluto*. *Rome* then resounded with the Name of this infernal Goddess, in Imitation of this disconsolate Mother, who was continually crying out upon her Daughter, wherever she came. Then by sudden Transports of Joy, the Ladies represented that, which *Ceres* felt at the return of *Proserpine*. The Festival lasted eight Days, beginning with *The Eve of the Ides*, which answers to our twelfth of *April*. It was spent in Feasting, and all sorts of Games, which were represented in the *Circus*. It was a sacred Law, that the Spectators should assist at them in white. So that Mournings were very unreasonable at this Time. And therefore the *Romans*, amidst the Consternation, which the unfortunate Battel of *Cannæ* raised among them, did not think it decent, to indulge themselves in the Rejoicings which accompanied *The Cerealia*. The Statues of the Pagan Divinities were then always brought out, and carried in Triumph through the Streets in Chariots, the finest Pictures, the Crowns given to Victors, and the Spoils taken from Enemies, were all shewn on Hand-Barrows. And lastly, *Rome* then exposed to publick view, all her finest and richest Things, and thereby increased the Pomp and Magnificence of the Show. The Egg, which, according to *Macrobius*, was carried in this kind of Procession, has occasioned many Enquiries, which some Authors might very well have spared their Readers the Trouble of running over. It is of very little Consequence to enquire, whether it represented the Globe of the Earth, which *Ceres* had enriched with her Gifts; or the fabulous Birth

of *Castor* and *Pollux*, for whom the *Romans* had a particular Veneration. Because the Flowers which *Proserpine* was gathering with her Companions, were the Occasion of her Rape; therefore they were forbidden to be used in the Crowns which the *Romans* wore, in *The Cerealia*. They were made only of Myrtle. On these solemn Days, the Women assembled in the Temple of the Goddess; and there worshiped her, by offering up a Sow to her. The Fruitfulness of this Animal alluded to that which *Ceres* had procured the Fields. It is well known, that Fable ascribed to her the Invention of Agriculture; and that in Gratitude for it, she was worshiped, under the Character of the tutelary Goddess of Harvests. This Worship is proved by many Medals, but particularly by a Reverse of one of the *Vibian* Family; and by another, which bears this Inscription, *CERIALIA PRIMUS FECIT MEMMIUS*. The two burning Flambeaux, the Serpent, the Ears of Corn, and the Distaff, on these two Reverse, symbollically allude to the fabulous History of *Ceres*, and the Inspection the Pagans gave her over Corn, and the Fleeces of Sheep. The Words of the Inscription import, that one *Memmius* was the first Man who presided at the Celebration of *The Games* in the *Circus*, during *The Cerealia*; but the Historians have not told us enough of it, to fix the Epocha of this Institution.

¹⁴² The Close of the Year 551. was remarkable for the Death of the Pontifex, *Lucius Manlius Torquatus* whom *Caius Sulpicius Galba* succeeded soon after. The *Curule Aediles*, *Licinius Lucullus*, and *Quintus Fulvius*, concluded this Year, with *The Roman Games*, with which they entertained the People for three Days. The Character of the former was not blameless. He was suspected of a Confederacy with some of his inferior Officers, who were convicted of embezzling the publick Money. As for the *Plebeian Aediles*, *Publius Ælius Tubero*, and *Lucius Lætorius*, they abdicated their Office, because their Election was judged irregular. But before their Abdication, they presided at some publick Games, and at a Feast which was made in honour to *Jupiter*. They likewise erected three Statues, in honour to this God, in the *Capitol*. They had reserved all Fines for this Purpose.

Year of to govern *Rome*; to *M. Valerius Falto*, to command in *Bruttium*; to *M. Fabius Buteo* to govern in *Sardinia*; and to *P. Aelius* ¹⁴³ *Tubero*, to be *Prætor* in *Sicily*. After this, the next thing was for the *Consuls* to draw Lots for their *Provinces*; but they refused to fix them, before the Senate had given Audience to the Ambassadors from King *Philip*, and from *Carthage*. One of the Collegues was very ambitious, and greedy of Glory; the other was a Man of Prudence and Moderation, *Lentulus* had a Design to break off the Peace with *Carthage*, or at least to go himself, and give Peace to *Africa*, and thereby complete *Scipio's* Work. *Pætus* thought it neither just nor easy to rob this great Man of the Reward of his Labours. Nevertheless, he had so much Complaisance for *Lentulus*, as to suspend the drawing Lots for his *Province*, till the Republick had determined either for Peace, or War, with the *Carthaginians*. *Minutius Thermus*, and *Manius Glabrio*, two *Tribunes of the People*, saw through *Lentulus's* Designs; and they remonstrated to the People, That the *Consul Nero*, had had the same Pretensions the last Year, as *Lentulus* now did; and That the *Tribes* had then unanimously conferred on *Scipio*, the Honour of finishing the War with *Carthage*. The Affair was warmly debated, both in the Senate, and the *Comitia*; and at length it was agreed, that the Decision of it should be left to *The Conscrip't Fathers*, after they had been sworn again. The Decree they passed was this. *We require, That the Consuls shall either agree among themselves, or draw Lots, which of them shall keep Italy in order, at the Head of an Army; and which shall go on board a Fleet of fifty Sail of Ships of War. Our Will and Pleasure is, That he who shall command the Fleet, sail to Sicily, and there wait for the Conclusion of a Peace, or an open Rupture with Carthage. Our Pleasure likewise is, That if the Carthaginians refuse to adhere to the Treaty, the Consul to whose Lot the Fleet shall fall, shall sail from Sicily to Africa; and That when he comes there, he shall only Command at Sea, and leave to Scipio the whole Conduct of the Land-Forces. In case the Peace shall be accepted by Carthage, it shall belong to the Roman People to determine, whether Scipio, or the Consul, shall grant it, and who shall lead back the victorious Army into Italy. And if the People shall determine in favour of Scipio, the Consul shall continue in Sicily, and shall not so much as appear on the Coasts of Africa.*

DLII.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, P. AELIUS PÆTUS, Consuls.

§. XLVII. IN Consequence of this Decree, the *Consuls* drew Lots; the Fleet of fifty Sail fell to *Lentulus*, according to his Desires; and *Pætus* was put at the Head of two *Legions*, to guard *Italy*. But we shall soon see the ambitious *Lentulus* dissatisfied with the Decree, and appealing to the People to disannul it. In the mean while, Audience was given without Delay, both to the Ambassadors of King *Philip*, and those whom *Carthage* had sent to procure a Peace. The *Macedonians* were first introduced into the Senate. King *Philip* their Master, was a restless and a warlike Prince; who, notwithstanding the Peace he had made with the *Romans*, had continually attacked them under hand. The Republick had entered into Treaties with many Nations of *Greece*, which had put themselves under her Protection; and it belonged to the *Romans* to defend them, even during the Peace. *Rome* had left a small Army in *Greece*, under the Command of *Aurelius*, a considerable Officer, who had the Rank of a Lieutenant-General; and *Aurelius* had been forced to repel the Hostilities of the *Macedonian*, with Force. His Troops had often made Head against those of King *Philip*, when the latter had at different times, spread themselves over the Territories of the Allies of *Rome*. Nevertheless, the *Macedonian*, who saw that the War with *Carthage* was near a Conclusion, and who dreaded the Vengeance of *Rome*, sent an Embassy to the *Roman* Senate. As for *Aurelius*, he suspected that *Philip's* Envoys would complain to the Senate of his Conduct; and he therefore sent *Marcus Furius*, one of the Officers of his Army, on his part, with a Commission to plead his Cause before *The Conscrip't Fathers*. So that when Audience was given to *Philip's* Ambassadors, *Furius* was introduced into the Senate with them. The *Macedonians* exaggerated to *The Fathers*, the just Grounds of Complaint; which they

¹⁴³ *Marcus Valerius Falto*, and *Publius Aelius*, had each the Command of two *Legions* in his *Province*. As for the *Consul* for the last Year, *Marcus Servilius*, the Republick confirmed him in the

Command of the *Roman* Army in *Uetruria*, in quality of *Pro-Consul*. But she assigned *Marcus Fabius Buteo*, only one *Legion*.

thought had been given them, by the Allies of *Rome*, in *Greece*; insisted, that the *Greeks* had broken the Treaty of Peace, and made Incursions on the Lands of *Macedon*; and after this, accused *Aurelius* with Warmth, and charged him with having acted contrary to the Law of Nations. *Our Troops*, said they, *have been often attacked by him; and he has often put us under a Necessity of Fighting, notwithstanding that the Peace subsisted between Rome and Macedon.* And this was indeed the chief Article, on which *Philip's* Ambassadors were ordered to insist. Nevertheless, they ventured to add another Complaint against *Scipio*. The *Pro-Consul* of *Africa* had, in the last Battel he had gained over *Hannibal*, made *Sosipater*, and a good Number of *Macedonians*, Prisoners; and *Philip's* Ambassadors demanded the Restitution of these his Subjects, which were detained in Captivity. The Senate heard both the Complaints, and the Demand of the *Macedonians* with Patience, and then ordered *Furius* to reply to them, which he did in this manner. *You remember, Conscript Fathers, the Reasons that obliged you formerly to leave Aurelius in Greece with an Army. A Peace was indeed concluded with Philip; but you had some Greek Nations to protect, against the Incursions and Rapines of the Macedonian. And Aurelius has kept himself within the Bounds you prescribed him. He has kept your Allies faithful, according to your Intentions; but has sometimes been obliged to repel the Insults of the Macedonian, and preserve the Lands he was to defend from Pillage, by force of Arms; which is all his Crime. As for Sosipater, the Hostilities committed by him have unmasked King Philip. This Relation of the King of Macedon, came to Hannibal's Assistance with four thousand Macedonians, and great Sums of Money; and these perfidious Men were taken in Arms against Rome. What Indulgence then have they deserved? Shall their Treachery be made a Plea, for setting them at Liberty? They were commanded by one of the greatest Lords in Macedon; and these Facts evidently demonstrate Philip's Breach of Faith, Aversion to Rome, and Attachment to Hannibal.*

Year of
R O M E
DLII.
CN. CORNE-
LIUS LENTU-
LUS, P. ÆLI-
US PÆTUS,
Consuls.

THUS spake *Furius*; and it pleased the Senate to enquire thoroughly into the Truth of what he had said. Some of *The Conscript Fathers* interrogated the Ambassadors concerning the Complaints they made against the *Roman* General; and their Answers were rambling, and ambiguous. The President of the Assembly therefore addressed himself to them, in this manner. *Your King seeks for War, and he shall soon find it. Philip is doubly guilty of having violated his Treaties with us. He has made War on our Allies; and he has assisted our Enemies. Scipio has therefore done wisely, in keeping in Servitude those faithless Macedonians, who appeared in Arms against us. And as to Aurelius, we approve of his Conduct. He did well to repulse the Aggressors, who committed Hostilities on our Allies.* This harsh Answer was a Prefage of the War which *Rome* would soon carry into *Macedon*; and of which the War she had successfully made with *Hannibal* was the Prelude. One produced the other; and they immediately followed one another. We shall see the *Roman* Republick carry Victory with her Arms from *Africa* to *Macedon*, as soon as *Carthage* shall have received the *Roman* Yoke, with the Peace.

§. XLVIII. AFTER the Senate had threatened the *Macedonians* to make them feel the Resentment of *Rome*, they heard the Deputies from *Carthage*. As soon as they appeared, *The Fathers* perceived, that the *Carthaginians* were in earnest, and no longer sought to deceive, as formerly. The Deputation consisted of Men advanced in Years, who possessed the highest Ranks in their Republick. The Head of the Embassy was a venerable old Man, named *Asdrubal*, who had been nicknamed *The Ram*, in his own Country. He was a Senator of Distinction, and had all along declared, in the Senate of *Carthage*, against breaking the Treaties with *Rome*; and opposed the Enterprizes of the *Barcan* Faction. His Moderation was well known; and he was heard with Patience. *I long ago foresaw*, said he, *the Misfortunes which now overwhelm and sink Carthage. Had my Advice been followed, our Union with Rome had never been broken. Who then have been the Authors, both of our Ruptures, and Calamities, but one ambitious Family? Hamilcar and his Children, supported by a Faction, have covered our Republick with Shame and Reproach. The Fault then of a few Madmen, ought not to be imputed to the whole Body of the Carthaginians. Hannibal alone, and his Adhe-*

rents,

Year of *rents, have thrown us down from the highest Pitch of Power. Not that I pretend*
to excuse all our Faults. We have but too much seconded the Rage of Hannibal
 R O M E *and his Brothers. Carthage herself furnished Fuel for the fatal Fire, which laid*
 DLII. *your Countries waste: And has thereby justly drawn her Misfortunes upon her.*
 CN. CORNE- *Nevertheless, if she would have hearkened to Hanno, and me, a perfect Intelli-*
 LIUS LENTU- *gence had been kept up between Rome and Carthage. At least we should, since the*
 LUS, P. ÆLI- *beginning of the War, have obtained a Peace of you upon better Terms, than those*
 US PÆTUS, *we now come to ask. But alas! the Appearance of Success puffed us up. How*
 Consuls. *rare is it for Men to govern themselves with Moderation, upon a Prospect of great*
Prosperity! But indeed, the Case is not the same with Rome, as with Carthage.
You know how to set Bounds to your Ambition in the midst of your Successes. The
first Transports of Joy which Victories usually produce, don't extinguish your Fears
of a change of Fortune. You can pardon the Vanquished, and not reduce to Despair
the Nations you have humbled. And I will venture to affirm, that Rome has
subdued more Nations by her Prudence and Clemency, than by her Valour, and her
Arms.

AFTER *Asdrubal, each of his Collegues spoke in his turn, and the Senate heard*
them favourably. Their Speeches chiefly turned on the deplorable Condition, to
which the City and Republick of Carthage were reduced. From what a height,
said they, are we fallen; and to how exceeding low a Condition! After we had
lost the Empire of the Seas, had had our Conquests in Italy and Sardinia taken from
us, and were driven out of Spain, we had at least Africa left to our selves. But
now, the Conqueror is laying even that waste, and keeps us shut up within the
Walls of our Capital. Nay, we are not sure of keeping Possession of our do-
mestick Gods, unless the Romans shall think fit, not to force this our last Entrench-
ment. Rome has no longer any Rival. Carthage is humbled. These Words
softened the Senators, and all were disposed to consent to a Peace. Nevertheless,
The Fathers deliberated upon it, and were divided in Opinion, concerning an
Affair of this Importance. One of them, whose ¹⁴⁴ Name is not transmitted to
us, spoke thus. Scipio's Opinion ought in this Case to be our Rule. This prudent
Pro-Consul is now in Africa; and we may judge of his Zeal by his Exploits. Ne-
vertheless, he inclines to a Peace; and not only so, but has even pointed out the
Conditions of it. He sees with his own Eyes, what is most conducive to his own
Glory, and to the Interest of Rome. Shall we then, who have ot so sure an Insight
into Things, reject the Scheme of so great a Man! The War in Africa is his
Work. He raised an Army for it himself, in spight of our Oppositions, and pursued
it; and his Victories surpass our Hopes. You at first opposed his Design of carry-
ing the War into Africa, and now you would continue it, contrary to his Opinion. Shall
he then always find Opposition made to his Desires, by a Senate, which he has
raised to the highest Pitch of Grandeur? No doubt, Conscript Fathers, you are ap-
prehensive, that faithless Carthage will abuse your good Nature, and still violate Treaties.
Yet it should be remembered, that her Misfortunes have but too severely taught her
to pay a sacred Regard to Oaths. But you would have that City besieged. Strange
Contradiction? Can we think the Carthaginians strong enough to revolt, and at the
same time believe them to be too weak to resist our Arms? Will it not be more easy
to keep them in their Duty, than to reduce them? We shall keep them pent up, by
the Conquests we have made upon them. Our faithful Friend, Masinissa, is near
Carthage, and will narrowly watch her Motions. As for those who are for reducing
and sacking it, is not this taking it for granted, that our Arms will always be suc-
cessful? And to go yet further, let us for a Moment suppose our selves Masters of
it. Will not this very thing make us hated by all the Nations of the World? It
will be reported, that for a little Corn, and some Merchant-Ships which Carthage
took from us, we carried our Resentments to Extremity. Nay, I will likewise add,
what shall we do with this Capital, when we have taken it? Shall we give it to
Masinissa? That were very bad Policy. As much as this Prince is now a Friend
to Rome, we cannot be too much upon our Guard against his aggrandizing himself.

¹⁴⁴ It is probable, that this Senator was that warmly in Scipio's Interest; as may have been ob-
 Metellus, who had already declared himself so served before.

It is the true Interest of the Romans, to equal the Power of the Numidian, to that of Carthage, and not to that of Rome. Shall we then keep this opulent City in our own Hands? Vain Expectation! How shall we preserve it, amidst so many warlike Nations, without keeping up Armies there? What an Expence will the bare Support of our Garrisons be to us? It will much more than swallow up all the Revenues of Africa. Shall we then make Carthage a Roman Colony? This is as chimerical a Scheme as the other. Will the Inhabitants, whom we shall send to People it, be able to support themselves, in the midst of Barbarians? Or else, would not the Power of one single Colony, settled in a larger Country than our own, become formidable to our selves, in time? These doubtless were the Motives, which determined Scipio to prefer Peace; and I declare my self of his Opinion, and conclude, that we ought to accept the Proposals of the Carthaginians, and comply with his Desires.

Year of
R O M E
DLII.
Cn. CORNE-
LIUS LENTU-
LUS, P. ÆLI-
US PÆTUS,
Consuls.

BUT one Cornelius Lentulus, a Relation of the Consul, maintained a contrary Opinion. The publick Good, said he, ought to be the Rule of our Deliberations concerning Affairs of State. And what can be more for the Interest of Rome, than to put it out of the Power of perfidious Men to hurt her? The Time is now come, not only to humble, but utterly to extirpate, Carthage. Let us not give her time to breathe. Let us seize this Opportunity, now her Forces are weakened. We shall incur no Odium, by reducing her to Extremities, even for slight Losses. The Insolence and Faithlessness of these Africans, are known to all the World. They despise the Gods, and pay no regard to their Oaths; and to destroy them, is to do an Act agreeable both to Gods and Men. The Gods raised them to their present height, only to make their Punishment the more exemplary. Sicily, Spain, Italy, and Africa, have been Witnesses of their Perjuries. In Spain, they destroyed Saguntum, contrary to the Faith of Treaties. In Italy, after they had granted a Capitulation to the Inhabitants of Nuceria, they cruelly murdered them all. In Sicily, they invited one of our Consuls on board their Ships, and notwithstanding their solemn Promises to the contrary, carried him Captive into Africa. What have we not suffered, by the Treasons, and Inhumanity, of Hannibal! He has destroyed four hundred of our Cities, and trod our Romans under the Feet of his Elephants. He made Bridges for his Army, with our Bodies. He made the Prisoners he had taken from us, turn Gladiators, and fight for the Diversion of his Troops. While Carthage was amusing us with Treaties of Peace, she seized our Ships, and insulted our Ambassadors. What Pity then is due to so faithless a People? Scipio himself allows, that if Hannibal had gained the Advantage over him, he would have abolished the very Name of Roman. It may indeed be asked, whether we ought then to imitate the Carthaginians, and make their Conduct our Rule? But this is an ill-placed Magnanimity. Ought we to put an entire Confidence in faithless and inhuman Men, and suffer our selves to be imposed on, in making an Alliance with them? No surely. The safest Way, is to subject them, as we have done many other Nations, to the Dominion of the Republick. Afterwards, they may perhaps, by a change of Conduct, soften the Rigours of their Servitude. We will shew them Favour, according to their Fidelity. But to be content with making an Alliance with them, is to give them an Opportunity to become unfaithful. Carthage will always find Pretences for renewing the War, as long as she shall continue free. She will not lay down her Arms, till we force her to do it. Let us therefore, Conscript Fathers, have no Regard to these Articles of Peace, which Scipio has drawn up. He has only sent us his Opinion from Africa; and it is your Business to examine it. For my own part, I am for laying Siege to Carthage, and pursuing the War with all the Forces of the Republick. This said, Lentulus immediately turned to the Chief of the Embassy, and asked, What Gods will you call to witness the Sincerity of your Oaths? To which Asdrubal readily replied, The same who have so severely punished us for the Breach of them: And the Answer was applauded by the Assembly.

THE Senate plainly saw, that the Senator Lentulus had declaimed with so much Zeal, against a Peace, only to give the Consul, his Relation, an Opportunity to finish the War in Africa, to the Prejudice of Scipio: And the Question being put, the Majority voted for granting the Request of the Carthaginians. But

Lentulus

Year of
R O M E
DLII.
CN. CORNE-
LIUS LENTU-
LUS, P. ÆLI-
US PÆTUS,
Consuls.

Lentulus disliking this Decree, he appealed from the Senate to the People, who were the supreme Judges of Affairs of Peace and War. The *Tribunes of the People*, *Man. Atilius*, and *Q. Minucius*, were ordered to propose the Affair to the *Comitia*: and they asked the People assembled, whether they would empower the Senate, to determine without Appeal, concerning the Peace with *Carthage*; and to fix upon the Person, who should bring back the victorious Army into *Italy*. To which all the *Tribes* unanimously answered, That they would suffer none but *Scipio*, either to conclude the Peace, or to bring back the Troops to *Rome*. And upon this Decree of the People, the Senate pronounced, *That Scipio, in Concurrence with ten Senators deputed from the Body, should make the Treaty; and That afterwards he should lead back the Troops to Italy.* Who then can express the Joy of the Ambassadors, at the Success of their Negotiation! They returned the Senators their most humble Thanks: And having been hitherto suffered to lodge only in the Suburbs, they now desired Leave to enter *Rome*, and visit some of their Countrymen, Men of Condition, who were kept Prisoners in the publick Prisons. This the Senate granted; and upon their offering a second Petition, for leave to redeem a certain Number of Captives, *The Conscript Fathers* ordered them to give them a List of such as they desired. Upon which they named about two hundred; and the Senate passed this Decree concerning them, *That these two hundred Prisoners of War should be carried into Africa, to Scipio, who should restore them without Ransom, as soon as the Peace should be concluded.* A fresh Instance, both of the Humanity, and the Precaution, of the *Roman* Senate.

Livy, B. 30.
c. 43.

§. XLIX. As soon as both People and Senate had consented to the Peace with *Carthage*, the Ambassadors were dismissed. They embarked with the ten Deputies, nominated to assist *Scipio* with their Advice, in settling the Treaty; and carried with them the *Feciales*, who were to render sacred the Alliance which was going to be made with *Carthage*, by Acts of Religion. These were wanting in no Ceremony, which it was necessary they should perform: and therefore got it decreed, That each of them should carry with him from *Italy* his Flint, wherewith he was to break the Head of the Victim he should offer; and some ¹⁴⁵ *Vervein*, with which he was to crown his own Head, during the Sacrifice. To which it is added, that the General also commanded them to gather some *Gramen*, in a pure Place which had not been profaned. These were religious Observances, which *Numa* had prescribed, in order to secure the Faith of Treaties. When they came to *Scipio's* Camp near *Tunis*, the *Pro-Consul* caused the Articles of the Treaty to be ratified again, and hastened the Execution of them. The *Carthaginians* first delivered up the Deserters, as well *Roman*, as *Latin*, and the fugitive Slaves: And the *Latins* were only beheaded, but the *Romans* crucified. Desertion was more odious in native *Romans*, than in the Allies of *Rome*. Then *Carthage* delivered up the Prisoners of War she had taken from the Republick; among whom was one *Terentius Culleo*, a Man of the Senatorial Order: and it is not easy to say, which was most rejoiced at his Deliverance from Slavery, the Senator, or his Deliverer. And at length the *Carthaginians* delivered up their Elephants into the Hands of the Conqueror, who sent some of them to *Rome*, and gave the rest to *Masiniſſa*. But nothing was more mortifying to the *Carthaginians*, than to see the great Number of Ships they had in their Ports, burnt. They had above five hundred Sail of Gallies and Frigates; and *Scipio* carried them all out into the main Sea, except ten *Triremes*, and there set Fire to them, in sight of the Inhabitants. A Sight, as melancholy and mortifying to them, as if the Flames had been consuming the Temples and Houses of their Capital! And in the last Place, it was necessary to pay the Conqueror the first Payment of the Tribute, which he had required, for fifty Years; and then appeared the covetous Temper of these Trading-men, who were very greedy of Money, and very loth to part with any. When it was proposed to lay a Tax for the Payment of this Sum, they all burst out into Tears, except *Hannibal* (who, according to this

Zonaras, B. 9.
c. 14.

¹⁴⁵ The *Romans* thought *Vervein* a sacred Herb. It was used in Sacrifices, Purifications, and most other religious Ceremonies. It was generally gathered in a sacred Place. It belonged to one of the *Feciales*, to gather it, and he was therefore called *Verbena-*

rius. During the Sacrifice, which was offered up, as the last Sanction to a Treaty of Peace, he appeared with a Crown of *Vervein* on his Head. See Vol. 1. p. 66, 82, 292.

Account, was yet in *Carthage*) and he laughed. This gave great Offence; and *Asdrubal*, surnamed *The Ram*, said to him, *What! Does it become you to sneer and insult us, in the Miseries which you have brought upon us?* To which *Hannibal* made this prudent Answer. *Could you look into my Heart, you would there see as much Sorrow, as in your own. But after all, what can be more ridiculous, than Tears so unseasonably shed? We shed none when our Ships were burnt, and when we were forbidden to make War, even in Africa; and then they would have been very seasonable. That was the Blow that ought most to afflict us. So restless a People as ours, when once forbidden to make War Abroad, will soon destroy one another at Home. And this indeed we ought to lament in Tears of Blood. But a little Self-interest afflicts you more, than the most heavy publick Calamities. I am afraid, you will find, that you had Reason to reserve your Tears for greater Misfortunes.* And indeed, what *Hannibal* said was true; his Reflections were judicious. Nothing did *Carthage* so much Mischief, as the Restraint under which she was laid, not to take up Arms, without the Consent of the *Romans*.

Year of
R O M E
DLII.
CN. CORNE-
LIUS LENTU-
LUS, P. AULI-
US PATER, C.
Consuls.

§. L. As soon as the Articles of the Treaty were executed, *Scipio* prepared for his Departure. But he thought it necessary, before he left *Africa*, to reward *Masinissa*, put him in Possession of the conquered Countries, and settle the Limits of his Dominions. To this end the *Pro-Consul* assembled the ten Commissioners, and obtained their Consent; First, That the *Numidian* King should continue in peaceable Possession of the Kingdom of his Ancestors: And Secondly, That the City of *Cirthea*, and all the Places the *Romans* had taken from *Syphax*, should be absolutely given in Fee to King *Masinissa*. So that, it may be affirmed, that this Prince, who was always faithful to the *Romans*, gained more than they by this War, in which he had so well served his Allies. By the Assistance of the *Romans*, he was now become the most powerful Prince in his Country. Upon which *Masinissa* sent a new Embassy to *Rome*, and got the Grants of the *Pro-Consul* confirmed by the Senate. Thus ended the War, which was begun in *Spain*, and finished in *Africa*. It had lasted at least seventeen Years, reckoning from *Hannibal's* Descent in *Italy*. Though fatal at first to the *Romans*, whose Patience supported them against all Adversities, it ended with the entire Subjection of their Conquerors. Proud *Carthage* was humbled; and by her Humiliation, left *Rome* to conquer the rest of the World, without a Rival.

AND it being now time for *Scipio* to enjoy a little Repose, after so many Fatigues, he sailed from *Africa*, and returned to *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*. There he left the Fleet which *Octavius* had commanded on the Coasts of *Africa*, under the Command of the *Consul*, *Lentulus*; embarked as many Soldiers as he could; and returned to *Italy*. As soon as the News of his landing was spread in the neighbouring Places, the *Citizens* left their Cities; and the Peasants their Fields, and ran in Crouds to see the Deliverer of *Italy*, and the Conqueror of *Hannibal*. From the Port where he landed to *Rome*, the Roads were lined with infinite Numbers of People, who were never satisfied, with seeing and applauding him; and this was the beginning of that magnificent Triumph, which *Rome* decreed him at his Return. Those of the *Romans*, and even of the Senators, who could not believe, that the Diversion he was going to make in *Africa*, would have so much Success, were the most earnest, to congratulate him upon it. His Prosperity had surpassed all their Hopes; and wanted only to have received the Congratulations of the great *Fabius*, who had been so jealous of his Glory, and had so much opposed his Designs. But he was dead. However, the Conqueror had the Satisfaction to find, that the Predictions of this old General had proved false, and served only to augment his Glory. Both Senate and People concurred in decreeing him a Triumph; which being as magnificent as any which had yet been seen at *Rome*, some Historians have taken Pleasure in expatiating upon it. And, that the Reader may be thereby enabled to form the better Judgment, both of past and future Triumphs, we will follow their Example, and give him a very full Description of it.

App. in Punic.
Polyb. B. 16.
c. 12.
Livy, B. 30.
c. 45.

§. LI. As soon as the Soldiers *Scipio* had brought back arrived, they put Crowns of Laurel on their Heads. Then, being assembled in *The Campus Martius*, their General harangued them; after which, the Procession began. And if

Year of
R O M E
DLII.

CN. CORNE-
LIUS LENTU-
LUS, P. ÆLI-
US PÆTUS,
Consuls.

The Triumphal Gate ¹⁴⁶, which was never opened but in Triumphs, was then erected, *Scipio* and his Train entered the Capital through it. In the first Place came a great Number of Trumpets; then Chariots, laden with the Spoils of the Enemy. After them followed Representations ¹⁴⁷ of the conquered Cities, which were generally carved in Stone, or Ivory, or Citron-wood, and sometimes made in Silver. All these were carried on very rich and valuable Biers; and what the Chisel could not imitate, the Pencil supplied. The Battels of the triumphant Victor were represented in Pictures. After these came the Gold and ¹⁴⁸ Silver, in Specie, and in Bars, or Ingots, which the Conqueror had brought from the conquered Places. All these ¹⁴⁹ Riches, and the Vases of precious Metals, the rich Tapestries, and other Moveables

¹⁴⁶ It is utterly unknown in what Year of *Rome* *The Triumphal Gate* was built there. It is not improbable, that in the first Ages of the Republick, this Name was given to the Gate *Capena*. At least it is certain, that near that Gate, the *Romans* had erected a Temple, which was consecrated to *Mars*. The Senators used to go thither in a Body, to give Audience to Envoys from Nations at Enmity with them. We have already observed, that they were not suffered to enter *Rome*, but continued without the Walls, waiting for the Orders of the Senate. It is likewise probable, that the victorious Generals, who claimed Triumphs, continued there, till their Demand had been accepted, or rejected. The *Roman* Historians also tell us, that the triumphant Procession of the *Roman Knights*, crowned with Olive-branches, and carrying the military Rewards granted them for their Valour, began at the Gate *Capena*. This was the Cavalcade that was renewed annually, on *The Ides of July*, to perpetuate the Memory of the Victory, gained over *The Latins*, in the Year of *Rome* 257. under the *Auspices* of *Castor* and *Pollux*, according to the fabulous Tradition of that time. See *Vol. I.*

*See Plate 18.

Add to this, that *The Triumphal Arches*, which were in being in *Juvenal's* time, were near *The Gate Capena*, as appears by this Line of his third Satyr,

Substitit ad veteres arcus, madidamque Capenam.

But it is past doubt, that in After-ages, the Historians, by *The Triumphal Gate*, mean that which led to *The Flaminian Circus*, and *The Campus Martius*. To be convinced of this, we need only know that the Temple of *Bellona* stood in that Neighbourhood. The Ancients say, that all Deputies from Princes or Cities, with whom the Republick was at War, came thither to receive the Decrees of the Senate. The victorious Generals, upon their return from their Expeditions, constantly repaired thither, to give *The Conscript Fathers* assembled there, an Account of the Success of their Arms. After which they retired to *The Campus Martius*, where they waited for their Decision, and the Consent of the People, to their Triumphs. *Dio's* Testimony is express in this Matter, *B. 10.* He says, that the Claimant encamped with his Army in *The Field of Mars*, and there made Preparations for his Procession. It is therefore natural to conclude with *Domatus* the *Jesuit*, and *Nardini*, that the Gate in question was near *The Flaminian Circus*, and *The Campus Martius*. Some have thought, that this was the same Gate which was at first called *Flumentana*, and afterwards *Flaminia*. But others oppose this Opinion, and pretend, with the ancient Interpreter of *Suetonius*, that *The Triumphal Gate* stood between the Gates *Flumentana*, and *Catularia*. The latter was so called, according to *Festus*, from the time that the *Romans*, out of one of their most extravagant Superstitions, constantly sacrificed near it, red Dogs to *Canicula*, to moderate, as they pretended, the Heat of the Sun,

when in that Constellation. Indeed, the Ancients have not given us Light enough into this Matter, to form any certain Judgment of either of the two Opinions. Nevertheless, we may be sure, that this *Triumphal Gate* stood between the *Capitol* and the *Tyber*, at a little Distance from *The Gate Carmentalis*, and the Place where *The Gate Flumentana* stood, in the first Ages of the Republick. The triumphant Victor made his Entrance into *Rome* through it, in order to proceed in Procession to the *Capitol*, through the chief Quarters of the City.

¹⁴⁷ The Representation of a conquered City or Province, in the triumphant Procession, was known by its proper Symbols, and by Inscriptions in great Letters. They were most commonly represented, under the Figures of Slaves, with their Hands tied behind them; sometimes under those of Persons weeping, and overwhelmed with Grief; and sometimes, in the Posture of Supplicants. The Reverses of two * Medals of *Augustus*, shew the different Attitudes in which *Armenia* was represented, to shew her Subjection. The Mountains also and Rivers were represented in the Procession, either in Painting or Relievo. And according to *Silius Italicus*, *Scipio's* Triumph was adorned with a Representation of *Carthage* in Subjection.

Mox victos tendens Carthago ad Sidera palmas
Ibat. &c. B. 17.

¹⁴⁸ *Livy* says, that *Scipio* brought from his Conquests in *Africa*, a hundred thousand and twenty three Pounds weight of Silver, or upwards of eight hundred *Talents*, according to the *Greek* Way of computing. Now we have already observed, that the *Talent* considered as a Weight, was different from the Money-*Talent*. The latter contained six thousand *Attick Drachmæ*, or sixty two *Roman Pounds* and a half; the former twice as much, that is, a hundred and twenty five *Roman Pounds*; which are equivalent to a hundred and twenty *French Pounds*. This is the Value *Villalpandus* and *Bonani* give it, after *St. Epiphanius*. The former does not distinguish this latter sort of *Talent*, from that of the *Jews*, which was worth twelve thousand *Attick Drachmæ*. And consequently it weighed a hundred and twenty five Pounds, at the Rate of ninety six *Drachmæ* to a Pound, or eight *Drachmæ* to an Ounce. *Bonani* in proof of this, quotes an *Attick Talent*, which had this Inscription, shewing the Weight of it, PONDO CXXV TALENTUM. Add to this, that besides this considerable Quantity of Money, with which the Victor had enriched the publick Treasury, he reserved the rest of the Booty, for the Benefit of his Army. He distributed it among them, and it amounted to forty *Asses* of Brass per Man. This piece of Money had been reduced to the Weight of an Ounce, in the second *Punic* War, during the Dictatorship of the Great *Fabius*, as we have already observed, after *Pliny the Naturalist*. *Postea Annibale urgente Marcum, Quinto Fabio Maximo Dictatore, Asses Unciales facti.*

¹⁴⁹ Among these Riches were shewn on Biers the Crowns which the confederate Cities and Nations had freely decreed the General in honour to him.

Moveables taken from the Enemy, were carried on Hand-barrows. Then appeared the Victims, which were to be offered up to the Gods; and which generally were white Bulls, whose Horns were gilt, and which had been brought from the Banks of the *Clitumnus*. A Company of ¹⁵⁰ Sacrificers attended them, after they had first adorned them with Garlands and Fillets. After these came the Elephants taken from the Enemy; which were followed by the Prisoners of War. The latter marched in good Order, with their Hands tied behind them, and finely dressed, after the Fashions of their own Country, but loaded with Chains. Robes of Gold were made for the vanquished Kings, and of Silver for the captive Lords. And it is not improbable, that the famous Poet *Terence*, who was yet young, was one of these Captives. At least, it is certain, he was a Native of *Africa*, and was afterwards enfranchised by *Terentius Lucanus*, whose Name he took. But some Historians say, that King *Syphax* ¹⁵¹ did not attend *Scipio's* Triumph. This Prince had been removed from *Alba*, the Place of his Confinement, to *Tybur* ¹⁵², where he had died. Nevertheless, the Glory of the triumphant Victor was not diminished for want of this illustrious Captive. The Body of the deceased King adorned the ¹⁵³ Pomp of his Conqueror. After the Captives, came the *Pro-Consul's* *Lictors*, in military Habits, and followed by a great Company of Musicians and Dancers ¹⁵⁴, dressed like Satyrs, after the *Hetrurian* manner, and wearing Crowns of Gold. These Buffoons gave a Variety to the Show, and entertained the Spectators, with Dancing, and keeping time with the Musick. In the middle of this Company, there was a *Pantomime*, dressed in such a Gown as the Women wore, and adorned with Necklaces, and other Jewels. His Business was to insult the Vanquished with his Gestures, and ridiculous Postures, and raise a Laugh at their Expence. After him came a long Train of Persons, carrying Perfuming-Pots, the Odours of which ¹⁵⁵ filled the Air, with flagrant Smells; and next to them followed the Chariot of the triumphant Victor. It was made round almost in the Shape of a Tower, and drawn ¹⁵⁶ by four white Horses. Neither Gilding nor Colours were spared in adorning it; and in it sat the Victor, with his Children of both Sexes, especially if they were young. The

Year of
R O M E
DLII.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS,
Consuls.

But in after Ages, the Value of these Crowns, which were generally of Gold, and adorned with precious Stones, excited the Avarice of the *Romans*; and what was at first an Act of mere Generosity in the Kings and *Provinces*, became afterwards an heavy Tribute. They were rigorously demanded as a Debt. This sort of a Tax, or free Gift, which was paid in Money, was called *Aurum Coronarium*, from the Crowns, for which it was an Equivalent.

¹⁵⁰ On each side of the Victims walked the victimary Servants, of the Sacrificers, armed with their Hatchets. They were naked to the Waste, and carried in their Hands Gold and Silver *Patera* for Libations.

¹⁵¹ *Polybius* is the only Author who says, that *Syphax* was carried in Triumph, and that he died in Prison a few Days after.

¹⁵² *Tibur* is now called *Tivoli*. It stands on the Banks of the *Anio*, or *Teverone*.

¹⁵³ If the Princes, or Heads of the conquered Nation had been slain in Battel, Pictures or Statues were made of them, and they were as it were raised again, to be shewn to the People, in a State of Servitude and Reproach, which proclaimed their Misfortunes, and the Shame of their Defeat.

¹⁵⁴ Some of these Dancers, were metamorphosed into *Silennus's*; and there was something, according to *Dion. Hal.* very odd in their Dress. It consisted of a Vest of Skin, adorned with Moss, and a little Cloak, set off with Flowers. The rest who represented *Satyrs* were dressed in the same Habits, which they tied up with a Girdle of Goat's Skin; and to make them the more hideous, they wore a kind of Bonnets on their Heads, which were covered with long Hair. Their droll Looks, grotesque Motions, pleasant and severe Jest, which

they from time to time cast on the Vanquished, contributed not a little to the Entertainment of the Spectators.

¹⁵⁵ Ancient Authors tell us, that the Streets through which the triumphal Procession passed, were strowed with Flowers. The Temples by which it passed swam with the Blood of the Victims, and no Perfumes were spared in them. The *Citizens* crowded to them, to join with the Priests in returning solemn Thanks to the tutelary Gods of the Republick. The Doors of all the Houses were adorned with Festoons and Crowns, and the Out-sides of them set off with the richest things every Man had. So that the Richness and Variety of the Show was very entertaining to all Spectators.

¹⁵⁶ The Chariot of the Victor, in luxurious Times, glittered with Gold and precious Stones. The Images of the Gods, and the Exploits of the General, which were represented on it in *Basso Relievo*, added to the Magnificence of this stately Vehicle. The General himself held the Reins of his Horses, which walked very slowly, in the midst of Palm-branches, and Laurel-branches, with which they were covered. According to *Josephus*, before the Victor went into his Chariot, he mounted *A Tribune*, and harangued the Soldiers, who had been his Companions in Victory. After this, he, in their Presence, offered up Vows and Prayers for the Prosperity of the *Roman* Arms. Then he pronounced this Form of Words, which some Writers have transmitted to us. *Dii NUTU ET IMPERIO QUORUM NATA ET AUCTA EST RES ROMANA, EANDEM PLACITI PROPITIATI QUE SERVATE.* That is, *O ye Gods, to whom the Roman Republick is indebted for her Rise and Increase, continue to be favourable to her, and to watch over, and preserve her!*

nearest

Year of nearest and youngest Relations of the Conqueror, were mounted on the Horses which drew his Chariot; and nothing could be more rich and stately than his Dress. His ¹⁵⁷ *Tunick* was adorned with embroidered *Palm-branches* sewed upon it; and his purple *Toga* was seeded with great Flowers. In his Hand he carried an ivory Scepter, mounted with an ¹⁵⁸ Eagle and a Branch of Laurel. Nevertheless, lest he should in the midst of all his Glory, forget the Vicissitudes of Fortune, a Slave ¹⁵⁹ was placed behind him in the same Chariot, and he held over the Head of the Victor a Crown of Gold, set with precious Stones. But the Conqueror wore only an ¹⁶⁰ Iron Ring on his Finger. Round ¹⁶¹ his Chariot marched his Officers of Justice; and among the rest his Secretary, Register, and ¹⁶² *Apparitores*. After him followed the *Consuls*, and Senators, in great Order, on Foot. Among

DLII.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS,
Consuls.

¹⁵⁷ We have already spoken of the stately Habit of the triumphant Victors. See *Vol. 1. p. 76. Note 90*; and *p. 120. Note 58*. *Appian* says, that the triumphal Robe was of Purple, embroidered with Stars of Gold. For this Reason the Ancients called it *Toga Picta*. According to *Vopiscus*, it was either kept laid up in the *Capitol*, or the Statue of *Jupiter* was dressed in it; and therefore he calls it *Capitolina Palmata*. *Juvenal*, *Sat. 10.* makes use of an Appellation for it, of much the same import, when he says, *In Tunica Jovis &c.* Perhaps it was so called, because it was wrought after the same Pattern, and in the same Manner, as *Jupiter's* was. On the reverse of an *Augustus* we see the Ornaments of the Victor, viz. The embroidered *Toga*, the ivory Scepter, and the Crown of Laurel.

*See Plate 13.

¹⁵⁸ The triumphal Chariot, which we have taken from the reverse of *A. Trajan*, proves this Custom. We there see the triumphant Victor carrying this Scepter in one Hand, and a Crown of Laurel in the other. We have likewise the Testimonies of *Valerius Maximus*, and of *Plutarch* (in his *Life of Paulus Æmilius*) for it.

¹⁵⁹ *Juvenal* confirms this Custom of placing a publick Slave behind the Victor, in these Lines, of his *10th Satyr*.

*In tunica Jovis & picta ferrana ferentem,
Ex humeris Aulææ Togæ, magnæque coronæ
Tantum orbem, quanto cervix non sufficit una.
Quippe tenet sudans hanc Publicus, & sibi Consul
Ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.*

Some have improperly, and without any Proof, taken this Slave for an Executioner; as *Isidorus of Seville* in particular does, *Etymology, B. 18.* But be that as it will, according to *Tertullian*, in his *Apologeticus*, this mean Fellow was placed there to suppress the Pride of the General, by repeating these humbling Expressions in his Ears. *Be ever suspicious of what may happen. Remember that thou art a Man.* RESPICE POST TE. HOMINEM MEMENTO TE. The same thing is also attested by *Zonaras*. Nevertheless, the Silence of the Ancients on so remarkable a Fact, has given the Critics just Cause to question the Truth of it. Moreover, if we consider the Weight and Bigness of this Crown of Gold, according to *Juvenal's* Account, it will appear to have been made more for Show than Use. The Victors then, according to some Moderns, still kept up the Custom of being crowned with Laurel, after the Example of their Forefathers. *Livy*, speaking of the Ornaments of the Victor, *B. 10.* makes no Difference between these two sorts of Crowns. *Isidorus* is the only Author who does, in the Book above quoted. He says, that the former was the Reward of those Victors, whose Conquests, or Victories, had cost the Republick Blood. Its Leaves represented those of a Palm-tree, the Points of which pretty well pointed out the murdering Weapons of the Combatants. The Leaves of the latter, according to him, represented those of the Laurel; and it was

given only to those Generals, who, upon their Approach, had forced the Enemy to fly, without shedding Blood. But besides, that the Ancients have not left us any Marks of such a Difference in the triumphal Crowns, we have Proofs of the contrary, in most of the Triumphs decreed the Roman Generals.

What *Zonaras* says of the triumphal Procession, deserves our particular Attention. He affirms, that it was customary among the Romans to fasten a Whip and a Bell to the triumphal Chariot. The Design of this was, according to him, to humble the Pride and Vanity of the Victor, in the midst of all this State and Pomp. These things, adds the Historian, pointed out to him the Inconstancy of Fortune; and put him in mind, that all this Glory could not secure him from an ignominious Death, unless he kept himself within the Bounds of his Duty. These Instruments were indeed used at Rome, in the Execution of Criminals. The Prejudices of that time were such, that if any Man came near a condemned Criminal, he was thought to contract some Pollution thereby, and was obliged to purify himself by expiatory Sacrifices.

¹⁶⁰ Perhaps the Design of the Romans, in giving the Victor only an Iron-ring, was to preserve some Traces of the first Simplicity of their Ancestors, amidst all this State and Pomp. We have already observed, that Luxury had substituted Gold Rings in the room of Iron ones, which were given up to Slaves, and were a Mark of Slavery. And perhaps, they likewise thereby intended to shew the Victor, that the transient Glory he enjoyed, did no more free him from his Subjection to the Laws of the Republick, than it freed the Slave from the Power of his Master. This is the Sense of these Words of *Juvenal, Sat. 10.*

Et sibi Consul

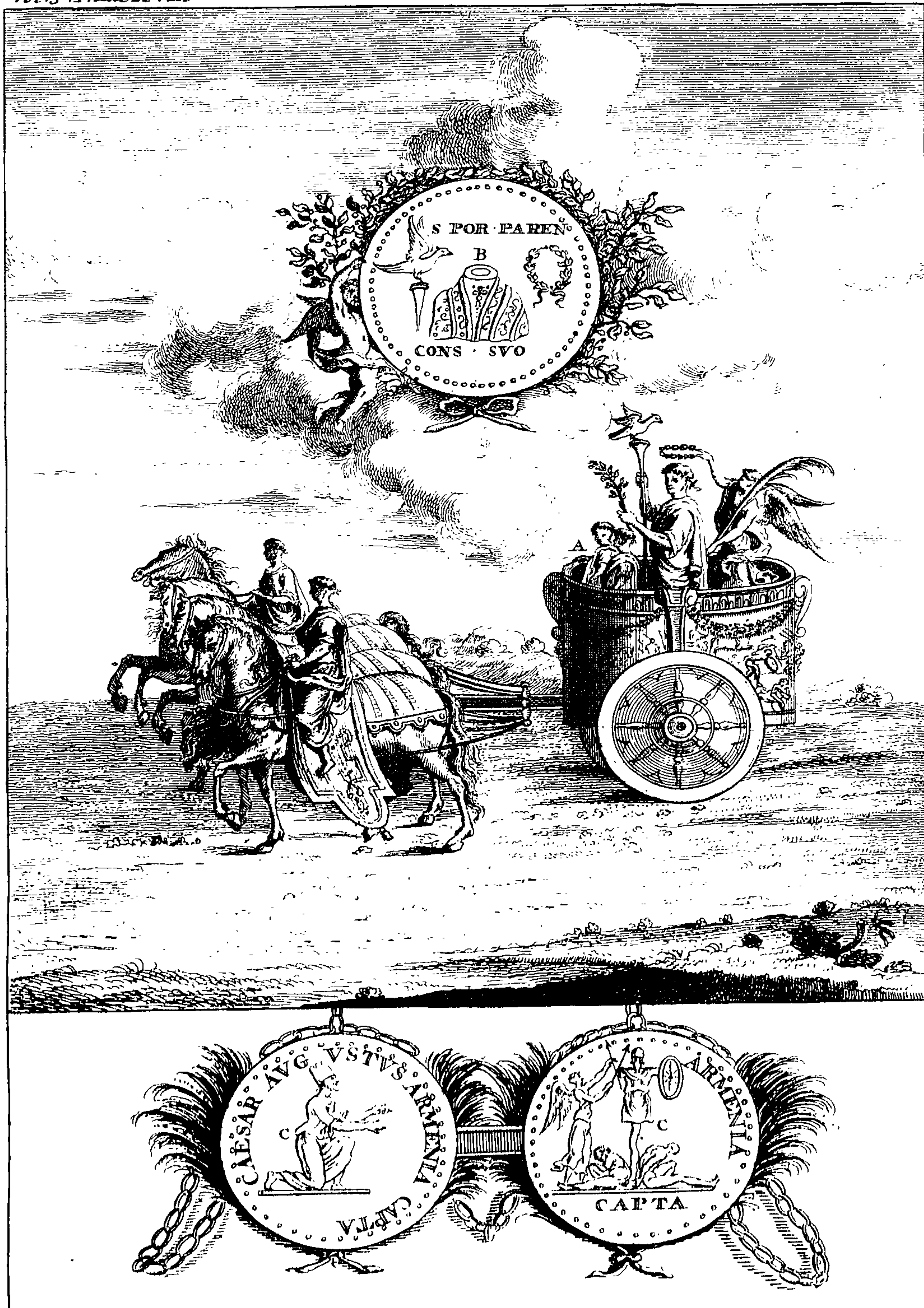
Ne placeat, curru Servus portatur eodem.

Pliny the Naturalist has made the same Reflection, *B. 33. c. 1. Et cum Corona ex auro Etrusca sustinetur a tergo, annulus tamen in digito ferreus erat.*

¹⁶¹ To these Ornaments, *Macrobius* adds the *Bulla Aurea*. The Victor wore this Toy, as the young Romans did, who were not arrived at the Age of Puberty. And lest the Glory of the General should raise the Jealousy of his Rivals, there were always some mysterious Words put into this little hollow Ball. The Superstitious gave Credit to these sorts of *Talismans*; and thought them Preservatives against Enchantments. *Pliny* also says, *B. 24.* that the General tied obscene Figures under his Chariot, believing that they had a wonderful Virtue against Malice and Envy. *Sed & res turpicule, sub curru suspendebantur, quibus invidiam averruncari creditum est.* See *Vol. 1. p. 44. Note 153.*

¹⁶² All this numerous Train were crowned with Laurel, as well as the Magistrates, Senators, and Soldiers.

whom



A. A Triumphal Chariot. B. The Robe of the Triumphant Victor.
C. Representations of conquered Cities or Provinces.

whom, in *Scipio's* Triumph, was the Senator ¹⁶³ *Terentius Culleo*, who that Day wore the *Pileus* as the Symbol of his having obtained his Freedom. Then came the victorious Army, first the Horse, then the Infantry, under their proper Colours. The Soldiers had full Liberty to entertain the People, as they pleased, with satyrical Jest; which they often made on the ¹⁶⁴ Victor himself. In this Order, they marched round the *Circus's* and Amphitheatres. The People could there most conveniently see the Procession from the Seats on which they sat, at the publick Games. From thence ¹⁶⁵ the Procession came to the ¹⁶⁶ *Capitol*, where the Victims were offered, by way of Thanksgiving to the Gods, for the ¹⁶⁷ Prosperity of the *Roman* Arms; and this glorious Day was closed with a great ¹⁶⁸ Entertainment, which the Victor gave his Friends. The *Consuls* were always invited to it; but they never came, because they would not deprive the Conqueror of the Honour of sitting in the highest Place. Such was the Triumph ¹⁶⁹ of *Scipio*. *Rome* no longer compared his Merit with that of any

Year of
R O M E
DLII.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS,
Consuls.

¹⁶³ This was a publick Homage, which *Terentius Culleo* paid his Deliverer, to whom he was indebted for his Liberty. The Services *Scipio* had done him in *Africa*, required no less at his Hands. This General, before he would treat of a Peace, had insisted upon it as a Preliminary, that *Terentius*, then a Prisoner at *Carthage*, should be delivered up to him, and *Scipio* seated him by him at all the Conferences which were held on both sides. And therefore *Terentius* was entirely devoted to him ever after. His Grief at the Death of this great Man, his Lamentations at his Funeral, the Wine mixed with Honey, which he distributed among those who assisted at his Obsequies, and the Tears he shed at his Tomb, all shewed the Sincerity of his Affection. And this Tribute of Gratitude reflected as much Glory on him who paid it, as it did Honour to the Deceased. *Plutarch* has preserved this Story in his *Apothegms*.

¹⁶⁴ We have elsewhere shewn the Rise of this Licentiousness among the Soldiers; and we will here add, what *Dion. Hal.* says of it, *Antiq. B. 7. It is plain*, says he, *that these Diversions, of which Satyr was a part, were allowed in the first Ages of Rome. A Liberty is given to this Day, to those who assist in a Triumph, to mix with their Songs satyrical Reflections on Persons of the greatest Distinction, and even on the General himself.* To which he adds, that this licentious Custom prevailed in *Athens*, and was brought from thence to *Rome*. A Company of *Athenians*, says he, *who were formerly carried in Chariots, at the end of solemn Processions, took up a Custom of insulting all that passed by, with poignant Raileries, and even Invectives.* Hence the proverbial Expression *De plastro loqui*, to signify bitter Reflections, and reproachful Words. Hence also those proverbial Sayings among the *Greeks*, *To vomit out a Cart full of Reproaches, To inveigh as from a Dung-cart.* Some ascribe the Rise of this Abuse to the ancient Comedies, which were so excessively insolent, that they attacked both Gods and Men, without any Reserve. This is very easy to be seen in *Aristophanes*. He introduces *Mercury, Æsculapius, Bacchus*, and all the Gods of *Olympus*, in their turns, for the Entertainment of the Spectators. It is well known, that these severe Pieces were played in the first Sketches of the Drama, by their Authors, who were of the Dregs of the People, and whose only Stages were Carts, from which they provoked the First-comers with Reproaches. Others ascribe the Origin of these proverbial Speeches to the Vintage-Fests which were kept at *Athens*. During these Rejoicing-Days, the Poets stood in a Cart, and repeated their Verses in publick. The Competitors, who earnestly contended for the Prize, began with mutual Jest. But this Pleasantry ended in the most abusive Reflections.

¹⁶⁵ It is uncertain, whether at this time the *Romans* had made it a barbarous Rule among

them, to conclude the triumphal Pomp with putting the chief of the Captives to Death. See *Vol. 1. p. 416. Note 52, 53.*

¹⁶⁶ *Dio* tells us, in his History, that *Julius Cæsar*, and the Emperor *Claudius*, out of Respect to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, crept up the Steps of the *Capitol*, on their Knees. But he does not say that this troublesome Ceremony had been constantly observed by all those who had triumphed before him.

¹⁶⁷ When the General was come to the *Capitol*, he put his Crown in *Jupiter's* Bosom, together with the most valuable of the Spoils, there to remain as Monuments of his Triumph, and his Gratitude. After this he pronounced with a loud Voice the following Form of Thanksgiving, which we find in *Blondus, Lib. 10. Rom. Triumph*, and several other Authors. But we will not pretend to warrant its being authentick. GRATIAS TIBI JUPITER OPTIME MAXIME, TIBIQUE JUNO REGINA, ET CÆTERI HJUS CUSTODES HABITATORESQUE ARCIS DII, LIBENS LÆTUSQUE AGO. RE ROMANA IN HANC DIEM ET HORAM, PER MANUS QUOD VOLUISTI MEAS, SERVATA, BENE GESTAQUE, EANDEM ET SERVATE, UT FACITIS, FOVE TE, PROTEGITE PROSPERITATI, SUPPLEX ORO. O Jupiter, the most great and good of all Beings, Queen Juno, and all the tutelary Gods of the Capitol, where you have taken up your Abode, accept the Thanksgiving which I offer you, in Gratitude for the Blessings you have bestowed on our Republick, by my means. Preserve her always, and be ever propitious to her.

¹⁶⁸ This Entertainment was generally given in the Portico's of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

¹⁶⁹ That we may omit no Ceremony practised in Triumphs, we will add a Remark of *Pliny, B. 34*; where he says, that the Statue of *Hercules*, consecrated by *Evander*, in the *Ox-Market*, shared in some Measure the Honours of a Triumph, with the Victor himself. It was dressed in a *Toga*, and an embroidered *Tunick*, during the Procession. And *Asconius* pretends, that the Image of this God was carried before the General's Chariot. Nevertheless, it must be owned, that these sorts of Customs were subject to many Changes, according to the Differences of the Times, especially after the entire Subversion of the Republick. The same Judgment is to be formed of what *Thomas Dempster* says, after *Seneca* and *Claudian*; viz. That there were Streaks of Blood, at certain Distances, on the Victor's Chariot, alluding to that which had been shed on the Field of Battel. According to *Verrius*, whom *Pliny* quotes, *B. 33. c. 7.* the Victors, after the Example of *Camillus*, painted their Faces with Vermilion; thereby affecting to put themselves, in some measure, upon an equal Foot with the Gods, especially the God of the *Capitol*, whose Statue was shewn painted with this Colour, all the Days of the Festival.

7 G

other;

Year of
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CN. CORNE-
LIUS LENTU-
LUS, P. ÆLI-
US PÆTUS,
Consuls.

other; his new Glory raised him above all his Rivals. Some pretend, that the Republick, at that time, offered him the *Consulship*, and perpetual *Dictatorship*; and ordered 170 Statues to be erected to his Honour, in the *Comitium*, near *The Tribune of Harangues*, in the Hall where the Senate assembled, and on the *Capitol*. To which they add, that this great Man had more Modesty, than *Rome* had Gratitude. He to the last refused these great Honours, and contented himself with assisting his Republick with his Counsels, and being always ready to serve her with his Sword, when the publick Good required it. Nevertheless, he had the second Surname of *Africanus* given him. It is indisputable that *Scipio* subdued and pacified all *Africa*. Indeed, this Name had not then so extensive a Signification, as it has since had. We now by *Africa* mean the whole Continent, which makes one of the four Parts of the World, as distinguished from *Asia*, *Europe* and *America*; whereas, the Name of *Africa* then only signified the Countries on the Coasts of the *Mediterranean*, where the *Carthaginian* Republick was settled. And in this Sense, *Scipio* had no Reason to decline the Appellation of *Africanus*. It is pretended, that he was the first *Roman*, who was suffered to bear the Name of the Country he had conquered; and it is uncertain, whether this glorious Appellation was given him, by his Soldiers out of Esteem, or by his Friends out of Flattery, or merely to distinguish him from the other *Scipio's*. However, we shall for the future generally call him by no other than the Surname of *Africanus*, which the Historians have ever preserved to him.

170 The triumphant Victor's Glory was not confined to transient Honours. The Place of Distinction, which was assigned him in publick Assemblies, the Right he had of assisting at publick Shows in a *Curule Chair*, and of wearing a Crown of Laurel on those Occasions, and the Respect and Acclamations of the People, at the Sight of a

General, who had been dignified with a Triumph, were solid and lasting Advantages, which never ended, but with his Life. Not to mention the Statues, Trophies, triumphal Columns, and the many other stately Monuments, which have immortalized the Names and Exploits of such Conquerors.



The End of the THIRD VOLUME.

N. B. Though this Volume was to have ended with the thirty sixth Book of the Original (by the Order of twelve Books to each Volume) yet as the thirty seventh Book is short, and concludes the second Punic War, we have in the Translation made it a part of the foregoing Book, and ended this Third Volume with it. We give the Reader this Notice, because the Fasti, which were first printed off, fall short by two Years, of the History. What is wanting will be found in the Fasti of the next Volume.

THE

FASTI CONSULARES,

OR,

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

CONTINUED.



213. <i>Consulship.</i> Year 514.	C. MAMILIUS TURINUS. Q. VALERIUS FALTO.	<i>Pro-Consul in</i> Sicily.	Q. LUTATIUS CERCO.
<i>Prætors.</i>	L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CAUDINUS. C. LICINIUS VARUS.	214 <i>Consulship,</i> Year 515.	TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS. P. VALERIUS FALTO.
<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.	<i>Prætors.</i>	C. FABIUS PICTOR. M. GENUCIUS CIPUS.
<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS RUGA, Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.	<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.
<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	M. JUNIUS PERA. C. ARENNIUS NEPOS. L. MAMILIUS VITULUS. SEXTUS CURATIUS NEPOS. TI. VETURIUS CALVINUS. C. NUMITORIUS NEPOS. C. VOLSCIUS FICTOR. L. TITINIUS NEPOS. L. PAPIRIUS TURDUS. CN. APRONIUS LIMO.	<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	M' POMPONIUS MATHO. C. ATILIUS REGULUS.
<i>Quæstors of</i> <i>Rome.</i>	Q. FABIUS VERRUCOSUS. C. ATILIUS REGULUS.	<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS. L. ANICIUS GALLUS. M. AQUILLIUS FLORUS. M. AULIUS CERRETANUS. M. CURIUS DENTATUS. M. POMPONIUS MATHO. Q. PAPIRIUS TURDUS. L. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. M. CLAUDIUS GLICIA.
<i>Military Quæ-</i> <i>stors.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS. Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.	<i>Quæstors of</i> <i>Rome.</i>	C. SERVILIUS NEPOS. L. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
<i>Provincial</i> <i>Quæstors.</i>	P. NUMITORIUS NEPOS. A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. C. SALLONIUS SARRA. SER. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.	<i>Military Quæ-</i> <i>stors.</i>	M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS. T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
		<i>Provincial</i> <i>Quæstors.</i>	Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS. CN. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS. M. PINARIUS NATTA. P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

<i>Pro-Consul,</i>	Q. VALERIUS FALTO.	<i>Prætors.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS RUGA.
<i>Pro-Quæstor.</i>	C. ATILIUS REGULUS.		
215. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 516.</i>	L. CORNELIUS LENTU- LUS CAUDINUS. He triumphs over the <i>Ligures</i> . Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.	<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS TURDUS. M. JUNIUS PERA.
<i>Prætors.</i>	L. POBLILIUS MALLEOLUS. L. FURIUS BIBACULUS.	<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	TI. VETURIUS CALVINUS. CN. APRONIUS LIMO.
<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO. Q. FABIVS VERRUCOSUS.	<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	M. ATILIUS REGULUS. C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS. C. ÆBUTIVS CARUS. L. STATIVS NEPOS. CN. MINUCIUS FESSUS. C. OTACILIUS CRASSUS. C. AQUILIUS FLORUS. L. PLÆTORIVS NEPOS. C. METILIUS NEPOS.
<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	D. JUNIUS PERA. CN. POMPONIUS RUFUS.		
<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	C. MINUCIUS RUFUS. M' JUVENTIVS THALNA. Q. POMPONIUS NEPOS. C. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS. M. MARCIUS RALLA. M. MINUCIUS FESSUS. M. OTACILIUS CRASSUS. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS. C. CALPURNIVS PISO. M. ALLIENIVS NEPOS.	<i>Quæstors of</i> <i>Rome.</i>	M. VALERIUS MESSALLA. Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.
<i>Quæstors of</i> <i>Rome.</i>	A. ATILIUS CALATINUS. C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.	<i>Military Quæ-</i> <i>stors.</i>	M. JUNIUS BRUTUS. L. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
<i>Military Quæ-</i> <i>stors.</i>	P. VALERIUS FLACCUS. SP. FURIUS PHILUS.	<i>Provincial</i> <i>Quæstors.</i>	SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NO- BILIOR. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. P. PINARIUS NATTA. C. APUSTIVS FULLO.
<i>Provincial</i> <i>Quæstors.</i>	C. LÆLIUS NEPOS. M. CLAUDIVS MARCELLUS. A. MANLIUS VULSO LONGUS. L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.	<i>Pro-Consul.</i>	Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
<i>Pro-Consul in</i> <i>Sicily.</i>	Q. VALERIUS FALTO.	<i>Pro-Quæstor.</i>	SP. FURIUS PHILUS.
<i>Pro-Quæstor.</i>	C. ATILIUS REGULUS.	217. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 518.</i>	T. MANLIUS TORQUA- TUS. He triumphs over the <i>Sardinians</i> . C. ATILIUS BULBUS.
216 <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 517.</i>	P. CORNELIUS LENTU- LUS CAUDINUS. C. LICINIUS VARUS.	<i>Prætors.</i>	M' POMPONIUS MATHO. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
	The SECULAR GAMES, cele- brated a third time, under the Direction of M' ÆMILIUS, and M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.	<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS BARBULA. M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
<i>Censors.</i>	L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CAUDINUS. Q. LUTATIVS CERCO. The latter died before his Office expired.	<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS. M. POMPONIUS MATHO.
		<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	L. APUSTIVS FULLO. C. MANILIUS NEPOS. Q. CÆDICIVS NOCTUA. L. MEMMIUS NEPOS. L. ACILIUS GLABRIO. M. PONTIFICIVS NEPOS. C. ANTONIVS NEPOS. C. CÆDICIVS NOCTUA. CN. OCTAVIVS NEPOS. C. DUILIVS NEPOS.

<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	M. VALERIUS FLACCUS. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.	<i>Pro-Quæstor.</i>	M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. SERVILIUS CÆPIO. M. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.	219. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Tear 520.</i>	Q. FABIUS MAX. VERRUCOSUS. He triumphs over the <i>Ligures</i> . M' POMPONIUS MATHO. He triumphs over the <i>Sardinians</i> .
<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	L. MANILIUS NEPOS. M. ANTONIUS NEPOS. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA. M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.	<i>Prætors.</i>	C. PAPIRIUS MASO. M. JUNIUS PERA.
<i>Pro-Consul in Sicily.</i>	Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	C. OTACILIUS CRASSUS. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
<i>Pro-Quæstor.</i>	SP. FURIUS PHILUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. AQUILIUS FLORUS. M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
218. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Tear 519.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. He triumphs over the <i>Sardinians</i> .	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS. C. ÆBUTIUS CARUS. M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS. P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS. CN. MINUCIUS FESSUS. L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS. C. SERVILIUS NEPOS. Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS. C. AQUILIUS FLORUS. CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.
<i>Censors.</i>	C. ATILIUS BULBUS. A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. THE FORTIETH LUSTRUM.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
<i>Prætors.</i>	M. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CAUDINUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	P. FURIUS PHILUS. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO CALVUS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS. A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. Theatrical Pieces of CN. NÆVIUS.	<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS. C. ACILIUS GLABRIO. Q. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M' JUVENTIUS THALNA. M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS.	<i>Pro-Consul.</i>	A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. ATILIUS REGULUS. P. NUMITORIUS NEPOS. SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS. M. TERENTIUS NEPOS. C. OPPIUS CORNICINUS. M. MANILIUS VITULUS. C. SALLONIUS SARRA. Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS. T. JUVENTIUS THALNA. CN. OGULNIUS GALLUS.	<i>Pro-Quæstor.</i>	C. CENTENIUS PENULA.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. SCANTINIUS CAPITOLINUS. L. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.	220. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Tear 521.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS. M. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS. M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.	<i>Prætors.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS BARBULA. CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.
<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	C. CENTENIUS PENULA. L. LÆTORIUS MERGUS. L. SERGIUS FIDENAS. L. FLAMINIUS CILO.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	P. VALERIUS FLACCUS. SP. FURIUS PHILUS.
<i>Pro-Consul.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	L. APUSTIUS FULLO. Q. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA.
		<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS. C. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. M. ATILIUS CALATINUS. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. C. MI-

	C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. C. LÆLIUS NEPOS. M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS. C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.	<i>Military Quæ- stors.</i>	L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. LUTATIUS CATULUS. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA.	<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	L. JUNIUS PULLUS. M. LIVIUS DRUSUS. C. SERGIUS FIDENAS. L. VALERIUS MESSALLA.
<i>Military Quæ- stors.</i>	SEX. POMPONIUS NEPOS. L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.	<i>Pro-Consul in Sicily.</i>	SP. FURIUS PHILUS.
<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS. L. AURELIUS COTTA. C. AURELIUS COTTA. L. FURIUS PHILUS.	<i>Pro-Quæstor.</i>	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA.
<i>Pro-Consul in Sicily.</i>	M. JUNIUS PERA.	<i>222. Consulship. Year 523.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS BARBULA. M. JUNIUS PERA.
<i>Pro-Quæstor.</i>	CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO CAL- VUS.	<i>Censors.</i>	Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS VERRU- COSUS. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
<i>221. Consulship. Year 522.</i>	M. POMPONIUS MATHO. C. PAPIRIUS MASO. He triumphs over the <i>Corficans</i> , on the Hill of <i>Alba</i> .		THE FORTY FIRST LUSTRUM.
<i>Dictator.</i>	C. DUILIUS.	<i>Prætors.</i>	M. ATILIUS REGULUS. M. ATILIUS CRASSUS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	C. AURELIUS COTTA.	<i>Curule Æ- diles.</i>	C. SERVILIUS CÆPIO. M. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
<i>Censors.</i>	T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS. QUINTUS FULVIUS FLACCUS. Their Election was defective, and they abdicated.	<i>Plebeian Æ- diles.</i>	C. SERVILIUS NEPOS. Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
<i>Prætors.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS. M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. MINUCIUS RUFUS. L. MANILIUS NEPOS. A. ATILIUS BULBUS. M. ANTONIUS NEPOS. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR. M' MARCIUS NEPOS. C. MARCIUS CENSORINUS. Q. PETILLIUS NEPOS. P. PLAUTIUS HYPSPÆUS. P. APULEIUS SATURNINUS.
<i>Curule Æ- diles.</i>	M. VALERIUS MESSALLA. Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	Q. TERENTIUS CULEO. L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS TUBERO.
<i>Plebeian Æ- diles.</i>	C. ATILIUS REGULUS. CN. OGULNIUS GALLUS.	<i>Military Quæ- stors.</i>	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. P. SCANTINIUS CAPITOLINUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. APUSTIUS FULLO. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS. TI. CLAUDIUS CANINA. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS. C. FLAVIUS NEPOS. SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NO- BILIOR. L. JUNIUS BRUTUS. C. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS. L. TULLIUS NEPOS. P. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.	<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS Q. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS. C. FURIUS PACILUS. C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	T. ANNIUS LUSCUS. L. MANLIUS VULSO.	<i>Pro-Consul in Sicily.</i>	SP. FURIUS PHILUS.
		<i>Pro-Consul in } Sardinia and Corfica.</i>	M. POMPONIUS MATHO.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

5

<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	L. MANLIUS VULSO. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.	<i>Curule ædiles.</i>	P. FURIUS PHILUS. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO CAP- VUS.
223. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 524.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS, a second time. CN. FULVIUS CENTU- MALUS.	<i>Plebeian ædiles.</i>	C. APUSTIUS FULLO. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
<i>Prætors.</i>	P. VALERIUS FLACCUS. L. APUSTIUS FULLO.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. MINUCIUS RUFUS. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. Q. BEBIUS TAMPHILUS. C. ACILIUS GLABRIO. A. SELLIVS NEPOS. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS. A. TREBONIUS ASPER. C. LUCERIUS NEPOS. C. SCAPTIVS NEPOS.
<i>Curule ædiles.</i>	L. ÆMILIUS PAPUS. M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. VETURIUS PHILO. M. FABIVS LICINUS.
<i>Plebeian ædiles.</i>	C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS. T. ÆBUTIVS CARUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. C. TERENTIUS VARRO.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. SCANTINIUS CAPITOLINUS. C. CENTENIUS PENULA. L. APULEIUS SATURNINUS. L. RACILIUS NEPOS. L. ROSCIUS NEPOS. M. LIVIUS SALINATOR. L. LÆTORIUS MERGUS. L. ALLIENIUS NEPOS. L. TREBONIUS FLAVUS. M. ANTIUS RESTIO.	<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	C. LÆTORIUS MERGUS. M. MARCIUS. CN. FULVIUS MAXIMUS CEN- TUMALUS. P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS. M. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.	<i>Pro-Consul in Illyricum.</i>	CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. ATILIUS SERRANUS. CN. PUPIUS NEPOS.	<i>Pro-Consul in Sicily.</i>	SP. FURIUS PHILUS.
<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	L. OPIMIUS PANSÀ. C. FULCINIUS TRIO. CN. FURIUS PACILUS. Q. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.	<i>Pro-Consul in Sardinia and Corfica.</i>	M. POMPONIUS MATHO.
<i>Pro-Consul in Liguria.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	CN. PUPIUS NEPOS. L. MANLIUS VULSO. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.
<i>Pro-Consul in Sicily.</i>	SP. FURIUS PHILUS.	225. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 526.</i>	P. VALERIUS FLACCUS. M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
<i>Pro-Consul in Corfica and Sardinia.</i>	M. POMPONIUS MATHO.	<i>Prætors.</i>	L. ÆMILIUS PAPUS. C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.
<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. L. MANLIUS VULSO. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.	Sicily and Sardinia made a Prætorship.	
224. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 525.</i>	SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS, a second time. Q. FABIVS MAXIMUS VERRUCOSUS, a second time.	<i>Prætor in Sicily.</i>	C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
<i>Prætors.</i>	M. VALERIUS MESSALLA. C. ATILIUS REGULUS.	<i>Prætor in Sar- dinia.</i>	M. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
		<i>Curule ædiles.</i>	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA. K. QUINCTIVS FLAMININUS.

Plebeian Æ- A. ATILIUS BULBUS.
diles. P. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.

Tribunes of the C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
People. SEX. POMPONIUS NEPOS.
L. SEXTIUS CALVINUS.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.
L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.
T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
L. AURELIUS COTTA.
M. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
L. SEXTILIUS NEPOS.
Q. TITIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
Rome. CN. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.

Military Quæ- C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
stors. C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.

Provincial C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VI-
Quæstors. OLENS.
N. FABIVS BUTEO.
M. POMPONIUS NEPOS.
T. ANTONIUS MERENDA.

Pro-Quæstors. C. LÆTORIUS MERGUS.
CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.

226 Consulship, M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.
Year 527. L. APUSTIUS FULLO.

Prætors of M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
Rome. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

Prætors in C. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
Sicily and T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.
Sardinia.

Curule Æ- M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
diles. C. SCANTINIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Plebeian Æ- M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
diles. L. LÆTORIUS MERGUS.

Tribunes of the T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.
People. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
M. LIVIUS DRUSUS.
M. CÆDICIVS NEPOS.
M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
Ti. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
L. JUNIUS PULLUS.
C. COMINIUS NEPOS.
P. CURATIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of P. CORNELIUS MERENDA.
Rome. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Military Quæ- Q. MUCIUS SCAEVOLA.
stors. C. FANNIUS STRABO.

Provincial C. LIVIUS DRUSUS.
Quæstors. L. PETILLIUS GEMINUS.
T. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
SP. NAUTIUS RUTIL. S.

Pro-Quæstors. N. FABIVS BUTEO.
T. ANTONIUS MERENDA.

The War between the Romans,
and the Inhabitants of Gallia
Cisalpina.

227 Consulship, L. ÆMILIUS PAPUS. He
Year 528. triumphs over the Gauls.
C. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Censors. C. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.
M. JUNIUS PERA.

THE FORTY SECOND LUSTRUM.

Prætors of P. FURIUS PHILUS.
Rome. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO CAL-
VUS.

Prætors in Sici- C. APUSTIUS FULLO.
ly and Sardinia. P. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.

Curule Æ- P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
diles. L. MANLIUS VULSO.

Plebeian Æ- C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
diles. Q. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Tribunes of the Q. TERENTIUS CULEO.
People. C. CENTENIUS PENULA.
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
P. FURIUS ACULEO.
L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS TUBERO.
M. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
P. SCANTINIUS CAPITOLINUS.
C. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.
L. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.

Quæstors of M. ANTISTIUS NEPOS.
Rome. T. METILIUS CROTO.

Military Quæ- L. APUSTIUS FULLO.
stors. L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.

Provincial Ti. VETURIUS PHILO.
Quæstors. Q. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
P. CORNELIUS DOLABELIA.

Pro-Quæstors. T. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

228 Consulship, T. MANLIUS TORQUA-
Year 529. TUS, a second time.

Q. FULVIUS

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

7

	Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS, a second time.	Plebeian diles.	Æ. C. TERENTIUS VARRO. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.
Dictator.	L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.	Tribunes of the People.	M. MARCIUS SERMO. C. LICINIUS VARUS. Q. DECIUS MUS. T. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS. M. TULLIUS NEPOS. CN. FULVIUS MAX. CENTUMALUS. L. AURELIUS ORESTES. CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS. C. LIVIUS DENTER. L. FLAMINIUS CHILO.
Gen. of Horse.	N. FABIVS BUTEO.		
Prætors of Rome.	K. QUINCTIVS FLAMININVS. A. ATILIVS BVLBVS.	Quæstors of Rome.	Q. CLAVDIVS FLAMININVS. L. PVBLCIVS BIBVLVS.
Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.	M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS. P. CORNELIVS ASINVS.	Military Quæstors.	M. ATILIVS REGVLVS. M. MINVCIVS RVFVS.
Curule diles.	Æ. L. ÆMILIVS PAVLVS. M. ÆMILIVS BARBVLVS.	Provincial Quæstors.	C. CLAVDIVS CENTHO. P. SEMPRONIVS GRACCHVS. L. PAPIRIVS MASO. M. FVNDANIVS FVNDVLVS.
Plebeian diles.	Æ. M. LIVIVS SALINATOR. TI. SEMPRONIVS LONGVS.	Pro-Quæstors.	SER. CORNELIVS RVFINVS. M. AURELIVS COTTA.
Tribunes of the People.	C. ATILIVS SERRANVS. C. FVLGINIVS TRIO. SP. MOELIVS CAPITOLINVS. M. CANVLEIVS NEPOS. CN. PVPIVS NEPOS. T. OTACILIVS CRASSVS. L. OPIMIVS PANSVS. C. NVMICIVS NEPOS. A. OGVLNIVS GALLVS. M. OPPIVS CORNICEN.	230. Consulship. Tear 531.	CN. CORNELIVS SCIPIO CALVINVS. M. ICLAVDIVS MARCELLVS. He triumphs over the Gauls, Insabres, and Germans.
Quæstors of Rome.	A. CORNELIVS MAMMVLVS. CN. CORNELIVS DOLABELLA.	Prætors of Rome.	M. LIVIVS SALINATOR. M. ÆMILIVS BARBVLVS.
Military Quæstors.	TI. SEMPRONIVS GRACCHVS. M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS.	Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.	Q. BÆBIVS TAMPHILVS. P. SERVILIVS GEMINVS.
Provincial Quæstors.	M. ÆMILIVS REGILLVS. L. PORCVS LICINVS. M. AURELIVS COTTA. SER. CORNELIVS RVFINVS.	Curule diles.	Æ. L. VETURIVS PHILO. M. VALERIVS LÆVINVS.
Pro-Quæstors.	T. VETURIVS PHILO. P. CORNELIVS DOLABELLA.	Plebeian diles.	Æ. Q. TERENTIVS CULEO. L. ÆLIVS PÆTVS TVBERO.
229. Consulship. Tear 530.	C. FLAMINIVS NEPOS. He triumphs over the Gauls. P. FURIVS PHILVS. He triumphs over the Gauls and Ligures.	Tribunes of the People.	C. LÆTORIVS MERGVS. M. POMPILIVS NEPOS. C. GENVCIVS CLEPSINVS. L. ANTISTIVS NEPOS. P. PVBLCIVS PHILO. C. VOLUMNIVS FLAMMA VIOLENS. C. FVNDANIVS FVNDVLVS. C. SEMPRONIVS GRACCHVS. M. ANICIVS GALLVS. C. POPILLIVS SABELLVS.
Prætors of Rome.	M. MINVCIVS RVFVS. C. LVTATIVS CATVLVS.		
Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.	M. FABIVS LICINVS. P. CLAVDIVS PVLCHER.		
Curule diles.	Æ. Q. ÆLIVS PÆTVS. C. CENTENIVS PENVLVS.		

<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	M. METILIUS NEPOS. VIBUS TERENTIUS VARRO.	<i>Pro-Consul in Cisalpine Gaul.</i>	CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO CALPURNIUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. P. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. C. CALPURNIUS PISO. AP. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.
<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	CN. FULVIUS GENTUMALUS. C. CALPURNIUS PISO. NEVIUS BRISCUS. AP. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.	<i>232. Consulship.</i>	L. VETURIUS PHILO. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS MASO. M. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.	<i>Year 533.</i>	They abdicated, because there was some Defect in their Election, and in their room were chosen M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, a second time; and M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
<i>231. Consulship.</i>	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA. He triumphs over the Istrians. M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.	<i>Censors.</i>	L. ÆMILIUS PAPUS. C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
<i>Dictators.</i>	Q. FABIUS MAX. VERRUCOSUS. M. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.		THE FORTY THIRD LUSTRUM.
<i>Generals of Horse.</i>	C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.	<i>Prætors of Rome.</i>	T. ANIUS LUSCUS. C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.
<i>Prætors of Rome.</i>	L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.	<i>Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.</i>	Q. TERENTIUS CULEO. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
<i>Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.</i>	C. CENTENIUS PENULA. Q. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	C. TERENTIUS VARRO. T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	P. CORNELIUS MERENDA. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	L. FLAMINIUS CHILO. C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. ATILIUS SERRANUS. CN. PUPPIUS NEPOS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. METILLIUS CROTO. C. PETILLIUS SPURINUS. M. MARCIUS SERMO. M. ANTISTILIUS NEPOS. L. APUSTIUS FULLO. C. ANTIUS RESTIO. M. ANICIUS GALLUS. L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA. A. TREBIUS GALLUS. L. MÆCILLIUS TULLUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. C. FANNIUS STRABO. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. C. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS. L. ALBINIUS NEPOS. C. LIVIUS DRUSUS. L. PETILLIUS GEMINUS. Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS. Q. LUTATIUS CERCO. Q. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURÆ. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. M. OGULNIUS GALLUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS. C. OPPIUS SALINATOR.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS. SEX. JULLUS CÆSAR.	<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	L. POMPONIUS VEIENTANUS. CN. FULVIUS FLACCUS. Q. CATIUS NEPOS. L. PORCIUS LICINUS.
<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS. L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO. SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.	<i>Prætors of Rome.</i>	L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO. SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.

233 *Consulship*, M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
Year 534. L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

Prætors of L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS TUBERO.
Rome. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Prætors in Si- P. CORNELIUS MERENDA.
cily and Sardi- CN. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.
nia.

Curule Æ- M. ÆMILIUS REGILLUS.
diles. A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.

Plebeian Æ- C. LIVIUS DRUSUS.
diles. C. POPILIUS SABELLUS.

Tribunes of the TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
People. C. LÆTORIUS MERGUS.
 M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
 TI. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.
 C. TITINIUS NEPOS.
 L. PORCIUS LICINUS.
 M. AURELIUS COTTA.
 C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIO-
 LENS.
 Q. SILIUS NERVA.
 CN. SICINNIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of L. HOSTIUS MANCINUS.
Rome. L. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS.

Military Quæ- T. FONTEIUS CAPITO.
stors. T. POPILLIUS SABELLUS.

Provincial Q. FABIUS PICTOR.
Quæstors. C. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.
 C. PAPIRIUS MASO.
 P. LICINIUS VARUS.

Pro-Prætor in Q. TEREENTIUS CULEO.
Sicily.

Pro-Quæstors. L. POMPONIUS VEIENTANUS.
 L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
 Q. CATIUS NEPOS.
 M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.

234. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
Year 535. TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.

The second *Punic War*.

Prætors of C. TERENCEIUS VARRO.
Rome. C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

Prætors in Si- M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
cily and Sardi- L. MANLIUS VULSO.
nia.

Curule Æ- Q. MUCIUS SCAEVOLA.
diles. C. FANNIUS STRABO.

Plebeian Æ- T. METILLIUS CROTO.
diles. L. APUSTIUS FULLO.

Tribunes of the Q. CLAUDIUS FLAMININUS.
People. L. PUBLICIUS BIBULUS.
 M. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
 M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
 C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
 Q. APRONIUS NEPOS.
 M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
 Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
 C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
 N. SEXTIUS LATERANUS.

Quæstors of M. GENUCIUS CIPUS.
Rome. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Military Quæ- C. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
stors. L. LUCRETIUS TRIO.

Provincial M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
Quæstors. M. JUNIUS SILANUS.
 C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.
 L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

235. *Consulship.* C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS, a
Year 536. second time. He was killed
 in the Battel of the Lake
Thrasymenus; and in his room
 was chosen,
 M. ATILIUS REGULUS, a
 second time.
Dictator. Q. FABIUS MAX. VERRU-
 COSUS.

Gen. of Horse. M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Dictator. L. VETURIUS PHILO.

Gen. of Horse. M' POMPONIUS MATHO.

Prætors of M. ÆMILIUS REGILLUS.
Rome. M. POMPONIUS MATHO.

Prætors in Si- T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
cily and Sardi- A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.
nia.

Curule Æ- AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
diles. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Plebeian Æ- L. PORCIUS LICINUS.
diles. M. ANTISTIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the M. METILLIUS NEPOS.
People. VIBUS TERENCEIUS VARRO.
 P. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
 NÆVIUS CRISPUS.
 CN. SICINIUS NEPOS.
 C. NUMICIUS NEPOS.
 CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.
 C. CAL-

	C. CALPURNIUS PISO. M. MÆNIUS NEPOS. C. LICINIUS STOLO.		K. DUILIUS NEPOS. M. DOMITIUS CALVINUS. C. ICILIUS RUGA.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	TI. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS. P. SULPICIUS GALBA MAXIMUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	T. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS. Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. SERVILIUS CASCA. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	L. ATILIUS BULBUS. L. FURIUS BIBACULUS. They were both killed in the Battel of <i>Cannæ</i> .
<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	C. CLAUDIUS NERO. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS. SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. L. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.	<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	C. ARENNIUS NEPOS. L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS. M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. C. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMINUS.
<i>Pro-Consul in Spain.</i>	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.	<i>Proconsuls.</i>	CN. SERVILIUS GEMINUS. M. ATILIUS REGULUS. They were both killed in the Battel of <i>Cannæ</i> .
<i>Pro-Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul.</i>	C. CENTENIUS PENULA.	<i>Pro-Consul in Spain.</i>	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS. C. PAPIRIUS MASO.	<i>Pro Prætor in Sicily.</i>	T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
<i>236. Consulship. Year 537.</i>	C. TERENTIUS VARRO. L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, a second time. He was killed in the Battel of <i>Cannæ</i> .	<i>Pro-Prætor in Sardinia.</i>	A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.
<i>Dictators.</i>	M. JUNIUS PERA. M. FABIVS BUTEO.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS. He was then <i>Curule Ædile</i> .	<i>237. Consulship. Year 538.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS, was designed for <i>Consul</i> a third time, but was killed before he entered upon his Office. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, was elected in the room of L. POSTUMIUS, but he abdicated, because he found his Election defective, and in his room, Q. FABIVS MAX. VERRUCOSUS was chosen a third time.
<i>Prætors of Rome.</i>	M' POMPONIVS MATHO. P. FURIUS PHILUS.	<i>Prætors of Rome.</i>	Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS. M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
<i>Prætor in Sicily.</i>	M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.	<i>Prætor in Sicily.</i>	AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
<i>Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. He was killed in a Battel with the <i>Gauls</i> .	<i>Prætor in Sardinia.</i>	Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS. C. LÆTORIUS MERGUS.		
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. AURELIUS COTTA. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS OTACILIANUS.		
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO. TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS. M. OGULNIUS GALLUS. P. DECIUS MUS. M. CLAUDIUS GLICIA. P. PUPIVS NEPOS.		

Curule *Æ-* Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS, the Son
diles. of the *Consul* of the same
Name.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDVS.

Plebeian *Æ-* Q. CLAVDIVS FLAMINIVS.
diles. M. ATILIVS REGVLVS.

Tribunes of the C. OPIIVS SALINATOR.
People. M. ATINIIVS LABEO.
M. FVLVIIVS FLACCVS.
Q. FVLVIIVS FLACCVS.
L. POMPONIVS VEIENTANVS.
M. POMPONIVS MATHO.
M. ATILIVS BVLBVS.
M. FVNDANIIVS FVNDVLVS.
CN. FVLVIIVS FLACCVS.
L. LIVIVS DENTER.

Quæstors of P. VILLIVS TAPPVLVS.
Rome. M. LVCRETIVS GALLVS.

Military Quæ- P. POPILLIVS LÆNAS.
stors. P. MANLIIVS VVLSO.

Provincial L. ARENNIVS NEPOS.
Quæstors. M. ÆMILIIVS PAPVS.
L. VETVRIIVS PHILO.
C. HOSTILIIVS TUBVLVS.

Pro-Consul in C. TERENTIIVS VVRRV.
Picenum.

Pro-Consul in M. CLAVDIIVS MARCELLVS.
Campania.

Pro-Consul in TI. SEMPRONIIVS LONGVS.
Lucania.

Pro-Consul in P. CORNELIIVS SCIPIO.
Spain.

Pro-Prætor in T. OTACILIIVS CRASSVS.
Sicily.

Pro-Prætor in M' POMPONIVS MATHO.
Cisalpine Gaul

Pro-Quæstors. M. CORNELIIVS CETHEGVS.
C. ANTONIIVS NEPOS.

238. *Consulship.* Q. FABIVS MAX. VERRV-
Year 539. COSVS, a fourth time.
M. CLAVDIIVS MARCEL-
LVS, a third time.

Censors. M. ATILIVS REGVLVS.
P. FVRIIVS PHILVS. He died
before his Office expired.

Prætors of Q. FVLVIIVS FLACCVS. He
Rome. had no Collegue.

Prætor in A- Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS, the Son
pulia. of the *Consul*.

Prætor in Si- P. CORNELIIVS LENTVLVS.
cily.

Admiral of }
the Roman }
Fleet in Si- } T. OTACILIIVS CRASSVS.
cily.

Curule *Æ-* P. SEMPRONIIVS TVDITANVS.
diles. CN. FVLVIIVS CENTVMALVS.

Plebeian *Æ-* C. CALPVRNIVS PISO.
diles. M. METILIIVS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the L. CINCIIVS ALIMENTVS.
People. T. POPILLIVS SABELLVS.
M. CALPVRNIVS FLAMMA.
Q. POETELIVS LIBO.
CN. APVLEIIVS PANSV.
C. AVRUNCVLEIIVS COTTA.
T. FONTEIIVS CAPITO.
C. PLAVTIIVS HVPSÆVS.
M. PVBLCIIVS MALLEOLVS.
Q. CONSIDIIVS NEPOS.

Quæstors of P. CORNELIIVS LENTVLVS CAV-
Rome. DINVS.
M. SEMPRONIIVS TVDITANVS.

Military Quæ- L. CÆCILIIVS METELLVS.
stors. M. VALERIIVS MESSALLA.

Provincial L. CORNELIIVS LENTVLVS CAV-
Quæstors. DINVS.
SER. SVLPICIIVS GALBA.
C. PVBLCIIVS BIBVLVS.
Q. MAMILIIVS TVRINVS.

Pro-Consul at TI. SEMPRONIIVS GRACCHVS.
Luccia.

Pro-Consul in C. TERENTIIVS VVRRV.
Picenum.

Pro-Consul in TI. SEMPRONIIVS LONGVS.
Lucania.

Pro Consul in P. CORNELIIVS SCIPIO.
Spain

Pro prætor in Q. MUCIIVS SCÆVOLA.
Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor }
in Cisalpine } M' POMPONIVS MATHO.
Gaul.

Pro-Prætor at M. VALERIIVS LÆVINVS.
Brundisium.

Pro-Quæstors.

Pro-Quæstors. M. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.
L. VETURIUS PHILO.

239. *Consulship.* Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS.
Year 540. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, a second time.

Dictator. C. CLAVDIUS CENTHO.

Gen. of Horse. Q. FVLVIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors at Rome. M. ATILIUS REGVLVS.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDVS.

Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul. P. SEMPRONIUS TVDITANVS.

Prætor in Campania. CN. FVLVIUS CENTVMALVS.

Curule Ædiles. P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO, who was afterwards surnamed *Africanus*.
M. CORNELIVS CETHEGVS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. VILLIVS TAPPVLVS.
M. FUNDANIUS FVDVLVS.

Tribunes of the People. L. CÆCILIUS METELLVS.
L. LICINIUS POLLIO.
C. MAMILIUS VITVLVS.
L. PORCIUS LICINIUS.
P. LICINIUS CRASSVS.
L. LVCRETIVS GALLVS.
A. TREBIUS NEPOS.
Q. CATIVS NEPOS.
C. FVLVIUS FLACCVS.
L. ANICIUS GALLVS.

Quæstors of Rome. M. FVLVIUS FLACCVS.
M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.

Military Quæstors. A. HOSTILIUS CATO.
C. HOSTILIUS CATO.

Provincial Quæstors. TI. CLAVDIUS ASELLVS.
SP. LVCRETIVS GALLVS.
SEX. IULIVS CÆSAR.
L. VALERIUS ANTIAS.

Proconsul in Picenum. C. TEREVTIVS VARRO.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. M. CLAVDIUS MARCELLVS.

Pro-Consul in Spain. P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO.

Pro-Prætor in Sicily. P. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS.

Pro-Prætor to command the Roman Fleet. T. OTACILIUS CRASSVS.

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. Q. MUCIVS SCÆVOLAS.

Pro-Prætor at Brundisium. M. VALERIUS LÆVINVS.

Pro-Quæstors. L. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS CAVDINVS.
M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.
C. PVBLCIVS BIBVLVS.

240 *Consulship,* Q. FVLVIUS FLACCVS, a
Year 541. third time.
AP. CLAVDIUS PVLCHER.

Prætor at Rome. P. CORNELIVS RVFINVS SULLA. He had no Collegue.

Prætor in Hetruria. M. JUNIVS SILANVS.

Prætor at Sueffula. C. CLAVDIUS NERO.

Prætor in Apulia. CN. FVLVIUS FLACCVS, Brother to the *Consul*.

Curule Ædiles. C. SVPICIIVS GALLVS.
P. MANLIUS VVLSO.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. CINCIIVS ALIMENTVS.
T. POPILIIVS SABELLVS.

Tribunes of the People. SP. CORNELIVS MAXIMVS.
L. CARVILIIVS MAXIMVS.
C. SERVILIIVS CASCA.
Q. CÆCILIIVS METELLVS.
C. SALLONIIVS SARRA.
P. SILIVS NERVA.
SEX. STATIVS NEPOS.
P. LICINIIVS VARVS.
M. SCANTIIVS NEPOS.
M. SILIVS NERVA.

Quæstors. CN. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS.
CN. SERVILIIVS CÆPIO.
SER. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS.
CN. OCTAVIIVS NEPOS.
M. JUNIVS PENNVS.
M. POMPONIIVS MATHO.
Q. LVTATIIVS CATVLVS.
M. ÆMILIIVS REGILLVS.

Pro-Consul in Lucania. TI. SEMPRONIIVS GRACCHVS.

Proconsul

Pro-Consul in M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
Sicily.

Pro-Consul in P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
Spain.

Pro-Prætor at P. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
Ariminum.

Pro-Prætor in P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
Sicily.

Pro-Prætor }
Admiral of } T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
the Fleet. }

Pro-Prætor at M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
Brundisium.

Pro-Prætor in Q. MUCIUS SCAEVOLA.
Sardinia.

Pro-Quæstors: L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS
CAUDINUS.
TI. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS:
C. POBLICIUS BIBULUS.
SP. LUCRETIVS GALLUS.
SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
M. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.

241. *Consulship.* P. SULPICIUS GALBA
Year 542. MAXIMUS.
C. FULVIUS CENTUM-
LUS.

Prætors of C. CALPURNIUS PISO.
Rome. C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.

Prætors in Si- M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
cily and Sardi- L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
nia.

Curule Æ- P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
diles. L. LICINIUS POLLIO.

Plebeian Æ- L. AURUNCULEIUS COTTA.
diles. C. MANNILIUS VITULUS.

Tribunes of the C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.
People. C. SERVIUS PULEX GEMI-
NUS.
M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.
C. SICINIUS NEPOS.
SEX. CURATIUS NEPOS.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
M. MANILIUS NEPOS.
CN. APRONIUS LIMO.
L. TITIVS RUFUS.

Quæstors. TIB. CLAUDIUS NERO.
C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.

M. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMI-
NUS.

P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

L. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.

M. MARCIUS RALLA.

L. SGRIBONIUS LIBO.

Pro-Consul in Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
Campania.

Pro-Consul in M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
Sicily. He triumphs on Mount
Alba, and receives the Ho-
nours of an *Ovation* at
Rome, for having taken *Sy-*
racuse.

Pro-Consul in P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
Spain.

Pro-Consul be- C. CLAUDIUS NERO.
fore Capua.

Pro-Prætor in M. JUNIUS SILANUS.
Hetruria.

Pro-Prætor }
on the Coast } T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
of Sicily. }

Pro-Prætor at M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
Brundisium.

Pro-Quæstors. SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
M. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.

242. *Consulship.* M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS,
Year 543. a second time.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-
LUS, a fourth time.

Dictator. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Gen. of Horse. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Prætors of L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.
Rome. C. LÆTORIUS MERGUS.

Prætors in L. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS.
Sicily and P. MANLIUS VULSO.
Sardinia.

Curule Æ- L. VETURIUS PHILO.
diles. P. LICINIUS VARUS.

Plebeian Æ- Q. CATIUS NEPOS.
diles. L. PORCIUS LICINUS.

D

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People. L. ATILIUS REGULUS.
M. LUCRETIUS GALLUS.
C. ARENNIUS NEPOS.
L. ARENNIUS NEPOS.
M. CÆCILIVS METELLUS.
P. SILIVS NERVA.
CN. LÆTORIVS PLANCIA-
NUS.
Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
CN. FURIUS BROCCIVS.
C. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.

Quæstors. C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
P. QUINTILIUS VARUS.
M. SEXTIUS SABINUS.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.
Q. FULVIUS GILLO.
P. ÆLIUS TUBERO.
C. SULPICIUS GALBA.
L. LÆTORIVS PLANCIVS.

Pro-Consul on the Sea-Coasts of Greece. } P. SULPICIUS GALBA.

Pro-Consul in Apulia. CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.

Pro-Consul in Campania. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Pro-Consul in Spain. P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO.

Pro-Prætor in Hetruria. C. CALPURNIVS PISO.

Pro-Prætor in Spain. M. JUNIVS SILANUS.

Pro-Quæstors. M. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMINUS.
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
SER. CORNELIVS LENTULUS.
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

243. *Consulship.* Q. FABIVS MAX. VERRUCOSUS, a fifth time. He triumphs over the *Tarentini*.
Tear 544. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS, a fourth time.

Censors. M. CORNELIVS CETHEGUS.
P. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Prætors of Rome. C. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.
L. VETURIUS PHILO.

Prætors at Capua and in Sardinia. T. QUINCTIVS CRISPINUS.
C. ARUNCULEIVS COTTA.

Curule Ædiles. L. CORNELIVS LENTULUS CAUDINUS.
SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMINUS.
Q. CÆCILIVS METELLUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. PUBLICIVS BIBULUS.
P. CLODIUS ASELLUS.
Q. MANLIUS TURINUS.
TI. CLAUDIVS ASELLUS.
C. VETURIUS CALVINUS.
C. MINUCIVS RUFUS.
M. POMPONIVS MATHO.
Q. CASSIVS LONGINUS.
C. MINUCIVS AUGURINUS.
M. AQUILIUS FLORUS.

Quæstors. AP. CLAUDIVS PULCHER.
T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.
CN. BÆBIUS TAMPFILUS.
M. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS.
M. CLAUDIVS MARCELLUS.
C. CORNELIVS LENTULUS.
L. CORNELIVS BLASIO.

Pro-Consul in Apulia. M. CLAUDIVS MARCELLUS.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

Pro-Consul on the Sea-Coasts of Greece. } P. SULPICIUS GALBA MAXIMUS.

Pro-Consul in Spain. P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO.

Pro-Prætor in Hetruria. C. CALPURNIVS PISO.

Pro-Prætor in Sicily. L. CICINIUS ALIMENTUS.

Pro-Prætor in Spain. M. JUNIVS SILANUS.

Pro-Quæstors. Q. FULVIUS GILLO.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.
P. ÆLIUS TUBERO.

244 *Consulship*, M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-
Year 545. LUS.

T. QUINCTIUS CRISPI-
 NUS.

Dictator. T. MANLIUS TORQUA-
 TUS.

Gen. of Horse. C. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMI-
 NUS. He was *Curule Æ-*
dile at the same time.

Prætors of P. LICINIUS VARUS.
Rome. L. LICINIUS CRASSUS DIVES.

Prætors in Si- SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
cily and at Ta- Q. CLAUDIUS FLAMININUS.
rentum.

Curule Æ- Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
diles. C. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMI-
 NUS.

Plebeian Æ- Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
diles. M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Tribunes of the TI. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS.
People. SP. LUCRETIUS GALLUS.
 P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.
 M. HORTENSIVS NEPOS.
 Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
 M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
 Q. POMPONIVS NEPOS.
 M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.
 M. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
 L. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.

Quæstors. T. QUINTIUS FLAMININUS.
 M. FABIVS BUTEO.
 M. VALERIUS FALTO.
 C. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS.
 L. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
 Q. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
 L. APUSTIUS FULLO.
 Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Proconsul at Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
Capua.

Pro-Consul in M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
Sicily.

Pro-Consul P. SULPICIUS GALBA MAXI-
on the Coast MUS.
of Greece.

Pro-Consul in P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
Spain.

Pro-Prætor in C. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.
Ætruria.

Pro-Prætor at C. TERENTIUS VARRO.
Arctium.

Pro-Prætor in L. VETURIUS PHILO.
Cisalpine Gaul.

Pro-Prætor }
on Board the } L. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS.
Roman Fleet }

Pro-Prætor in C. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.
Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor in M. JUNIUS SILANUS.
Spain.

Pro-Quæstors. C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
 C. AURELIUS COTTA.
 M. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS.
 C. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

245. *Consulship*, C. CLAUDIUS NERO.
Year 546. M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.

Dictator. M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.

Gen. of Horse. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Prætor at C. HOSTILIUS CATO.
Rome.

Prætor in Cis- M. PORCIUS LICINUS.
alpine Gaul.

Prætor at C. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
Sicily.

Prætor in A. HOSTILIUS CATO.
Sardinia.

Curule Æ- CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
diles. SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Plebeian Æ- Q. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
diles. M. POMPONIUS MATHO.

Tribunes of the CN. HELVIUS BLASIO.
People. CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.
 Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
 CN. POMPEIUS RUFUS.
 L. FLAVIUS TIMBRIA.
 Q. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.
 M. JUNIUS PENNUS.
 T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
 D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
 Q. FLAVIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors. L. FURIUS PURPUREO, the Son
 of *Spurius*.
 L. FURIUS PURPUREO, the
 Son of *Lucius*.
 SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTUS CATUS.
 L. TERENTIUS MASSA.
 L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

L. COR-

	L. CORNELIUS MERULA. L. ATILIUS REGULUS. L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.		C. CONSIDIUS NEPOS. M. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMINUS.
<i>Pro-Consul in</i> Bruttium.	Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	L. VALERIUS FLACCUS. Q. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS. Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS. M. ACILIUS GLABRIO. M. HELVIUS BLASIUS. CN. SERGIUS PLANCUS. M. SERGIUS.
<i>Pro-Consul in</i> Sicily.	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.	<i>Pro-Consul in</i> Hetruria.	M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
<i>Pro-Consul on</i> <i>the Coast of</i> Greece.	P. SULPICIUS GALBA MAXIMUS.	<i>Pro-Consul in</i> Spain.	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
<i>Pro-Prætor at</i> Capua.	C. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.	<i>Pro-Consul</i> <i>on the Coast</i> <i>of Greece.</i>	P. SULPICIUS GALBA.
<i>Pro-Prætor at</i> Tarentum.	Q. CLAUDIUS FLAMININUS.	<i>Pro-Prætor</i> <i>at Capua.</i>	C. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.
<i>Pro-Prætor at</i> Narnia.	L. MAMILIUS ACIDINUS.	<i>Pro-Prætor at</i> Tarentum.	T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
<i>Pro-Prætor in</i> Spain.	M. JUNIUS SILANUS.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	C. FLAMININUS NEPOS. L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
<i>Pro-Prætor in</i> Hetruria.	C. TERENTIUS VARRO.	247. <i>Consulship.</i> Year 548.	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. F. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	C. FLAMININUS NEPOS. C. AURELIUS COTTA. M. LIVIUS SALINATOR. C. CLAUDIUS NERO.	<i>Dictator.</i>	Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
246. <i>Consulship.</i> Year 547.	Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. L. VETURIUS PHILO.	<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	L. VETURIUS PHILO.
<i>Prætors at</i> Rome.	M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. Q. MAMILIUS TURINUS.	<i>Prætor at</i> Rome.	CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
<i>Prætor in</i> Sicily.	C. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMINUS.	<i>Prætor at</i> Ariminum.	SP. LUCRETIVS GALLUS.
<i>Prætor in</i> Sardinia.	TI. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS.	<i>Prætor in</i> Sicily.	L. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.
<i>Curule</i> <i>Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	TI. CLAUDIUS NERO. P. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.	<i>Prætor in</i> Sardinia.	CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.
<i>Plebeian</i> <i>Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	SP. LUCRETIVS GALLUS. CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.	<i>Curule</i> <i>Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	M. MARCIUS RALLA. P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. M. PÆTILIUS LIBO VISOLUS. A. ALLIENIUS NEPOS. C. LICIVS SALINATOR. L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO. P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS. L. FLAMINIVS NEPOS.	<i>Plebeian</i> <i>Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	TI. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS. M. JUNIUS PAPUS.
		<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	Q. NAVIUS POLLIO. Q. TREBELLIVS CALCA. M. SEXTILIUS SABINUS. Q. FULVIUS GILLO. L. PLÆTORIVS NEPOS. L. STATIVS

L. STATIUS NEPOS.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.
P. ÆLIUS TUBERO.
L. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS.
P. NUMITORIUS PULLUS.

Quæstors.

C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
Q. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
L. STERTINIUS NEPOS.
C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Pro-Consul in
Hetruria.

M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.

Pro-Consul at
Aretium.

M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

Pro-Consul in
Brutium.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Pro-Consul in
Hither Spain.

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Pro-Consul in
Further Spain.

L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.

Pro-Consul
on the Coasts
of Greece.

P. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Pro-Consul at
Tarentum.

T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.

Pro-Consul at
Capua.

C. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.

Pro-Consul at
Rhegium.

Q. PLEMINIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Quæstor.

M. SERGIUS NEPOS.

248. *Consulship.*
Year 549.

M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
P. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Censors.

M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
C. CLAUDIUS NERO.

THE FORTY FIFTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors at
Rome.

M. MARCIUS RALLA.
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

Prætor in
Sicily.

M. POMPONIUS MATHO.

Prætor in
Sardinia.

TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.

2

Curule *Æ-*
diles.

C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
M. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMINUS.

Plebeian *Æ-*
diles.

P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

Tribunes of the
People.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
M. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS.
CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.
C. SCANTINIUS CAPITOLINUS.
M. PONTIFICIUS NEPOS.
P. MANLIUS NEPOS.
C. DUILIUS NEPOS.
L. FESCENNIUS NEPOS.
SEX. POMPILIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors.

M. PORCIUS CATO.
M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
L. MANLIUS VULSO.
M. PORCIUS LÆCA.
M' CURIUS DENTATUS.
C. ATINIUS LABEO.
C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO MAXIMUS.

Pro-Consul in
Gaul.

M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.

Pro-Consul in
Brutium.

P. LICINIUS CRASSUS DIVES.

Pro-Consul in
Hither Spain.

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Pro-Consul in
Further Spain.

L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.

Pro-Consul in
Sicily.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

Pro-Prætor in
Ariminum.

SP. LUCRETIUS GALLUS.

Pro-Prætor at
Capua.

C. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.

Pro-Prætor at
Tarentum.

T. QUINCTIUS FLAMINUS.

Pro-Prætor
on the Coast
of Sardinia.

CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.

Pro Prætor at
Locres.

Q. PLEMINIUS.

Pro-Quæstors.

C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
L. STERTINIUS NEPOS.
C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
M. MINU-

E

	M. MINUGIUS RUFUS. L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.	C. ACILIUS GLABRIO. L. PORCIUS LÆCA. Q. FABIVS BUTEO. CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS. T. JUVENTIUS THALNA. SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.
249. <i>Consulship</i> <i>Year 550.</i>	CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO. C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.	
<i>Dictator.</i>	P. SULPICIUS GALBA MAXIMUS.	<i>Pro-Consul in</i> M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS. Cisalpine Gaul.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	M. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMINUS.	<i>Pro-Consul in</i> P. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. Brutium.
<i>Prætor at</i> Rome.	P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.	<i>Pro-Consul in</i> L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. Hither Spain.
<i>Prætor at Ari-</i> minum.	P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.	<i>Pro-Consul in</i> L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS. Further Spain.
<i>Prætor in Si-</i> cily.	L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.	<i>Pro-Consul in</i> P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. Africa.
<i>Prætor in Sar-</i> dinia.	CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.	<i>Pro-Prætor in</i> SP. LUCRETIVS GALLUS. Liguria.
<i>Curule Æ-</i> diles.	M. FABIVS BUTEO. M. VALERIUS FALTO.	<i>Pro-Prætor</i> <i>on the Coast</i> } M. POMPONIVS MATHO. <i>of Sardinia.</i> }
<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> diles.	M. SEXTIVS SABINUS. C. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS.	
<i>Tribunes of the</i> People.	C. OPPIVS CORNICINUS. P. TITINIUS NEPOS. L. APUSTIVS FULLO. Q. MINUCIVS RUFUS. C. MAMILIUS TURINUS. L. TITINIUS NEPOS. Q. SICINIUS NEPOS. C. COMINIUS NEPOS. C. ANTONIVS NEPOS. Q. CÆDICIVS NOCTVA.	<i>Pro-Prætor on The</i> <i>Prætor</i> M. MARCIUS <i>the Coast of I-</i> RULLA. taly.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	M. SERGIUS SILVUS. Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i> M. PORCIUS CATO. C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS. M. MANLIUS VULSO. M. PORCIUS LÆCA. C. ATINIUS LABEO. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO MAXI MUS.

The End of the *FASTI CONSULARES*, to the Year of Rome 550 inclusive, as collected from the *Annals* of VINANDUS PIGHIUS.

